CALEDONIA.

CALEDONIA:

OR,

A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL

ACCOUNT OF NORTH BRITAIN

FROM THE MOST ANCIENT TO THE PRESENT TIMES,

WITH

A DICTIONARY OF PLACES

CHOROGRAPHICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL.

BY

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CHAP. IV. (*Continued.*)

Of Haddingtonshire.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] It is an instructive fact that within the limits of Lothian scarcely a druid monument remains; and this fact pretty plainly intimates that some religious event took place within that country during the obscure events which succeeded the abdication of the Roman power, whereof history is silent. The intrusion of a pagan people upon the Romanized Ottadini, along the southern shore of the Forth, produced, during the fifth century, the destruction of the Druid monuments within the limits of Lothian.

The conversion of the Saxons of Lothian to the truths of Christianity is an event as darksome as the topic is curious. The worthy Baldred, a disciple of Kentigern, may be considered as the apostle of East Lothian (*e*). During the 6th century Baldred fixed his cell at Tyninghame, and thence preached the gospel throughout the adjacent country (*f*). We have thus seen that such a person existed during the 6th century, established a religious house at Tyninghame, and thence went out, at stated periods, according to the practice of the age, to inculcate the faith by preaching the gospel (*g*). Amidst the obscurities of the 6th and 7th centuries, it is in vain to trace the immediate successors of the deserving Baldred (*h*). The year 635 is the epoch of the bishopric of Lindisfarne (*i*), and this bishopric extended over the ample range of Lothian till the

(*e*) Major, 68; Spottiswoode's Church Hist., 11.

(*f*) The English Martyrol., 70-1, wherein he is placed under the 29th of March. In Dempster's *Menologia Scotiæ*, Baldred is put under the 6th of March. Keith speaks of St. Baldred as the successor of Kentigern and a confessor; and he martyrs him on the 6th of March, 608 A.D. Keith's Bishops, 232. Baldred died, as we learn from Simeon of Durham, l. ii., c. 2, on the 6th of March, 606-7. On the coast of Tyninghame parish, there is a rock called St. Baldred's Cradle. On the shore of the neighbouring parish of Aldhame there is a rock which tradition has named St. Baldred's Boat.

(*g*) There was a Saxon monastery of St. Balther [Baldred] at Tyninghame. Smith's Bede, 231-54. His district or diocese is described by Simeon: "et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium sancti Balthere quod vocatur *Tyningham* a Lambermore usque ad *Escemuthe* [Inveresk]." Twisden, 69. Imperfect as this delineation is, it comprehends the whole extent of East Lothian.

(*h*) "Anlafus incensa et vastata ecclesia sancti Baldredi in Tyningham, 941, mox periit." Chron. Melrose. Hoveden says Anlafe spoiled the church of St. Balthar and burnt Tyningham. Saville, 423; see Matthew of Westminster.

(*i*) Saville's Chronol. Table.

decline of the Northumbrian kingdom (*k*). The epoch of the cession of Lothian, in 1020, to the Scottish king, is also the epoch of the establishment of the bishop of St. Andrew's jurisdiction over the churches of Lothian. The archdeacon of Lothian, who derived his power from the bishop of St. Andrews, under the reigns of David I. and Alexander I., exercised his authority over the whole clergy of Haddingtonshire. Of old, the three Lothians and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, formed two deaneries within the diocese of St. Andrews, the deanery of Linlithgow, and the deanery of Lothian; and this last deanery, at the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio* [1176], included the whole parishes of Haddingtonshire and nearly the half of the churches of Mid-Lothian (*l*). Before the epoch of Bagimont [1275], the deanery of Lothian had changed its name to *the deanery of Haddington*, but it retained its ancient limits till the epoch of *the Reformation*. The dean of Haddington and the archdeacon of Lothian were ecclesiastical persons of great authority under the bishop of St. Andrews, as we may learn from the chartularies (*m*). For the better governance of the clergy, the

(*k*) Tyningham belonged to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, saith Hoveden. Saville, 418; Sim. Dunelm. Col., 139; Lel. Col., i., 366; ii., 181.

(*l*) According to the ancient *Taxatio*, the *decanatus* de Lothian comprehended the following parishes, which were assessed as under:

	Mercas.
In East-Lothian.	
Ecclesia de Haldhamstok	60
Ecclesia de Innerwyk	30
Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whytingeham	180
Ecclesia de Tyningham	40
Ecclesia de Hanus [Petcoks]	10
Ecclesia de Aldham	6
Ecclesia de Linton	100
Ecclesia de North-Berwyk	60
Ecclesia de Hadingtoun	120
Capella St	5
Ecclesia de Elstanford	10
Ecclesia de Garvald	15
Ecclesia de Barwe	20
Ecclesia de Morham	20
Ecclesia de Bothani	30
Ecclesia de Bolton	20
Ecclesia de Salton	30
Ecclesia de Penkatland	40
Ecclesia de Golyn	80
Ecclesia de Seton	18
Ecclesia de Travernent	65
Ecclesia de Keth-hundby	30
Ecclesia de Keth-marschall	12
Ecclesia de Ormiston	12
Aberlady [within the bishoprick of Dunkeld].	
Spot [rectoria in Bagimont's Roll.]	
In Mid-Lothian.	
Ecclesia de Muskilburgh	70
Ecclesia de Cranstoun	60
Ecclesia de Creichtoun	30
Ecclesia de Fauelaw	6
Ecclesia de Locherwort	40
Ecclesia de Kerynton	18
Ecclesia de Kocpen	20
Ecclesia de Clerkington	8
Ecclesia de Maisterton	4
Ecclesia de Heriet	30
Ecclesia de Monte Laodoniae	12

(*m*) There is a charter of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, to the monastery of Haddington, in which Andrew, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness. Transact. Soc. Antiq. Edin., i., 112-13.

bishop of St. Andrews used to call *episcopal synods;* more anciently at Berwick, as we have seen ; more recently at Haddington, as we may now perceive (*n*). There is a composition of the year 1245, between the prior and chapter of St. Andrews on the one part, and the monks of Haddington on the other, in which the chapter "Orientali Laodonie," of East Lothian is very distinctly stated. This *composition* was read before the *chapter* of Lothian, by whom it was testified (*o*). When the bishopric of Edinburgh was established in an evil hour by Charles I., the ancient authority of the bishop of St. Andrews was taken away, and his powers were transferred to the bishop of Edinburgh (*p*). The ecclesiastical affairs of this district continued to be properly managed, till *the Reformation* placed it under the jurisdiction of synods and presbyteries.

Connected with that regimen of old were the religious houses, which owed obedience to the diocesan power of the episcopate of St. Andrews. During the reign of Malcolm IV. the Countess Ada, the mother of Malcolm and William, founded, near Haddington, a convent of Cistercian nuns, which was dedicated to the Virgin, and whose site is still marked by a village, which is called the *Abbey* (*q*). This monastery, before the age of David II., was very richly endowed by the several grants of various personages (*r*). In the ancient *Taxatio* the lands of this house were rated at £100. In July 1292, Alicia, the prioress of Haddington, with her convent, did homage to Edward I. (*s*). On the 28th of August 1296, Eve, the successor of Alicia, submitted to the same overbearing prince, and, in return, had a restoration of her rights (*t*). An inundation of the Tyne at Christmas 1358, had well nigh swept away the nunnery, which,

There is a charter of bishop Roger in which William, the *archdeacon of Lothian,* and Andrew, the *dean* of Lothian, are witnesses. Id. Laurence, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness to a charter of bishop Malvoisin, from 1202 to 1233. Ib., 114. In 1268, on the elevation of William Wiscard [Wischart] from the see of Glasgow to the see of St. Andrews, "Robertus Wiscard nepos ejus, *archidiacanus Laodoniæ* factus est electus Glasguensis, deinde in episcopum consecratus." Chron. Melrose : Keith's Bishops, 143.

(*n*) From attendance at those synods the bishop used sometimes to grant dispensations. He granted to the monks of Durham an exemption from attending his synods at Berwick. Smith's *Bede,* App. xx. In 1293 Bishop Lamberton exempted the abbots of Dryburgh from attending his synodal meetings at *Haddington.* Chart. Dryb., 177, and if those abbots of Dryburgh should attend those meetings on urgent occasions, the bishop granted them a pension, to be paid by *the dean of Haddington.* Id.

(*o*) Trans. Ant. Soc. Edin., 119, which is a very instructive document.

(*p*) See the charter of erection in Keith, 28-37. By it the ministers of Tranent, Haddington, and Dunbar were constituted three of the nine prebendaries of Edinburgh.

(*q*) See her grants in the Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin.

(*r*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Major, who was born at Haddington, speaks of this house as "monasterium pulchrum, et opulentum." (*s*) Rym., ii., 572. (*t*) Prynne, iii., 653 ; Rym., ii. 725.

according to the legend of the times, was preserved by the intervention of the Virgin (*u*). In May 1359, William, the bishop of St. Andrews, more effectually preserved the prioress, her house, and her possessions, by an *inspeximus* charter, which speaks of Haddington as being near the hostile border, and subject thereby to frequent devastation, and which confirms her rights and recognizes her privileges (*x*). The prioress and nuns of Haddington were subject to other attacks. The lairds of Yester and Makerstoun ungallantly seized their lands of *Nunhopes*, and the injured nuns had no other resource than a complaint, in 1471, to the privy council. But the lairds were not to be frightened from their prey, and the prioress brought a complaint of their pertinacity and her wrongs before the parliament, in May 1471. The appropriate judges of such injuries, upon proof of the facts, decreed the two lairds to be committed, and to refund to the prioress and convent the profits of their lands (*y*). The effluxion of years brought with it other grievances to the prioress and nuns of Haddington. The state of the country was such as that the granges of their convent should be fortified ; and at their grange of Nunraw, in Garvald parish, they had a fortalice. In February 1547-8, Elizabeth Hepburn, the prioress, appeared before the regent and his council, and engaged to keep the fortlet of Nunraw from their *old enemies*, or to cause it to be razed (*z*). In July 1548, a parliament assembled in her nunnery, where it was resolved, by the Estates, to defend their harassed land against their old enemies, and to send their infant queen to France as a place of safety from the fraudulence and force which assailed them (*a*). The time came at length when the same prioress was required to give a statement of her estate, with a view to the suppression of her nunnery (*b*). This nunnery had for its *economist* old Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, the statesman, the jurist, the poet (*c*). The monastery of Hadd-

(*u*) Fordun, l. xiv., c. 21.

(*x*) That charter of bishop William is printed in Trans. Soc. Ant. Edin., 106.

(*y*) Parl. Rec., 160, states both the wrong and the reparation of the nuns, and incidentally furnishes a singular trait of the rudeness of the times. (*z*) Keith's App., 56. (*a*) Ib., 55.

(*b*) In February, 1561, Elizabeth Hepburn, who was now called a *venerable lady*, stated that there were then in the convent eighteen nuns, who were each allowed £4 yearly for clothes, 4 bolls of wheat, and 3 bolls of meal, with eightpence a day for flesh and fish. Books of Assumption. She reported her revenues to be in money £308 17s. 6d.; wheat, 7 chalders, 11 bolls. [In this statement the oats are omitted.] She had, moreover, fines, carriages, capons, other poultry, from the tenants on her estates. The Books of Assumption stated this rental somewhat larger. But there had been some dilapidations of the estates of the convent when the hand of reform began to be felt.

(*c*) On the 15th of December, 1564, Sir Richard designates himself, in a charter to his son, "Oeconomus monasterii monialium de Hadington." Spottiswoode, 514.

ington was given by the queen to her secretary, William Maitland, Sir Richard's eldest son, who is so celebrated for his talents and tergiversation ; and who is called *the father of mishief* by Knox, and the *chamelion* by Buchanan. What was said of Buchanan himself might be appropriately said of Secretary Maitland,—his abilities were honourable, but his crimes were disgraceful to Scotland (*d*).

At North-Berwick, on the south-western side of the town, upon a commanding height, which looks down upon the Forth and upon the shore of Fife beyond it, Duncan, the Earl of Fife, who died in 1154, founded a convent for Cistercian nuns (*e*). The founder gave them some lands in his manor of North-Berwick, with the patronage of its church and various lands and revenues in Fife; and they acquired the advowson of the church of Largo, of Kilconquhar, Kilbrachment, and St. Monance, in Fife, with some lands that belonged to each of them. The bishop of Dunblane gave them the church of Logie-Airthry near Stirling. Adam de Kilconacher, the Earl of Carrick, who was their zealous patron, confirmed, in 1266, to those nuns the grants of his fathers (*f*); and they obtained various lands, tithes, and revenues, in East and West-Lothian, in Fife, in Ayrshire, and in the shires of Berwick and of Roxburgh (*g*).

(*d*) On the 13th of December, 1563, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that "the abbey of Haddington was given by the queen to Lethington," [Secretary Maitland.] Keith, 244. On the 20th of October, 1567, dame *Isobel* Hepburn, the prioress of this abbey, issued her precept to Richard Cranston, her baillie, directing him to infeft William Maitland, the younger of Lethington, in the demesne lands of her monastery of Haddington, in the lands of Mertoun, of West Hopes, of East Hopes, of Woodend, of Newlands, of Windislaw, of Snawdown, of Carfrae, of Little-Newton, with the tithes ; all which she had granted him in fee with the consent of her chapter. Spottiswoode, 515. Almost all those lands lie in the parish of Garvald.

(*e*) Sir James Dalrymple, Col., 268, said he had seen David I.'s charter, confirming that foundation, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the charters of King William and Earl Duncan, with other charters, from the Kings, the Earls of Fife, from Duncan of Carrick, Adam de Kilconachar, the Earl of Carrick, and from the bishops of St. Andrews, to the monastery of North Berwick; but that they were all nearly burnt in the great fire at Edinburgh in 1700. Spottiswoode, 515 ; and Keith, 282. Both, being misled by Fordun, mistakingly say that this nunnery was founded in 1216 by a second Duncan, Earl of Fife.

(*f*) That knightly person, whose very name has been mistaken by the Scottish chroniclers, was the first husband of the Countess of Carrick, the mother of Robert Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy : "An° 1270, obijt Adam de *Kilconcath*, comes de Carrick, in Anconia, cujus uxorem commitissam de Carrick postea junior Rob. de Bruys accepit sibi, in sponsam." Chron. Melrose.

(*g*) Among much greater matters, Edward de Lestalric granted them a toft in Leith, with three acres of land, at Greenside which they leased for ever to the monks of Newbotle, for the yearly rent of half a mark legal money. Chart. Newbot., 57-8.

In the ancient *Taxatio*, the lands which belonged to the nuns of North-Berwick were rated at £66 13s. 4d. In 1296, the prioress of North-Berwick submitted to the overpowering Edward I., and in return she obtained from his policy writs to the several sheriffs of Fife, Edinburgh, Haddington, Berwick, and Roxburgh, to restore the estates of her convent (*h*). While submission thus ensured protection, the female inhabitants of the nunnery of North-Berwick were safe; but in the progress of turbulence and warfare, anarchical ages arose, when weakness only invited the attacks of violence. Such was the state of Scotland under James III. The servants and the tithes of the prioress, within the parishes of Kilconquhar, Kilbranchmont, and St. Monance, were assaulted and seized by John Dishington and other inhabitants of Fife, which seems to have been noted for violence in every age. The prioress applied to parliament in December 1482, for protection against obvious wrongs, and the Lords decreed the wrong-doers to restore the property taken, and to repair the damages done (*i*). In the subsequent reign, Margaret Home, the fourth daughter of Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, who died in 1504, became a nun, and rose to be prioress in this convent of North-Berwick (*k*). Her niece, Isobel Home, the third daughter of Sir Alexander Home of Polworth, who died in 1532, from being a nun also succeeded her aunt as prioress (*l*). We have thus seen that, before the Reformation began, the nunnery of North-Berwick had become in a great measure the inheritance of the Homes. After

(*h*) Rym., ii., 723. There was a guardian of this nunnery as well as a prioress. On the 28th of August, 1296, William Vicaire de l'Eglise de Lancta, *gardeyn* de la Priorite de North-Berwick, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick. Prynne, iii., 660. Sir James Dalrymple, Col., 268, says this convent had a *prior* as well as a prioress; but Sir James was not much versed in the details of such establishments.

(*i*) Parl. Rec., 266. This was the first Parliament after the restoration of James III., when he could hardly sustain his crown against the insidiousness of Albany and the intrigues of Angus.

(*k*) Dougl. Peer., 445.

(*l*) Id. In 1532, Dame Isobel Home granted to her half-brother, Alexander Home, in fee, the tithes of the church of Largo in Fife. Spottiswoode, 516. She was succeeded as prioress by Margaret Home, who, on the 24th of March, 1555-6, granted the tithes of the parish of Logie, in the diocese of Dunblane, to Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, and to his heirs. Id. On the 18th of March, 1569-70, Alexander Home, the second son of Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, obtained a grant "officii Balivatus monasterii de North Berwick." Id., which quotes the public archives. At the *Reformation* the income of the nunnery, which was then inhabited by eleven nuns, who had each £20 a year, was stated thus: Money, £556 17s. 8d.; wheat, 9 chalders, 12 bolls; bear, 19 chalders, 4 bolls; oats, 14 chalders, 4 bolls; pease and beans, 3 chalders, 9 bolls; malt, 1 boll, 3 firlots, and 3 pecks; 18 oxen, 13 cows; 1 last, 9 barrels of salmon. Books of Assumption.

the Reformation, the revenues of this nunnery, which had remained undilapidated, were converted by operation of law into a lordship for Sir Alexander Home of North-Berwick, a favourite of James VI. The patronage of the churches of Kilconquhar, Largo, Logie, and Maybole were conferred, by the king's pleasure and the parliamentary power, on several persons who thought themselves entitled to plunder the house which they had assisted in pulling down (*m*).

At Gullane, near the church, stood of old a convent of Cistercian nuns, which was a cell of the Cistercian nunnery of David I.'s foundation at Berwick, and which ran the devious course of similar establishments (*n*). At Elbotle, in the parish of Dirlton, there was such a convent for Cistercian nuns, which was also a cell of the same establishment at South-Berwick (*o*). Such, then, were the *Cistercian* monasteries in East-Lothian, of which we have seen the rise, the elevation and suppression.

Of Franciscan friars or minorites, East-Lothian had its share of their establishments. During the reign of Alexander II., a Franciscan monastery was founded in Haddington town (*p*). In February 1355-6, while Edward III. wasted the whole lands of East-Lothian, he burnt the town and monastery of Haddington with the church of the minorites. Fordun speaks feelingly of this as a *sumptuous work*, which was universally admired as the *light of Lothian* (*q*). Major, on the other hand, inveighs against the minorites for building so costly

(*m*) See the act of the Estates on the 4th August, 1565, in Glendook. There is a delineation of the ruins of the monastery of North Berwick in Grose's Scots Antiq., i., 74. (*n*) Spottiswoode, 512.

(*o*) Id. The name of *El-botle* is merely an abbreviation of the Saxon *Eld*-botle, signifying the old dwelling, in contradistinction, perhaps, to Newbotle, in Mid-Lothian. In Pont's map of Lothian, in Blaeu, the place is called *Old-Bottel.*

(*p*) In 1314, Sir John Congalton of Congalton granted to those friars a provision of bread and wine to the altar of St. Duthac, in the name of the church of those minorites, near to which the bodies of his father and mother were buried; and the friars were obliged to celebrate the anniversaries of the grantor, and of his father and mother, and of his ancestors and successors, at the said altar, so long as there should be three brethren in the convent. Dougl. Peer., 521. Sir William Seton, during the reign of Robert III., made a similar grant to the same friars of *coals* and money. MS. Hist. of the family.

(*q*) Ford., l. xiv., c. 13. On the 16th of September, 1421, the Tyne being flooded by unusual rains, carried away twelve mills and entered the friar church in Haddington, so that the valuables in the sacristy and the books in the library were spoilt. Ib., l. xv., c. 34. The western part of this once splendid structure is now used as the parish church of Haddington. The other part of it, being unroofed, is falling fast into ruins. See a view of it in the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., by Col. Hutton of the Artillery, and another delineation in Grose's Scots Antiq., i., 82.

a church, and supposes that this circumstance, as much as the sins of the town, may have induced God to give the whole to the flames. For such *oracular* observations, Major exposed himself to the ridicule of Buchanan and the contempt of Knox, who, without superior learning, were guilty of greater faults.

Haddington also had a house of Dominican or Black Friars, who were introduced into Scotland during the reign of Alexander II. ; but nothing of its founder and little of its history are known (*r*). They ran the same course with similar establishments, and when their usefulness was gone their oblivion began. In 1218, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, founded a house of *Red* or Trinity Friars at Dunbar ; and the lands which piety or zeal had given them, were transferred, after the Reformation, to George Home of *Friarslands* (*s*). On such occasions this observation must for ever occur, that such lands, in possession of such establishments, were of some use to the public ; but, in the hands of an individual, they were of none. In 1263, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, founded a house for Carmelites or White Friars at Dunbar ; but it appears not what favourite was gratified with this property, instead of the heirs of the founder (*t*). At Luffness, in Aberlady parish, there was another convent of Carmelites, to whom David II. granted a charter of confirmation, as a tribute of his approbation (*u*).

In Haddingtonshire there were at least half a dozen hospitals which had their usefulness during ages of misery. The best endowed in Scotland, perhaps, was the hospital which was founded in 1164 by Malcolm IV. at *Soltre*. On the summit of Soutra hill, which separates the Lothians from Lauderdale, Malcolm founded his house, for the relief of pilgrims, the sustentation of the poor, and the help of the sickly. Malcolm richly endowed it with many lands. This youthful king gave it the privilege of sanctuary while crimes were not unfrequent ; and there led from it, southward, through the moors to Melrose, a path which thus acquired the appropriate name of the *Girth-gate* (*x*). General Roy, a professed *quarter-master*, was led out of his course of inquiries by this *Girth-gate*, as we have seen. There was a way which led up Lauderdale to Soutra hill, and which, as we have observed, was called *Malcolm's road*. The grants of Malcolm IV. to Soltre were confirmed, by his two immediate successors, William and Alexander II., who added to his their own liberalities. From

(*r*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 64 ; Grose's Scots Antiq., i., 82. (*s*) Spottiswoode, 505. (*t*) Ib., 505.

(*u*) Robertson's Index, 51. Spottiswoode, in his ambition of knowledge, has mistakingly planted *Red* Friars at Luffness. Acco. of Relig. Houses, App. to Hope's Minor Practicks, 430.

(*x*) In the Saxon speech, we may remember, *girth* signified a sanctuary, and *gate* a way.

bishops, barons, and from inferior persons, the master and brethren of this house obtained churches, tithes, lands, tofts, annuities, corn, meal, and other property, privileges, and exemptions (*y*). But the master and brethren of Soltre did long enjoy such great estates in quiet. On the 29th of July 1292, Ralph, the master of Soltre, swore fealty to Edward I. in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*z*). On the 28th of August 1296, Thomas, the master of the Trinity hospital of Soltre, did homage to the same prince at Berwick (*a*); and he obtained in return, precepts to several sheriffs to deliver him the estates and rights of the hospital (*b*). In 1410, Thomas de Alton was master of Soltre (*c*), and in 1440 Thomas Lauder was also master of the same house; and he was tutor to James II.; and was made bishop of Dunkeld in 1453. He resigned his bishopric in 1476, being unable, from age and infirmity, to perform the functions of his diocese (*d*). On the 25th of

(*y*) To this hospital belonged, from the gift of the founder, the church of Soltre, with its pertinents. It derived the church of Wemyss, in Fife, with its tithes and tofts, from the grant of John de Methkill, during the reign of William, which was confirmed by David and Gamelin, the bishops of St. Andrews. Chart. Solt., 1-38. The church of Urd [Kirkurd], in Tweeddale, with its pertinents, which was confirmed by the Bishop of Glasgow in 1231. Ib., 40-2. The church of St. Martin of Strathechyn, with its pertinents, which was confirmed by the Bishop of St. Andrews between 1214 and 1248. Ib. 3. The church of Lempetlaw, in Teviotdale, was given to this hospital by Richard Germyn during the reign of Alexander II. Ib., 4. The church of St. Giles of Ormiston was given the hospital by William, the Bishop of St. Andrews, from 1202 to 1233. Ib., 5. The master and brethren of the house obtained, from Malcolm IV., the lands of Hangandshaw in Teviotdale, which was confirmed by Alexander II. Ib., 25-7. They acquired some lands from Simon Fraser in the districts of Keith, Jonestoun, and Keith-Harvey. Ib., 26. Richard, the *expensarius* of William the Lion, gave them his lands in Paistoun, in East-Lothian. Ib., 22. Thomas de Cranstoun gave them a *culture* of land within the same district. Ib., 15. William de Muleneys gave them half a carucate of land in Saltoun. Ib., 11. Peter de Grame conferred on them three bovates of land in Elviston. Ib., 49. Nicholas de Vetereponte gave them the lands of Swanston in Mid-Lothian. Ib., 13. In 1228 Alexander II. gave them yearly a thrave of corn from every plough within his lands lying southward of the Forth. Ib., 41. He gave them also half a chalder of meal yearly from the mill of Peebles. Ib., 8. John de Strivelin granted a thrave of corn yearly from each plough within his lands lying on the south of the Forth. Ib., 27. Thomas de Hay made them a similar grant from his lands in the same country. Ib., 53. David Olifard gave them a thrave of corn yearly from every plough within his lands. Ib., 16. And from various other persons they obtained grants of lands, tithes, rents, and profits. See their chartulary, which remains in the Advocates' Library. [Printed in the Bannatyne Club Publications.]

(*z*) Rym., ii., 572. (*a*) Prynne, iii., 660. (*b*) Rym., ii., 726.

(*c*) Crawfurd's MS. Notes.

(*d*) On the 13th of March 1480-1, James III. confirmed a charter of Thomas, late Bishop of Dunkeld, and *now bishop of the universal church.* He died on the 4th of November 1481, after seeing his house, the pious foundation of Malcolm IV., perverted to a different purpose. Keith, 55.

March 1462, Mary of Gueldre, the widowed queen of James II., founded near Edinburgh, a collegiate church, which she dedicated to the Trinity, and which was to consist also of a hospital, for the maintenance of thirteen poor persons; and for the support of this mixed establishment, the churches, lands, and revenues belonging to the hospital of Soltre, were assigned by *apostolic authority* for those useful ends (*e*). At Balencrief, the habitation at the tree, in Aberlady parish, there was an *hospital* founded as early as the 12th century; though by whose piety it was dedicated to St. Cuthbert is now unknown. On the 29th of July 1292, William Fornal, "magister domus de Ballencrief," swore fealty to Edward I. in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*f*). The site of St. Cuthbert's hospital was named by the Scottish settlers here, *Balan-an-craobb*, which is pronounced *Balancreiv*, in order to denote the habitation at the tree; and it is now the seat of Lord Elibank. Near Seton there was founded in the 12th century, a hospital which was dedicated to St. Germains, who thus gave his name to the place (*g*). It is still the seat of a gentleman. On the 28th of August 1296, Bartholomew, the master of this hospital, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick (*h*); and in return, he received precepts to the sheriffs of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Fife, of Kincardine and Aberdeen, to restore the revenues of the house, which was thus situated in several shires (*i*). At Haddington town, there was of old an hospital which was dedicated to the Virgin, and yet escaped the researches of Spottiswoode (*k*). In the vicinage of the shire town there was a hospital dedicated to St. Laurence, and which left its name to a hamlet on the same site (*l*). On the estate of Gosford, in Aberlady parish, there was anciently an hospital at a place which is known by the name of Gosford *Spital*. At Houston, in East-Lothian, there was of old

(*e*) Maitland's Edin., 207-10. Nothing remains but the ruins of the hospital of Soltre, on Soutra Hill, near the wayside from Edinburgh to Kelso; and adjoining them is a spring which was consecrated of old to the Trinity, and is called by the country people, the *Tarnty Well*, that was much frequented by diseased persons.

(*f*) Rym., ii., 572. On the 28th of August 1296, William Tornal, "Gardein de l'hospital de St. Cuthbert, de Balnecryf," swore fealty to the same king at Berwick. Prynne, iii., 663.

(*g*) Among the several St. Germains, we may suppose the British, as best known, to have been the saint to whom this hospital was dedicated. English Martyr., 97.

(*h*) Prynne, iii., 655. (*i*) Rym., ii., 725.

(*k*) Edward II., when he affected the sovereignty of Scotland, on the 19th of July 1319, conferred on Thomas de Gayregrave the custody of the hospital of the Virgin Mary at Haddington. Rym., iii., 786.

(*l*) James V. made his chaplain, Walter Ramsay, the rector of this hospital, to which the confirmation of the Pope was asked. Epist. Reg. Scot., i., 193.

an hospital, though the piety of the founder and the site of the foundation be now equally unknown, as folly has changed the name of the place which was once denoted by wisdom (*l*); yet Houston appears as *a provostry* in the books of the privy seal, as we learn from Keith (*m*).

Collegiate churches were not known in Scotland till the troublous reign of David II. The first establishment of this kind was founded at Dunbar by Patrick, Earl of March, in 1342, when it was confirmed by William, the bishop of St. Andrews. The constitution of the collegiate church of Dunbar consisted of a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. For their support were assigned the revenues of the church of Dunbar, and the incomes of the chapels of Whittinghame, of Spott, of Stenton, of Panshel [Penshiel], and of Hetherwick. The founder annexed to his collegiate establishment the churches of Linton in East-Lothian, and Duns and Chirnside in Berwickshire; and he reserved the patronage of the whole to himself and his successors, the Earls of Dunbar (*n*). This collegiate church was confirmed in 1492 by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews, who recited the confirmation of his predecessor. By a new regulation of this collegiate church, there were appointed as prebends of it, the churches of Dunbar, Pinkerton, Spot, Beltoun, Petcokis, Linton, Duns, and Chirnside. Except Pinkerton, these were all settled churches (*o*).

(*l*) Among the East-Lothian gentry who swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, was "brother John, the master of the Trinity Hospital at Howeston." Prynne, iii., 956. A writ was soon after issued to the Sheriff of Haddington, directing the restoration of the property of the Holy Trinity at Howeston. Rym., ii., 726. In Bagimont's Roll the "magistratus de Howston," in the deanery of Haddington, is rated at £8.

(*m*) Hist. App., 257. It had been meantime converted, perhaps, into a collegiate church.

(*n*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., 3. Columba Dunbar was dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar in 1411. In 1429 he was made Bishop of Moray, and he died in 1435. Keith's Bishops, 84.

(*o*) In Bagimont's Roll the component parts of the collegiate church of Dunbar were separately rated as under :—

In the deanery of Haddington.						In the deanery of Haddington.					
Decanatus de Dunbar,	-	-	£13	6	8	Rectoria de Beltoun,	-	-	£4	0	0
Archiepresbyterus,	-	-	8	0	0	Rectoria de Petcokis,	-	-	2	13	4
Rectoria de Dunbar,	-	-	8	0	0	Rectoria de Linton,	-	-	20	0	0
Prebendarius de Pinkerton,	-	-	5	6	8	In the deanery of the Merse.					
Rectoria de Spot,	-	-	5	6	8	Rectoria de Duns,	-	-	10	0	0
						Rectoria de Chirnside,	-	-	4	0	0

The same rates appear in a tax-roll of the archbishopric of St. Andrews in 1547. Master John Fleming was prebendary of Pinkerton on the 20th of March 1478-9. Parl. Rec., 249.

The patronage of this collegiate church fell to the king, by the forfeiture of the earldom of March in 1435 (*p*).

Next in antiquity to the collegiate church of Dunbar, within this shire, was the collegiate establishment at Dunglass. Here in 1403 Sir Alexander Home of Home, who derived Dunglass from his mother, Nicolas Papedy, founded a college church for a provost and prebendaries, whom he endowed with several lands and some rents (*q*). Sir Alexander Home, the son of the founder, gave to this collegiate church four husband-lands in the manor of Chirnside, which were confirmed by James II. (*r*). In Bagimont's Roll the provostry of Dunglass, in the deanery of Haddington, was rated at £5 6s. 8d. After the Reformation the revenue of the provostry of Dunglass was returned at £82 (*s*).

At Bothans, which was the name of the parish church of Yester, Sir William Hay of Locherwart founded, in 1421, a collegiate church for a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys; and he endowed his foundation with lands and with rents. Sir William Hay, the founder, married for his second wife, Alicia Hay, the daughter of Sir Thomas Hay of Errol, whom he left a widow in 1421, and she outlived him almost 30 years. She granted, for the support of a chaplain in the college church of Bothans, the lands of Blanes, within the constabulary of Haddington, with various rents from tenements in Haddington town, amounting to £4 2s. 6d. There were settled on this collegiate church also, the lands which her son, Sir David Hay, gave as a mansion for the accommodation of the chaplain and his successors (*t*). In Bagimont's Roll the *præpositura* of Bothans is rated at £40 (*u*). In December 1475, Maister Andrew Hay, the provost of Bothans, brought a suit in parliament against Robert Lord Fleming, who was adjudged by the lords auditors, to pay the

(*p*) Parl. Rec., 72. After the Reformation, the revenue of the archpriestry of Dunbar was stated at £80. Books of the Collectors of the Thirds.

(*q*) Dougl. Peer., 343, which quotes the charter in the archives of Home. Nisbet says he saw the arms of Papedy impaled with those of Home, which were cut upon a stone in the chapel of Dunglass. Heraldry, ii., 53. We may suppose the chapel that Nisbet inspected to have been this collegiate church. (*r*) Spottiswoode, 522. (*s*) The Books of the Collectors of the Thirds.

(*t*) MS. Donations. On the 8th of March, 1539, Robert Watherston granted for the same purpose, of supporting a chaplain for Bothan's church, a tenement in the *Herdgate*, and another in the Moorgate of Haddington, with the several annual rents, amounting to £3 10s. 8d., in the same burgh, and two acres of land on the northern side of the town. Id.

(*u*) After the Reformation, the revenue of this collegiate church was given in at £100 Scots. Books of the Collectors of the Thirds.

complainant 13 marks 10s. and 8d. for the debt (*a*). Some doubts have been entertained, though without a cause, whether the collegiate church of Bothans and Yester be the same. In the ancient *Taxatio* the church was called "ecclesia de Bothani." Like other establishments, it was sometimes called *St. Bothans*, from the patron Saint, and sometimes *Yester*, from the place (*b*).

At Dirlton, there was founded in 1444 a collegiate church with a small establishment by Sir Walter Halyburton. Its endowment seems to have been inconsiderable. Even at the Reformation, its revenue was returned only at £20 (*c*). Till that epoch the patronage of this collegiate church continued as a pertinent of the barony (*d*). The splendid church of Seton was made collegiate by George, Lord Seton in 1493. He herein formed an establishment of a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys, and a clerk; and he assigned for their support the lands and tithes of this church, with the chaplainries which had been founded in it by the piety of his ancestors (*e*). In Bagimont's Roll, the præpositura de Seton, in the deanery of Haddington, was rated at £2 13s. 4d. At the Reformation, the revenue of this provostry was returned at £40 (*f*). In 1544, the English invaders, on their return from wasting Leith, burnt the castle of Seton; and in their rage spoiled the collegiate church, carrying away the bells, organs, with the usual ornaments and other moveables, which they embarked on board their attendant fleet (*g*). Near Seton, at St. Germains, there was an establishment of the Knights Templars, which, with their revenues, were bestowed by James IV., after their suppression, on the King's College of Aberdeen (*h*). In those religious establishments we may perceive the singular manners, perhaps the munificent piety, of several per-

(*a*) Parl. Rec., 192. In 1469 Andrew Hay, the second son of Sir David Hay of Yester, was rector of Biggar.

(*b*) The village at the church was also called Bothans. In 1320 Sir John Gifford, of Yester, granted to the monks of Dryburgh an annual rent from his village of Bothan. Dougl. Peer., 709. Yet Spottiswoode has made them two different places. Acco. of Religious Houses, 519-29.

(*c*) Books of the Collector of the Thirds. (*d*) Act 2 of the 16 Parl., James VI.

(*e*) His charter of foundation, which was dated on the 20th of June, 1493, was confirmed by Andrew, the abbot of Newbotle, as the Pope's delegate. Lord Seton built for his collegiate church a new sacristry, which was covered with stone. The founder died in 1507, and was buried near the high altar of his college church. Spottiswoode, 528; Sir Richard Maitland's MS. History of the Seton family.

(*f*) Collector's Books of the Thirds.

(*g*) Old Sir Richard Maitland, who lived at the time of those terrible events, testifies the facts in his MS. Hist. of the Seton family.

(*h*) Spottiswoode, 479.

sonages who dignified this shire by their residence, and improved it by their practices.

The Reformation changed the ecclesiastical regimen of East-Lothian without adding much to its morals. Of old, HADDINGTON was the seat of a deanery as well as the place of synodical meetings of the diocese. Since that epoch it has become the seat of a presbytery, which comprehends fifteen of the East-Lothian parishes. The town obviously gave its name to the parish, to the presbytery, and to the shire ; and the town derived its appellation from being the *tun*, or village of a Saxon settler called Haden, who sat down here, on the bank of the Tyne, after the Scoto-Saxon period began. The origin of the parish is lost in the obscurities of the preceding age. It was already a parish at the accession of David I. to the throne, and during those times it was of much larger extent than at present. It comprehended a considerable part of Athelstaneford parish till the year 1674, and a large part of Gladsmuir parish till 1692. The ancient church of Haddington-*shire* was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, who was the common patroness of similar establishments in this district. About the year 1134, David I. granted to the church of St. Andrew of Cilrimont, or priory of St Andrews, in perpetual alms, the church of St. Mary at Haddington, with its chapels, lands, tithes, and other dues, with every thing belonging to it within the same parish (*i*). He soon after gave to the church of St. Mary at Haddington, and to the priory of St. Andrews, the lands of Clerkton, according to their true boundaries, on both sides of the Tyne above the town, as the limits had been perambulated ; and he also conferred on those churches a toft in Haddington, near the church, with the tithes, as well of the mills as of other objects within the whole parish (*k*). All those grants were confirmed by David's grandsons, Malcolm IV. and William. They were also confirmed by their diocesans, the successive bishops of St. Andrews. Under all those confirmations, the church of Haddington remained annexed to the priory of St. Andrews, and was served by a vicar, till the Reformation introduced here a very different system. In 1245, a convention, which was entered into within the church of Lauder, was made between the prior and convent of St. Andrews, and the master and monks of Haddington, for settling lasting disputes with regard to tithes and other ecclesiastical dues (*l*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Haddington was rated at 120 marks, while the chapel of St. Laurence, which belonged to it as the mother church, was rated at five marks. The patronage

(*i*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvi.

(*k*) Id., xvi.

(*l*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 119.

of the church belonged to the prior of St. Andrews, and the patronage of the chapel to the nuns of Haddington. There was also a chapel in Haddington which was dedicated to St. Catherine. In the same neighbourhood there were also two chapels belonging to the same church; the one was dedicated to St. John, which probably belonged to the Knights Templars; and the other to St. Kentigern; and there was a chapel within the barony of Penstoun, which formed the western extremity of Haddington parish till 1695, when it was annexed to Gladsmuir parish. All those chapels were founded by the piety of ages, which have been long considered as superstitious by those who do less and talk more. At the Reformation the patronage of the church of Haddington belonged, under those grants and confirmations, to James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, the bastard brother and minister of Mary Stewart, the well-known Earl of Murray. When the Earl of Morton became ruler of Scotland in the quick succession of regents, he acquired the vast estates of the priory of St. Andrews, by appointing a nominal prior and taking the property to himself. Of the corruption, which had been recently reformed in some measure by his agency, there was nothing more corrupt than this appropriation of the priory by the regent Morton. When this guilty noble was executed for his participation in the murder of Darnley, the temporalities of the priory became forfeited to the king. James VI. now converted the whole into a temporal lordship, for his cousin and favourite, Esme, Duke of Lennox; and his son, Ludovic, sold the patronage of the church of Haddington, with its tithes, both parsonage and vicarage, in 1615, to Thomas, the first Earl of Haddington, who obtained, from the same king in 1620, a confirmation of his purchase; and the Earl of Haddington, at the beginning of the 18th century, sold that patronage, with his property in Haddington parish, to Charles, the first Earl of Hopetoun. In this family the patronage of Haddington, which was thus acquired, still continues. At the end of thirty years, after the Reformation, the church of Haddington, the chapel of St. Martin, and the church of Athelstaneford, were all served by one person (*m*). This paucity of preachers, owing to the penury of provision in the reformed church, continued till 1602. George Grier was now ordained the minister of St. Martin's chapel, and he was the last who officiated in this ancient fane (*n*). The church of Haddington was appointed, in 1633, one of the twelve prebends of the chapter of Edinburgh (*o*). At an episcopal visitation in 1635, it was agreed by the bishop of

(*m*) This fact appears from the Presbytery Records, which are preserved as far back as 1592.

(*n*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 67.

(*o*) Charter of Erection.

the diocese of Edinburgh, and the magistrates of Haddington, that a second minister had become necessary for the church of Haddington; and of consequence, William Trent was collated to this charge, when his stipend was settled at 600 marks, payable by the magistrates of the town. They now claimed the patronage of this second minister, whom they had thus established and paid. But this pretension was contested in 1680 by the Earl of Haddington, the patron of the church. The College of Justice declared in favour of the patron's right; and this decision was afterward regarded as a precedent, which, on an appeal to the House of Peers, was affirmed as law and right (*p*). [The Abbey Church, which was repaired in 1811, has two charges, with 1156 communicants; stipends, each £444. There is also St. John's Chapel of Ease, erected in 1838. Free St. John's has 381 members; two U. P. churches have together 360 members; an Episcopal Chapel (built in 1770), has 94 communicants. There is also the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Mary's.]

The parish of ATHELSTANEFORD, whatever Gaelic etymologists may say, derived its name, probably, from a place that owed its appellation to some person. To Athelstan, the Anglo-Saxon conqueror who over-ran Lothian in 934 A.D., is attributed this name (*q*). Camden contradicts this probability by saying that an English commander, called Athelstan, was killed here in 815 A.D.; and Buchanan romances about a Danish chief who was slain here by the Picts; but neither Camden nor Buchanan assigns any proof for his assertion (*r*). The village and church of Athelstaneford stand on a road, near a passage over a rivulet, which is called Cogtal-burn. The name of the ford on this stream was very early vulgarized to Elstanford, and in the *Compositio*, 1245, it was called with the Saxon aspirate *Helstanfoord* (*s*). The countess Ada appears to have possessed the manor of Athelstaneford as a part of her jointure. When she founded the convent of nuns near Haddington, she granted to it the church of Athelstaneford, with the tithes and other ecclesiastical dues belonging to the

(*p*) Trans. Soc. Antiq. Edin., 67. For more recent particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. of it, and the *Tabular State* annexed. [Also Martine's Burgh of Haddington, 1883, and Miller's Lamp of Lothian, 1844.]

(*q*) Sax. Chron., 111; Florence, 349; Malmsbury, f. 27; Whit. Cathedral of Cornwall, 6. A Gaelic etymologist would state his sentiments thus: There is at the place a rivulet, which is passed by a *ford*, that conducts the passenger to the village by a narrow, deep, and stony path. In the Gaelic speech, *Ath-ail* means a *Stoneford;* whence may be inferred that the original name is a *redundant pleonasm.* The Saxon settlers, finding the *Ath-ail* already in existence, superadded *Stoneford,* which is merely a translation of the Gaelic appellation.

(*r*) In a charter of David I., *Diplom. Scotiæ,* pl. xiv., *Ethelstan* is a witness; and it is unnecessary, by refinement, to search in the obscurities of elder times for what may be found in recent charters. [See also Skene's Celtic Scotland, v. 1, p. 299.]

(*s*) In the 12th century there was a place in Teviotdale named Elstane's-halch. Chart. Mel., 25.

same church (*t*). The liberality of Ada was confirmed by several bishops of St. Andrews. The church of Athelstaneford, with its pertinents, continued to belong to the nuns of Haddington till the Reformation changed the ancient regimen. As the parish of Athelstanford was of old but small, the church was not of great value. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Elstaneford* was rated only at ten marks. In 1674, this parish was greatly enlarged by annexations from the parishes of Haddington and of Prestonkirk (*u*). A new church and manse were built in the enlarged parish of Athelstanford, about 1784 (*x*). [The present parish church was erected in 1868. Communicants, 300; stipend, £342.]

The parish of NORTH-BERWICK derived its name from the town; and the village obtained its Saxon appellation from the same source, as the Berwick-upon-Tweed, which, in the charters of the 14th, 13th, and 12th centuries, is distinguished as South-Berwick, while the more northern town was usually called *North-Berwick*. In those charters, and in the Northumbrian topography, the common orthography of the name is *Bar*-wick, or *Barewick*,—the bare, or naked village or castle; the only difficulty being to discover whether the Saxon *wic* was first applied, in fact, to a castle or a village. The probability is, that it was to the *village*, before any *castle* existed on the site of North-Berwick, which stands on the naked shore of the Forth; being a small, narrow promontory projecting from the town into the firth. Before the reign of David I., a church and parish existed here, from a period of such obscurity as not to be easily penetrated. Under that monarch, the manor of North-Berwick belonged to Duncan, the Earl of Fife, who died in 1154. He founded here, as we have seen, a convent for Cistercian nuns, to whom he granted the church of North-Berwick, with its tithes and pertinents. The church of North-Berwick was dedicated to St. Andrew; and there was an altar in it which was erected to the Virgin Mary (*y*). This church seems to have been of considerable value. It was valued in the ancient *Taxatio* at 60 marks. It remained

(*t*) After Ada's death, in 1178, the manor of Athelstaneford was granted by her son, William the Lion, to John de Montfort, who, as *dominus* de Elstaneford, granted to the monks of Newbotle a stone of wax yearly. Chart. Newbotle, 216. The lands of Elstaneford, as they were forfeited in the succession war, were granted by Robert I. to Richard Hereis. Roberts. Index, 11. The same lands appear to have again fallen to Robert III., who granted them to John Dolas. Ib., 141.

(*u*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 41; Stat. Acc., x., 169.

(*x*) Id. For other particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco., x., 161, and the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*y*) Agnes Fawlaw, the wife of Robert Lauder of the Bass, with the consent of her husband, granted an annuity of 10 marks from a tenement in Edinburgh, and five marks from a tenement in Leith, for supporting a chaplain to officiate at the Virgin Mary's altar in St. Andrew's Kirk at North Berwick: and this grant of the pious Agnes was confirmed by James IV. in 1491. MS. Donations, 41.

in the patronage of the nuns of North-Berwick till the Reformation swept such establishments away. Meantime, the manor of North-Berwick changed its lords in some measure with the changes of the times. It continued in the ancient family of Fife till the accession of Robert II., the first of the Stewarts. Isabel, Countess of Fife, the last of her race, resigned this manor to Robert Duke of Albany, who seems to have transferred it to William Earl Douglas. On the forfeiture of James Earl of Douglas in 1455, this manor was granted with most of his forfeiture to his heir-male George Earl of Angus, and in this family it long continued with Tantallon castle, the seat of their power, and the safeguard of their crimes. There is an act of the parliament, 1597, "anent certain kirks of North-Berwick" (*y*). The site of the Cistercian nunnery, with much of the property belonging to it, were granted by James VI. to Alexander Home of North-Berwick. But whether he acquired the advowson of the parish church is uncertain, as his family failed, and the property of it was transferred to other owners. A ratification, indeed, was passed in the parliament of 1640, to Sir William Dick, of his right to the lands and tithes of North-Berwick barony (*z*). The patronage of the parish church of North-Berwick with the site of the nunnery and the lands that belonged to it were afterward acquired by Hew Dalrymple, who became president of the College of Justice in 1698, and purchased from the Marquis of Douglas, the representative of the Earls of Angus, the remainder of the manor of North-Berwick, which was now called Tantallon, from the castle. After all those transmissions, the property of the whole now belongs to Sir Hew Dalrymple of North-Berwick (*a*). [The present parish church was erected in 1882. Communicants, 581: stipend £511. A Free Church erected in 1844 has 163 members. A U.P. Church (1872) has 223 members. St. Baldred's Episcopal Chapel (1859-63) has 60 communicants. There is also a Roman Catholic Chapel erected in 1879.]

The ancient name of DIRLTON parish was *Golyn*; and the old church stood at the village of Gullane till the year 1612, when it was removed to Dirlton by act of Parliament. *Golyn* derives its name from the British *Go-lyn*, signifying a little lake; and in fact, there is still a pond here within the village of Gullane. The church of Gullane, which was dedicated to St. Andrews, is very ancient. Yet the epoch of St. Andrew's patronage is only the ninth century; and from this circumstance we may infer how old the numerous churches are in this shire, which were dedicated to the renowned protector of the Scottish people. The Cistercian nuns whom David I. brought to South-Berwick appear to have acquired a right to some of the tithes and other ecclesiastical dues of the church

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 15th Parl. James VI. (*z*) Unprinted Act, 2nd Parl. Charles I.

(*a*) For other particulars, the curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. and the *Tabular State* subjoined. [Also Ferrier's North Berwick, 1871.]

of Gullane (*b*). The Anglo-Norman family of De Vallibus obtained a grant, during the 12th century, of the manors of Gullane and Dirlton, with a part of the lands of Fenton, which formed a great portion of this parish. During the reign of William the Lion, William de Vaus granted to the church of Gullane the meadow that was adjacent to the church (*c*). He soon after, however, transferred to the monks of Dryburgh the church of Gullane, with its tithes and other pertinents, reserving the right of his son, William de Vaus, to the rectory of Gullane during his life (*d*). This grant was confirmed by the diocesan, and by the Pope's legate in Scotland (*e*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Gullane was rated at not less than 80 marks. After the death of William de Vallibus, the rector of Gullane, during the reign of Alexander II. a vicar was appointed by the monks of Dryburgh to serve the cure. In 1268, there was assigned to the vicar of Gullane a stipend of 12 marks (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage of Gullane was rated at £4. In this parish there were of old no fewer than three chapels which were subordinate to the church. As early as the reign of William there was a chapel which was dedicated to St. Nicolas, on Fidra Isle, near the shore of Elbotle, and the ruins whereof still remain (*g*). In the 12th century, the laird of Congalton founded a chapel for the use of his family and people. Disputes thereupon arose with the rector of Gullane; and this controversy was settled, in 1224, to the satisfaction of both parties, by William, bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan (*h*). During the reign of Alexander III., Alexander de Vallibus founded a chapel at Dirlton in honour of All Saints, engaging that this chapel should not derogate from the rights of the mother church of Gullane (*i*). Under James III., an altar was dedicated to the Trinity in this church, by Sir Andrew Congalton, the patronage of which was given to the lord of the manor of Congalton (*k*). After the Reformation had swept away such establishments, James VI. seems to have given the advowson

(*b*) The nuns of Berwick made a composition with the rector of the church of Gullane, which left him three-fifths of the disputed property. Chart. Dryb., 28.

(*c*) Ib., 26. (*d*) Ib., 16.

(*e*) Ib., 19-21. The grant of Vaus was confirmed by his successors in the manor during the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. Ib., 18-182. The monks of Dryburgh, after all those confirmations, acquired from the nuns of South Berwick the rights which they had obtained in the revenues of the church of Gullane. Ib., 27.

(*f*) Ib., 14. (*g*) Ib., 18-185.

(*h*) Id. The place where it stood is still called *Chapel*.

(*i*) Chart. Dryb., 183-4. A stone of wax yearly was also granted to the church of Gullane by the same family, with two crofts, at the village of the canons of Dryburgh. Ib., 23-4-5.

(*k*) Dougl. Bar., 522.

of the church of Gullane to the baron of Dirlton. In 1612, the church was removed, under an act of parliament, from its ancient site to the village of Dirlton, which thus gave its name to the parish (*l*). [The parish ch. (1661-1825) has 412 communicants; stipend, £350. A Free church has 110 members. There is also an Episcopal mission under North Berwick with 60 members].

The parish of ABERLADY obtained its Celtic appellation from the village of the same name, which stands at the influx of the West-Peffer into the Forth. In ancient charters, the name was written *Aberlevedi* and *Aberleddie* (*m*). The prefix is obviously the British *Aber*, signifying the *influx* of running water. As the *Aber* is uniformly prefixed, in the topography of Scotland, to the name of the stream whose *mouth* it denotes, we may easily suppose that the stream which glides into the Forth at Aberlady was anciently called *Leddie* (*n*). At present, the same stream is called above the West-Peffer water, and below from the name of the adjoining shore, Luffness water. To such soft-flowing streamlets, the British people applied their term *Leddie*, which is peculiarly descriptive of this stream, as well as of other rivulets that glide with the gentlest motion to their issue. There appears to have been here in early times an establishment of the Culdees, and *Kilspindie*, the place of their settlement, near the village of Aberlady on the north-west, is supposed to have derived its name from the Culdees; *Cil-ys-pen-du* signifying in the British speech, *the cell* of the *black-heads;* and the word is pronounced *Kilyspendy*. The cell of the Culdees near Aberlady was no doubt connected with the Culdee monastery of Dunkeld. When David I. established the bishopric of Dunkeld, he conferred on the bishop of this diocese Kilspindie and Aberlady, with their lands adjacent, the advowson of the church and its tithes and other rights (*o*). This constituted the ecclesiastical barony of Aberlady, over which the bishops of Dunkeld

(*l*) Unprinted Act, 21st Parl. James VI. The same Parliament ratified the infeftment of the lordship of Dirlton to Lord Fenton. Id. If we may believe Grose, the antiquary, who delighted in stories, the last vicar of Gullane was expelled by James VI. *for smoaking tobacco.* Antiq. Scot., i., 71. Grose does not tell who told him this story. He has given a good view of the remains of the ancient church. Id. There is little in addition to be seen in the Stat. Acco., iii., 194; but the *Tabular State* subjoined may be inspected.

(*m*) *Levedi* is the old English form of *lady.*

(*n*) In fact, there is in Old Luce parish a stream which appears to run through a flat swamp, and is called *Lady*-burn. In Kirk Oswald there is a rivulet which is called *Lady*-burn, and which is said "to creep through a plain, for half a mile, before it enters the sea."

(*o*) During the reign of William the Lion, Richard, the bishop of Dunkeld, granted to the canons of Dryburgh a croft in the village of *Aberledie;* and the bishop's donation was confirmed by the king's charter. Chart. Dryb., 58.

afterward obtained a regality (*p*). The whole parish of Aberlady was included in the bishopric of Dunkeld, notwithstanding its local situation in the deanery of Haddington and the diocese of St. Andrews. Aberlady continued a mensal church of the bishops of Dunkeld till the Reformation, and the spiritual duties were performed by a vicar under the appointment of the bishop. In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches in the diocese of Dunkeld, there is *Aberleddie* in *Eist-Lothian*, which was rated at £5. Gavin Douglas, the well-known bishop of Dunkeld, who died in 1522, granted the lands of Aberlady and Kilspindie to his half-brother, Archibald Douglas, the son of Archibald, the Earl of Angus, who will always be remembered as the principal assassin of the king's servants on Lauder-bridge (*q*). The forfeiture of Archibald Douglas was reversed, in March 1542-3, in the first parliament of the regent Arran; and his son, Archibald, was restored incidentally to his father's estates of Aberlady and Kilspindie (*r*). The second Archibald Douglas was succeeded by his son Patrick, who built, in 1585, a fortalice at Kilspindie, which still remains. The bishop of Dunkeld resigned to the king, in 1589, the church of Aberlady, with its teinds and pertinents, that he might convert it into a rectory, and give the advowson to Patrick Douglas as an independency of the diocese of Dunkeld. In pursuance of that obvious purpose, James VI. erected the whole into a barony by the appropriate name of Aberlady (*s*). From the Douglases this barony, with the patronage of the church of Aberlady, passed to the Fletchers during the reign of Charles II. Sir Andrew Fletcher obtained from the king a ratification of the bishop's resignation, and the king's charter was confirmed by the parliament of 1669 (*t*). In 1733 the barony, with the

(*p*) The parish of Aberlady contained in after times five baronies of small extent: Aberlady, Luffness, Balancrief, Gosford, and Redhouse. The greatest part of this last barony was disjoined from Aberlady, and annexed in 1695 to the parish of Gladsmuir.

(*q*) Archibald, the grantee of the bishop, his brother, seems to have been a servant of James V. during his early years; and, marrying an opulent widow of Edinburgh, he became provost of this town in 1526, when his nephew, the Earl of Angus, obtained possession of the king's person and government. Parl. Rec,, 557-62. In September of the same year he was appointed treasurer of Scotland, and held this office till the king, by his own enterprise, freed himself from the domination of the Douglases, in 1528. Ib., 566-73. In September, 1528, he was convicted of treason by Parliament, and forfeited, with his two nephews, the Earl of Angus and George Douglas. Parl. Rec., 579. The king refusing to pardon his forfeiture, he fled to France, where he died between the years 1534 and 1539. Ib., 605; Rym., xiv., 538.

(*r*) Parl. Rec., 650.

(*s*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 515.

(*t*) The Lord Gosford and other proprietors of the adjoining baronies protested against that Act in the next session of Parliament. Unprinted Acts of 1670.

patronage of the church, was sold to the Earl of Portmore, whose descendant now enjoys them. In 1695 the lands of Cotts, and a great part of the estate of Redhouse, were disjoined from Aberlady and annexed to the parish of Gladsmuir, which was then established. Subordinate to the mother church, there was a small chapel, the remains of which may still be traced at the north-west corner of the church yard. The parish of Aberlady is included within the commissariat of Dunkeld, owing to its ancient connection. The ancient church of Aberlady, which was mean and incommodious, was replaced in 1773 by a new place of parochial worship (*u*). [The number of communicants is 351, stipend, £503; a U.P. Church has 94 members].

The parish of GLADSMUIR was formed, in 1695, by abstractions from the neighbouring parishes of Haddington, Aberlady, and Tranent. A parish church was then built on a ridge of moorland, which was known by the appropriate name of *Gledesmuir*, which gave its singular name to the whole parish. The *glide* in the Saxon, old English and Scottish languages, signified a kite (*x*); and *muir* is merely the Scottish form of the English *moor*. As the parishes of Haddington and Tranent contributed the largest portions to the formation of the parish of Gladsmuir, the patronage of the new church was agreed to belong, by turns, to the Earls of Haddington and Winton; the former being patron of Haddington, and the latter of Tranent. The Earl of Haddington's right was soon after transferred to the Earl of Hopetoun, whose grandson now enjoys it; and the Earl of Winton's right of patronage fell to the crown, in 1715, by forfeiture. In 1743 the Earl of Hopetoun did credit to his own sagacity by presenting to this parish for its minister, William Robertson, who rose by his various merits to the top of the Scottish literature, and to the head of the Scottish church. Gladsmuir was his first preferment; and it was in the quiet of the manse of Gladsmuir that his *History of Scotland* was written. Of this work, which has contributed to his country's fame, far be it from me by slight objections to lessen the dignity; but of the writing of history, it may be observed as of the giving of laws, that it is not the best which ought to be offered to the people, but the best that the people are willing to receive. Such a history the author would not now propose to the public, nor would the public accept such a history from the author; so great a change has the cultivation of the unweeded garden of Scottish history during fifty years, made

(*u*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., i., 511. For other intimations, the Statistical Account and the *Tabular State* annexed may be inspected.

(*x*) See the Glossary to the late edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poetry, in art. *Glead* signifies a kite in Yorkshire. In the days of Ray, *Glead* was used for a kite in England as well as in Scotland. In Ælfric's Sax. Glossary, *Milvus* signified *Glida*. The Scripture word is *Glede*.

in the public knowledge. [The Parish Church, erected in 1850, has 526 communicants. Stipend £465].

From the village of TRANENT the parish took its name, and the village is said to have acquired its appellation from a tradition which is not yet forgotten on the opposite shore of Fife, and which supposes that a party of *Danes*, once landing on that shore, were immediately repulsed by the natives, who exultingly shouted, Tranent! Tranent! The mere mention of such a tradition implies a total want of knowledge, etymological and historic. The name of the village is significant in the speech of the first colonists on the banks of the Forth. In the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name was written *Travernent.* The popular name of more recent times is *Tranent*, which seems to be contracted by colloquial use. Now, *Trev-er-nent*, in the British speech, signifies the habitation or village on the ravine or vale. *Trenant*, in the same language, signifies the habitation or village *at* the ravine or vale. Both those forms of the name are equally descriptive of the situation of Tranent on the eastern side of a deep, narrow valley or ravine, in the bottom of which there is a brook (*y*). The ancient manor and parish of Travernent appear to have been co-extensive. They comprehended as well the present parish of Tranent, except the barony of Seton, as the present parish of Prestonpans. Thor, the son of Swan, held the manor of Travernent during the reign of David I. Robert de Quincy acquired the same manor soon after the accession of William the Lion, whom he served for some time as justiciary. At the end of the 12th century, Robert was succeeded by his son, Seyer de Quincy, who became Earl of Winton, and died in 1219. The manor of Tranent now passed to his son, Roger de Quincy, the Earl of Winton, who acquired by marriage the office of constable of Scotland in 1234, and died in 1264. By this event the manor of Tranent was inherited by his three daughters, Margaret, who had married William de Ferrers, Elizabeth, who had married Alexander Cumyn the Earl of Buchan, and Elena, who married Alan la Zouche, an English baron. The Earl of Buchan gave the share which fell to his wife, to Alexander the Stewart of Scotland, in exchange for the lands of Murthey, and James the Stewart, the son of Alexander, granted this share in 1285 to William, the son of John de Preston. The portions of the other two daughters passed to their several sons,

(*y*) There is in Cornwall a village called Trenant, which Hall explains to signify *valley-town.* Hall's Paroch. Hist. Cornwall, 89, and Pryce says it signifies a *dwelling on the river.* Archaeologia. The *Tref*, signifying a town in Davis and Richard's W. Dict., is *Trev* in Owen's Orthography. W. Dict. *Nant* in the British as well as the Cornish, signifies a ravine or valley, a hollow which is formed by water, a rivulet. Richard and Owen's W. Dict., and the Cambrian Reg., 1795.

William de Ferrers and Alan la Zouche, who lost them by forfeiture during the succession war, and those forfeitures were granted by Robert I. to his nephew, Alexander de Seton, in whose family they long remained (*z*). The patronage of the church of Tranent was separated from the manor before the demise of David I. Thorald, the son of Swan, then possessing the manor of Tranent, confirmed to the canons of Holyroodhouse the church of Tranent, reserving the right of Walleran, the chaplain, during his life (*a*). On his death, probably Malcolm IV., in 1154, confirmed the church of Tranent to the canons "de castello Puellarum," that is of *Holyroodhouse* (*b*). The canons of this House enjoyed the church of Tranent, with its rights and revenues, till the Reformation introduced very different characters. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church was rated at 65 marks, which imply that the church was of great value. The cure was served by a vicar, who enjoyed the small tithes. In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage of Tranent was rated at £4 (*c*). In 1320 the monks of Newbotle made an agreement with Andrew, the perpetual vicar of Tranent, about the tithes of the village and the land, which was called the *Cottarie* of Preston (*d*). Such was the regimen which existed in this parish till the Reformation gave it a different system. [The present Parish Church, erected in 1801, and since then repaired, has 558 communicants; stipend, £440. A Free Church of 1843 has 154 members. A U.P. Church of 1826 has 130 members. There are also Primitive Methodist and Roman Catholic missions.]

The ancient parish of SETON was annexed to Tranent after the Reformation. In old charters the name of the district and the appellation of the proprietors were written *Seyton*. Seyer de Saye, an Anglo-Norman, who obtained a grant of this manor, settling here, gave it the name of Say-ton; and his descendants, who became Lords Setoun and Earls of Winton, assumed from it the surname of Seton. The church of Seton, however old, was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 18 marks. The patronage of the church belonged to the lords of the manor, the Setons, who were buried within its sacred fane. As it stood near their mansion-house, this opulent race were studious to adorn its structure and to add to its usefulness (*e*). In May 1544,

(*z*) Charters in the Rolls of Robert I. Roberts. Index.

(*a*) Sir J. Dalrymp. Col., 287. (*b*) Chron. St. Crucis, in Anglia Sacra., i., 160.

(*c*) The vicarage of Tranent is in the Tax Roll of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*d*) Chart. Newbot., 156. This was confirmed by a bull of Pope John. Ib., 258. For other notices, the reader may inspect the Statistical Account of this parish, and the *Tabular State* subjoined. [Also M'Neill's Tranent, 1884.]

(*e*) Old Sir Richard Maitland says, in his MS. History of this family, with whom he was connected, Catherine Sinclair, the wife of Sir William Setoun, who died at the beginning of the reign of Robert

the English army after burning Leith came southward to Seton; when they saved John Knox the trouble of spoiling the ornaments and destroying this splendid monument of ancient piety (*f*). This church stood in Seton park, and contained many monuments to the several members of this respectable family, which at length fell a sacrifice to their mistaken principles (*g*). Their noble mansion was pulled down in 1770, when a new house was erected on its site. Within the parish of Seton at Longniddry there was a chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, and is popularly called *John Knox's kirk.*

After the Reformation, the parish of Seton was annexed to that of Tranent, which was thus too much enlarged. But it was somewhat reduced in 1606 by making the baronies of Prestongrange and Prestonpans a new parish

III., "biggit an yle on the south side of the kirk, of fine astlar, pend it, and theikit it with stane, with an sepulchar therein, where she lies: and *foundit an priest to serve there perpetually.* This lady, in her widowhood, dwelt, where now are the priests' chambers in Seton, [the collegiate canons] and planted, and made all their yard, that they have, yet, at this day; and held an gret house, and an honourable." Her son, Sir John Setoun, who died in 1441, was buried in the aisle which his mother had built. Id. In 1493, George, Lord Setoun, as we have seen, converted this church into a collegiate form. He died in 1507, and was buried near the high altar of his collegiate church. Id. His son, George, Lord Seton, "theikit the queir of the church, with stane, and repaired the same, with *glaising windows*: made the desks therein, and syllarings above the altar; and pavementit the said queir; and gave it certain vestments, a compleit stand of claith of gold, and others of silk." Id. This Lord George fell in Floddon-field, and was buried in the choir, which he had thus repaired and ornamented. Id. His widow, Janet, the daughter of Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell, built the north aisle of the church of Seton, taking down the aisle which dame Catherine Sinclair had built on the south side, because the side of it stood to the side of the church; and she thereby made a perfect cornet and *cross-kirk*, and built the steeple to a great height. She gave this family church many ornaments. A complete stand of purple velvet, flowered with gold, a complete stand of white Camoise velvet, flowered with gold, a complete stand of white dameis, a complete stand of shamlet of silk, a complete stand of black double worset, with certain other chesabils and vestments of sundry silks; she also gave to this church a great case of silver, an eucharist of silver, a chalice over-gilt, a pendicle to the high altar of fine wove arras, with other pendicles; she loosed the sachristry, and made great locked almries [cupboards or presses] therein; she founded two prebends, and built their chambers and vaults. Thus far Sir Richard Maitland's MS. History of the Setoun family. It is seldom that we are supplied with such a minute account of the ornaments belonging to a collegiate church.

(*f*) Sir Richard Maitland, who lived in the neighbourhood at the time, says, that the English destroyed the castle of Seton, spoiled the kirk, took away *the bells, organs*, and all other trussable [moveable] things, and put them in their ships, lying off in the frith, and burnt the timber-work in the church. MS. Hist. of the Setouns.

(*g*) Of the collegiate church of Seton there is a good view in Grose's Scots Antiq., i., 64, where it has been mistakingly placed in Edinburghshire. [See also Billing's Antiquities, v. 4, and M'Neill's Tranent.]

under the name of Preston (*h*). When Charles I. in an unadvised hour erected the bishopric of Edinburgh, he granted to the bishop the church of Tranent with the mansion, glebe, church-lands, tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, as they had belonged previously to the abbey of Holyrood; and the parson of Tranent was constituted one of the prebendaries of the bishop's chapter (*i*). Meantime, the Earls of Winton, who were the patrons of the old church of Seton, obtained the patronage of the united parishes of Tranent and Seton (*k*). The lands of Winton were, however, restored to Pencaithland parish after the forfeiture of the Earl in 1715. In 1695, the parish of Tranent was further diminished by the annexation of the north-east corner of it to the new parish of Gladsmuir; and the Earl of Winton, as patron of Tranent, obtained the patronage of the newly erected parish of Gladsmuir. The Earl of Winton's patronages were forfeited to the king by the attainder of the last earl (*l*). [The chapel of Seton was restored by the Earl of Wemyss some years ago, and is now used as a mausoleum.]

The parish of PRESTONPANS is modern. It was created in 1606 by the parliament of Perth, by dismembering the parish of Tranent, and by endowing a newly erected church in Preston (*m*). Yet though the church, as we

(*h*) Unprinted Acts, 18 Parl., Ja. VI.

(*i*) Charter of Erection, 29th September, 1633. This establishment was subverted in 1641, was restored in 1662, and was abolished for ever in 1689.

(*k*) In 1681, the parliament passed an act in favour of the Earl of Winton, disjoining his lands of Winton from the parish of Pencaithland, and annexing them to the parish of Tranent. Unprinted Act, 1 sess., 3 parl., Car. II.

(*l*) For some other particulars of the parish of Tranent, see the Stat. Acco., x., 83, and the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*m*) The history of the erection of this new parish is given in the preamble of the act of parliament erecting it. Unprinted Act, 18 Parl., Ja. VI. The parliament recited: That considering the inhabitants of Preston and of Prestonpans, sometime within the parish of Tranent, cannot resort to the kirk of Tranent, it being insufficient to contain them, they being numerous and daily increasing, and being too far from them; and considering that by the labour, pains, and expence of Mr. John Davidson, minister, a sufficient kirk with a manse are built in Prestonpans, and that there is a glebe provided for the same kirk by George Hamilton of Preston, out of his own proper heritage, and that the same Mr. John Davidson had founded in Prestonpans a school for teaching the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and for instructing youth in virtue and learning, and that he has endowed the same with. his heritage, and all his moveable and free goods, for a perpetual stipend to the same school: The Estates, therefore, erected the said newly built kirk into a parish kirk, which was to be called the parish kirk of Preston, and dismembered the same from the parish kirk of Tranent; and they ratified the foundation of the said school, with all the infeftments, donations, and amortizations of lands, rents, and other revenues, which had been thus given by the laird of Preston and the late Mr. John Davidson to the ministers, serving the cure at the said newly erected kirk and the masters of the same school, and their successors, in their several faculties.

have thus seen, was built at Prestonpans, and the parish was to be called Preston, popular usage has over-ruled the parliament in calling this parish *Prestonpans.* It comprehends the two baronies of Preston and Prestongrange, which are commonly called the east and west baronies (*n*). Preston derived its name from the Saxon *Prest-tun,* signifying the priest's town or habitation. There are many places of the same name, both in North and South Britain. Prestongrange and Prestonpans are derivations from the original name; the former from the grange which the monks of Newbotle settled there, as we have seen, and the latter from the salt pans which were established on that site (*o*). [The parish church was erected in 1595, and repaired in 1774. Communicants, 478; stipend, £543. A Free Church erected in 1878 has 234 members.]

The parish of PENCAITLAND is ancient. In charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries the name of the district was written *Pencathlan, Pencaithlan,* and *Pencathlen;* and it is probably derived from the British *Pen-caeth-lan,* signifying the end of the narrow plot of ground or enclosure. The church and mansion-house of Pencaitland stand on the edge of a narrow flat or meadow on the northern bank of the Tyne; and the village of West Pencaitland is situated on the edge of a high bank on the south side of the same river. During the reign of William the Lion the manor of Pencaitland was possessed by Everard de Pencaithlan, who assumed a surname from his place. He probably obtained the lands of Pencaitland from William, for Everard granted to the monks of Kelso the church of his manor of Pencaitland, with the tithes and other rights belonging to it, in pure alms, for the salvation of his lord, King William (*p*). In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of *Pencaitlan* was rated at 40 marks. Before the accession of Robert Bruce the church of Pencaitlan

(*n*) The barony of Preston, including Prestonpans, was long the property of the Hamiltons of Preston. George Hamilton, who was the proprietor of Preston when this parish was erected, was succeeded by Sir John Hamilton of Preston, who in 1617 obtained from James VI. a charter, erecting Preston and Prestongrange into a burgh of barony, with the usual privileges. In 1647 Thomas Hamilton of Preston was retoured heir of entail and provision of the late John Hamilton of Preston, "nepotis sui patris." Thomas enjoyed this barony for some time after the Restoration. It was sold in 1704 by Sir William Hamilton of Preston to Doctor James Oswald, who also purchased from him Fingalton, the family estate of the Hamiltons, in Lanarkshire. At Preston there is the ruin of a tower, in which the Hamiltons resided. It was accidentally burnt in 1663; and some years afterwards Preston House was erected, which, by the will of the late proprietor, James Shaw, was in 1784 converted into a hospital for maintaining and educating twenty-four boys.

(*o*) For other particulars, see the Stat. Acco., xvii., 61, and the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, 367; and this grant was confirmed by the same king. Ib., 13-387. It was also confirmed by Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews. Ib., 82.

had ceased to belong to the monks of Kelso, owing to whatever cause (*q*). The manor of Pencaitland, with the lands of Nisbet, were forfeited, during the succession war, by Thomas de Pencaitland, the descendant of Everard; and it was granted by Robert Bruce to Robert de Lauder for his homage and service (*r*). This manor appeared soon after to belong to John de Maxwell of Pencaitland, the younger brother of Sir Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock; but whether John acquired it by grant or by marriage cannot be easily ascertained. He certainly granted to the monks of Dryburgh an annuity from his lands of Pencaitland; and his grant was confirmed by David II. (*s*). He granted to the same monks the advowson of the parish church of Pencaitland, with the chapel of Payston, and the church lands, tithes, and profits (*t*). This grant was confirmed by Sir John Maxwell, his son, who succeeded his father in the lands of Pencaitland, and his uncle, Sir Eustace, in the family estate of Caerlaverock (*u*). It was also confirmed by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, and by William, the prior, in 1343 (*x*); and it was further confirmed by David II. in 1346 (*y*) The church of Pencaitland, with the chapel of Payston, remained with the canons of Dryburgh till the Reformation. The cure was served by a vicar. In Bagimont's Roll the vicarage of Pencaitland was rated at £2 13s. 4d. After the Reformation, the lands of Paystoun, comprehending the hamlets of East Payston, West Payston, Payston Bank, and Payston Mill were disjoined from the parish of Pencaitland, and annexed to

(*q*) It appears not among the churches which belonged to those monks, between the years 1309 and 1316. Chart. Kelso.

(*r*) Regist. Rob. I. Rot. Car., 55. (*s*) Roberts, Index, 38.

(*t*) The lands of *Payston*, which is vulgarised to *Peasetoun*, upon which the chapel stood, formed the southern extremity of the parish of Pencaitland. After the Reformation, they were disjoined from it, and annexed to the smaller parish of Ormiston, which adjoins Pencaitland on the west.

(*u*) In his charter he calls himself the son of the late John de Maxwell, and the heir of Eustace de Maxwell, his (John's) brother. Crawfurd's MS. Gleanings, 364. Douglas has mistakingly made them the son and grandson, in place of the brother and nephew of Eustace de Maxwell, who seems not to have had any son. Peerage, 516. During the reign of Robert II. John Maitland of Thirlstane held some lands in Pencaitland, under Sir Robert Maxwell, the son of the last John; and Sir Robert granted the superiority of the same lands to the canons of Dryburgh.

(*x*) The bishop's charter, which is recited in that of the prior, states that the patronage of the church of the Pencaitland, and of the chapel of Payston, were granted to those canons by John de Maxwell of Pencaitland, and Dominus John de Maxwell, Dominus de Maxwell. Crawfurd's MS. Gleanings, 359.

(*y*) Ib., 359, 364-5.

Ormiston, which adjoins it on the west. In 1681 the lands of Winton were taken from the parish of Pencaitland and given to the parish of Tranent (*a*). In 1673 died Robert Douglas, the *indulged* preacher of Pencaitland, who had been minister of Edinburgh, a person of piety, judgment, and learning: "No man, it is said, contributed more to the Restoration and received less benefit from it (*b*). But if he had been a minister of solid judgment and good learning he would have pushed aside the prejudice that prompted him to reject the bishopric which was offered to his prudence. [The Parish Church, a sixteenth century building, was restored in 1882; communicants, 301, stipend, £309. A Free Church mission has 91 members].

The parish of SALTON derived its appellation from the manor-place and village of the same name. In ancient charters this designation was written *Saultoun*, *Saulton*, and *Salton*. As the prefix has no descriptive meaning, the place may be supposed to have obtained its name from some settler here of the name of *Saul*, who cannot now be traced, whose *tun* or dwelling it may have been (*c*). During the reign of David I. the manor of Salton belonged to Hugh Morville, the constable, who granted the church of Salton with a carucate of land and the tenth of the multure of the mill of Salton to Dryburgh Abbey. The liberality of Hugh was approved by Malcolm IV., and by Richard, the son, and successor of the constable (*d*). The church of Salton was rated in the ancient Taxatio at 30 marks. Richard Morville gave the lands of Herdmanston, which formed a part of the manor of Salton, to Henry de Saint Clair, the sheriff of the Morvilles (*e*). Henry de Saint Clair was the progenitor of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston, who retained this estate till recent times. In the 13th century John de Saint Clair erected a chapel at Herdmanston by the leave of the canons of Dryburgh, to whom he granted two acres of land, with an indemnity that his chapel should not injure the mother church of Salton (*f*). There were other vassals of the Morevilles and their successors, the Lords of Galloway,

(*a*) Unprinted Act in favour of the Earl of Winton. After the forfeiture of the Earl's descendant in 1715, Winton was again annexed to the parish of Pencaitland, to which it naturally belongs.

(*b*) Lauchlan Shaw's MS. Hist. of the Scotican Church. See the Stat. Acco., xvii., 41, and the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*c*) Sir James Dalrymple says this manor obtained its name from the family of *Soulis*, as he had seen an old charter designing it *Soulis-toun*. Collect., 395. Yet has this mistaken intimation misled Lord Hailes (Annals, i., 274) and the minister of the parish. Stat. Acco., x., 251. Sir James wrote this account of Salton from memory, which deceived him; for various documents in succession show that during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries the family of Soulis never possessed Salton, which was never called Soulistown.

(*d*) Chart. Dryburgh, 1-2. (*e*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75. (*f*) Chart. Dryburgh, 143.

during the 12th and 13th centuries who made similar grants (*g*). The superiority of the manor of Salton was forfeited by the descendants of the Lords of Galloway during the succession war. In the reign of Alexander III. a considerable part of the manor of Salton was held by William de Abernethy, the son of Sir Patrick Abernethy of Abernethy. William supported the pretensions of Bruce, to whom he became tenant in chief, by the forfeiture of his superiors who adhered to the Baliols, and he obtained from the gratitude of Bruce a large addition to his lands for his support. William de Abernethy was the progenitor of a family who acquired the title of Lord Salton in 1455 (*h*). During the year 1488 the canons of Dryburgh pursued in Parliament Adam Bell for withholding their tithes of Salton; but when Bell vouched the vicar, Dene Dewar, who had given him a lease of his ecclesiastical dues, the Lords recommended to the abbot of Dryburgh to summon *the Dene* before his *spiritual* judge (*i*). The canons of Dryburgh continued, with such slight interruptions, to enjoy the church of Salton till the Reformation swept such establishments away. In 1633 when the bishopric of Edinburgh was erected, the church of Salton with its manse, glebe, and ecclesiastical rights, were transferred to the bishop (*k*). When the estate of Salton was acquired in 1643 by Sir Andrew Fletcher from Lord Abernethy, the advowson of the church was incidentally obtained; and in 1672 the Parliament confirmed to the well-known Andrew Fletcher, at the age of nineteen, the estate of Salton with its pertinents (*l*). At the Restoration the cure of Salton was served by Patrick Scougal, the celebrated Bishop of Aberdeen. He was succeeded in the parish of Salton by Gilbert Burnet, a not less famous though not a better man, who acquired in 1665 his first preferment in the church from Sir Robert Fletcher, the patron of Salton (*m*). We have now seen that eminent

(*g*) See the Chart. of Dryburgh, and Soltre, throughout.

(*h*) William de Abernethy of Salton granted to the canons of Dryburgh a messuage, with a brewhouse, "in villa de Saltoun." Chart. Dryb., 191. Upon the death of Alexander, Lord Abernethy of Salton, in 1669, without issue, his estates and title descended to his cousin, Alexander Fraser of Philorth, the son of Margaret Abernethy, the only daughter of George Lord Salton. Crawfurd's Peer., 435.

(*i*) Parl. Rec., 343-53. (*k*) Charter of Erection.

(*l*) Unprinted Act, 3rd sess., 2nd Parl., Charles II.

(*m*) When Bishop Burnet died, in 1715, aged 72, he left some legacies to the parish of Salton, which have proved lastingly beneficial to the parishioners. He devised 20,000 marks Scots, the interest whereof was directed to be applied to the clothing and educating of 30 children, to the providing of them with apprentice fees, to the relieving of the indigent, and to the obtaining of a parish library. By the judicious management of the trustees, this legacy has increased to £2,000

men have been connected with Salton parish from the epoch of record, beginning with the Morvilles and ending with the Fletchers, who all distinguished themselves by their actions, according to the prevailing sentiments of their several ages, whether of piety or patriotism (*n*). [The parish church was greatly renovated in 1805, and has 117 communicants. Stipend £323. A Free church for Salton and Bolton has 99 members.]

The parish of BOLTON took its name from the village, and the name of the hamlet is certainly Saxon. *Bolt,* in the A.-S. speech, signifies a mansion. This term may have been applied to the manor-house ; and when a village collected around it, according to the practice of the age, the hamlet may have been called *Bolt-town.* It is possible, indeed, that a person named Bolt may have settled here and given his own name to his settlement or *tun* (*o*). Early in the reign of William the Lion, the manor of Bolton was granted by the king to William de Vetereponte, the son of an English Baron of the same name, who was popularly called *Vipont.* He also acquired from the same king the manors of Langton in Berwickshire, and Carriden in West-Lothian (*p*). William de Vetereponte granted the church of Bolton with its lands, tithes, and pertinents, to the canons of Holyrood ; and this gift was confirmed by a charter of William the Lion (*q*). The church of Bolton remained in the hands of the canons of Holyrood till the Reformation. In the ancient *Taxatio,* the church of Bolton was rated at the inconsiderable value of 20 marks. Robert I. confirmed all those grants to the Viponts, and they were all confirmed to the same family by David II. (*r*). Bolton passed afterward to other proprietors. In the reign of James II., it belonged to George Lord Haliburton of Dirlton, who pledged it to the king for a debt of of 100 marks ; and upon redeeming it, he obtained in

sterling, and the bishop's bequest has completely answered his beneficent purpose. He also bequeathed a capital, affording a yearly interest of 150 marks Scots, for the poor of Salton parish, to be distributed by the minister. By all those bequests, which do honour to the sense and benevolence of Bishop Burnet, the children of Salton are well educated, and the poor properly supported. Stat. Acco., x., 256-7. Close to the minister's manse, there is a tree which is called "Bishop Burnet's Tree." Forrest's map of Haddingtonshire will thus prove a monument to the bishop's memory, if his good deeds should be forgotten.

(*n*) The parish church and manse stand at the village of East-Salton, which, in 1792, contained 281 inhabitants. The village of East-Salton, at the same time, contained 127 inhabitants. Stat. Acco., x., 253, which may be inspected for other particulars ; and see the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*o*) Near Kinross there is a hamlet called Bolton, and there are in England many places of the same name.

(*p*) Those manors were all confirmed to him by William the Lion, between the years 1171 and 1178.

(*q*) Crawfurd's MS. Copy from the Autograph.

(*r*) Reg. David II., lib. i., 137.

1459, from the same king, a confirmation of his inheritance (*s*). In 1494, there was a continued suit in parliament by Marion, the lady of Bolton, and George Home her husband, against Patrick Earl of Bothwell, and Adam Hepburn his brother, for detaining violently, during seven years, the barony of Bolton with its pertinents. The lady produced as her right a charter from the late heir. The earl gave in a lease from a stranger, and Bothwell, who was at that epoch all-powerful, appears to have retained the disputed property (*t*). In 1526, and 1543, Bolton was in possession of a cadet of his family, by the name of Hepburn of Bolton (*u*). In January 1568, John Hepburn of Bolton was executed as the associate of the Earl of Bothwell, his chief, in the murder of Darnley (*x*). The manor of Bolton, thus forfeited, was given to William Maitland, the well-known Secretary Lethington, the author of the plot which ended in the death of Darnley (*y*). It was confirmed to the Earl of Lauderdale in 1621 (*z*). In 1633, the epoch of the episcopate of Edinburgh, the church of Bolton with its usual pertinents, as they had belonged to the canons of Holyrood, were annexed to the newly created bishopric, which was itself subverted in 1641. Such, then, are the various revolutions of the manor and church of Bolton (*a*). [The present parish church erected in 1809, has 96 communicants. Stipend £192.]

The parish of HUMBIE comprehends the ancient districts of Keith-Hundeby and Keith-Marshall. At the epoch of record, *Keith* appears to have been the ancient name of the whole district, which is intersected by a small river that runs in a narrow bottom between steep banks. The name of Keith is obviously derived from the British *Caeth*, signifying strait, confined, narrow; and was appropriately applied to the *narrow bottom* through which the riveret runs, as well as to other places that bear the same name in Scotland from similar circumstances (*b*). From David I., Hervei, the son of Warin, obtained a grant

(*s*) Dougl. Peer., 322, who quotes the charter in the Pub. Archives.

(*t*) Parl. Rec., 446. (*u*) Ib., 563-4.

(*x*) Spots., 214; Arnot's Crim. Trials, 9. (*y*) Stat. Acco., iv., 287.

(*z*) Unprinted Act, 23rd parl., Ja. VI., 4th August, 1621. The famous Duke of Lauderdale, while he acted with the insurgent covenanters, appears to have annexed the patronage of the church of Bolton to the manor. Richard, Earl of Lauderdale, who died about the year 1693, sold the barony of Bolton, with the patronage of the church, and even the ancient inheritance of Lethington, to Sir Thomas Levingston; and Sir Thomas transferred the whole to Walter, Lord Blantyre, in whose family the property remains.

(*a*) The curious reader will be disappointed if he look into the Stat. Acco., iv., 285, for any additional history of this parish. He may inspect the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*b*) Keith, in Banffshire, stands in a confined hollow on the river Isla, which runs, for a con-

of the north-west half of this district, which was called from him Keith-Hervey, and which was afterward called Keith-Marshall. From the same king, Simon Fraser acquired a grant of the south-east half of the same district, which was denominated from him Keith-Symon, and which was afterward called Keith Hundeby. As the church stood within the district of Keith-Symon, Hervey erected a chapel in his own manor of Keith-Hervey, for the accommodation of his tenants; and, according to the established custom, settled an yearly tribute to the mother church (*c*). Simon Fraser granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with its pertinents and other privileges (*d*). During those times Hervey de Keith, the king's marshal, had a controversy with those monks about the tribute which he ought to pay to them for his chapel of Keith-Hervey. This pertinacious contest was settled by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, and Osbert, the abbot of Paisley, who decided that the monks ought to receive only twenty shillings annually from the chapel and manor of Keith-Hervey; and this determination was confirmed by the diocesan, Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died in 1177 (*e*). Simon Fraser's estate was carried by his daughter Eda to Hugh Lorens, her husband; and their daughter Eda transferred the same property to Philip de Keith, the marshal. By those two female transmissions the whole manor of Keith was united in one family. Philip, who died some time before the year 1220, confirmed the church of Keith, with its pertinents, to the monks of Kelso (*f*). During the reign of Alexander II. the manor of Keith-Hervey-Marshal was made a distinct parish, with its chapel, for the seperate church, that was thenceforth to be independent of the church of Keith-Symon, which was at length distinguished by the name of Keith-Hundeby (*g*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Keith-Hundeby was rated at 80 marks, while the church of Keith-Marshal was

siderable distance above, in a narrow ravine, between steep banks. A part of the river Ericht, in Perthshire, where it runs through a narrow chasm, between steep rocks, and forms a cascade, is called *the Keith.*

(*c*) Chart. Kelso.

(*d*) Ib., 84-97. This grant was confirmed by a charter of Malcolm IV. Ib., 89-376, and by William the Lion. Ib., 13-90.

(*e*) Ib., 94-6. The bishops Hugh and Roger, of the same see, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with the twenty shillings as the allowance from the chapel of Keith Hervey. Ib., 82-3.

(*f*) Ib., 86-8.

(*g*) The adjunct Hundeby was the name of a hamlet near the church. This appellation, which is plainly derived from the Saxon *Hundeby*, the dog's dwelling, has been vulgarised to *Humbie*. There are a *Hun-by* in Durham, and a *Hun-by* by Lincolnshire.

only rated at 12 marks. When the monks of Kelso estimated their whole estate, during the reign of Robert Bruce, they stated that they enjoyed the church of Hundeby-Keith, "in rectoria," which used to be worth £20 a-year; and they had incidentally, the village and lands of Hundeby-Keith, which customably rented for 10 marks a-year (*h*). In Bagimont's Roll, indeed, the rectory of Keith-Marshall was rated at £4; but the rectory of Keith-Hundeby was not rated in that Roll, as it belonged to the monks of Kelso, who continued to enjoy it till the Reformation swept away such exemptions. The patronage of the church of Keith-Marshall belonged to the descendants of Sir Robert Keith, by the grant of Robert Bruce, till their whole property here was sold by William, Earl Marshal, during the perturbations of Charles I.'s reign, which involved him and his country in inextricable difficulties. After the Reformation, the ancient parishes of Keith-Hundeby and Keith-Marshall were conjoined; and the united parish has been since known by the name of *Humbie*, the patronage of which belongs, jointly, to the King and the Earl of Hopetoun (*i*). [The parish church, erected in 1800, has 208 communicants; stipend £365. A Free church has 57 members].

The old name of the parish of YESTER was Bothans, till the Marquis of Tweeddale built his present house, which he called *Yester*, the baronial name of the extensive domains of the Giffords (*k*). William the Lion, granted to Hugh de Gifford the lands of *Yestred*, who gave to the monks of Melrose a toft, in his village of *Yestred*. The baronial domains of Yester lie along the vale of a rivulet which is formed from several streamlets, which fall down from the western declivities of the Lammermuir. In this vale or *strath*, on the west bank of the water, stands Yester house, the splendid seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale; and the localities and the facts evince the British origin of the name to have been Ystrad, signifying a vale or *strath*, in the speech of the Ottadini settlers on the stream, which has lost its original name, in colloquial

(*h*) Chart. Kelso, 26-32. Sir Robert Keith, the marshal of Robert Bruce, granted those monks leave to build a mill on their lands of Hundeby Keith, with permission for their *work oxen*, with their carts and ploughs, to pass and repass over his manor. Ib., 99.

(*i*) The Stat. Acco. and the *Tabular State* subjoined to this shire may be inspected for some other particulars.

(*k*) In the ancient *Taxatio* there is ecclesia Bothani. In Bagimont's Roll there is *Præceptura de Bothans;* so in the roll of St. Andrews 1547, there was, in the deanery of Dunbar, *Præpositura de Bothans.* Reliq. Divi. Andreæ. The 18th of January was the festival of Bothan, as we know from Dempster. As late as 1521, Robert Wetherstone, the provost of Bothans, granted to a chaplain in the parish church of Haddington several parcels of land in Mortmain. MS. Extracts from the Records.

corruptions (*l*). The patronage of the church has belonged to the lords of the manor of *Yestred* from the 12th century to the present (*m*). This manor was granted by William the Lion, to Hugh Gifford. the son of Hugh, an English gentleman who settled in Lothian under David I. From that early age to the present Yester has remained with his descendants. Hugh Gifford of Yester, who lived under David II. and Robert II., had only four daughters to inherit his large estates; and Johanna, the eldest, marrying Sir William Hay of Locherwart, transferred the manor, with the patronage of the church, to him and their conjoint posterity. Thus arose the family of Yester and Locherwart, who obtained the titles of Lord Yester in 1488, Earl of Tweeddale in 1646, and Marquis of Tweeddale in 1694. Sir William Hay, in 1421, converted the church of St. Bothan into a collegiate form, consisting of a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys, who enjoyed the lands, tithes, and other church revenues of the parish till the Reformation introduced a very different system. The church now lost its collegiate form; the name of *Saint Bothan* was no longer reverenced, and the ancient name of *Yester*, which was not understood, became again the Cambro-British name of the parish. A new parish church and manse were built in 1708, in a less central place, at the village of Gifford; and the ancient church of St. Bothan, with its adjacent kirk-town, were resigned to the annihilation of time and chance. From the village, where the modern church stands, the parish is now popularly called *Gifford*, while the legal name is *Yester* (*n*). There was of old, at Duncanlaw, in the north-east corner of Yester parish, a chapel, which was dedicated to Saint Nicholas, which has also been swept away by modern improvements (*o*). [The parish church has 306 communicants; stipend £455. A Free church erected in 1880 has 154 members].

The united parish of GARVALD and *Barra* comprehends the separate parishes of the same names. *Garvald* derived its Celtic appellation from the rivulet, which is called *Garvald* water, as it drains the parish, and courses by the church and village of Garvald. *Garw-ald* in the British, and Garv-ald

(*l*) See Richard's Welsh Dict.

(*m*) The church of St. Bothan appears to have been but of middling value, for it was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 30 marks.

(*n*) The village of Gifford did not exist when Pont made his map of the Lothians during the reign of Charles I. It has since arisen on the east bank of Gifford Water, in the lower end of the parish, and now contains more than 400 people. For other particulars, see the Stat. Acco., i., 342, and the *Tabular State* annexed.

(*o*) Robert III. gave to the chapel of St. Nicholas, at Duncanlaw, some lands which had belonged to John Straton. Roberts. Index, 145. Duncanlaw belonged to the Giffords of old. Ib., 16.

[Garbh-ald] in the Gaelic, signify the rough rivulet, which is very descriptive of a mountain torrent which floods its banks and spreads gravel over the adjacent grounds; and there are other streams of similar qualities in North-Britain, which have obtained the same name of Garv-ald; and several have retained their ancient names in the more idiomatical form of *Ald-garv.* The church of Garvald, with its pertinents, and a carucate of land adjacent, were granted to the Cistercian nuns, which the Countess Ada settled near Haddington during the reign of Malcolm IV. They established a grange near the church, and formed a village, which thus obtained the name of *Nun-raw.* They also acquired the lands of Slade and Snowdoun, forming together almost the whole parish. They obtained, in May 1359, from their diocesan, William the bishop of St. Andrews, a confirmation of all their spiritual rights as they had lost their title-deeds during the revolutionary war of David II.; and the bishop's charter was confirmed by James II., in August 1458 (*p*). The church of Garvald and the greatest part of the parish remained with those opulent nuns till the Reformation delivered the whole to less beneficent hands. As the parish was not populous of old, the church was merely rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 15 marks. The name of *Barra* is obviously Celtic. In the Gaelic, *Bar* signifies a height, a summit, and *Ra'* a fortlet, a strength of any kind. The old church, mansion, and village of *Barra,* stand on the summit of a ridge, which slopes to the south and north. In the British speech, *Barrau,* the plural of *Bar,* signifies a bush, a bunch, a tuft (*q*). The Celtic name may have been originally imposed by the British, and continued by the Gaelic settlers of subsequent times, from observing the fitness of the name to the thing signified. In the ancient *Taxatio,* the church of *Barra* was rated at 25 marks, which implies more population and improvement than those of Garvald. William, the parson of Barra, swore fealty to Edward I. on the 29th of August 1296, and obtained a return of his rights (*r*). In the 12th and 13th centuries, the patronage of the church of Barra belonged to the lords of the manor. At the beginning of the 13th century, Thomas de Morham, who possessed both the adjoining manors of Barra and Morham, granted to the monks of Holy-roodhouse the patronage of the church of Barra, with the pertinents. This grant was confirmed by his heiress, Euphemia, who married Sir John Gifford of Yester, and who carried the manors of Morham and Barra into the family of Gifford; and the son and heir of Euphemia, respecting her liberality, con-

(*p*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 11.

(*q*) Owen's Dict., in vo. *Bar.*

(*r*) Prynne, iii., 657; Rym., ii., 725.

firmed her grant (*s*). The monks of Holyroodhouse enjoyed the patronage and the pertinents of the church of Barra till the Reformation introduced a different system, though the commendator for some time enjoyed the rights of the church of Barra without performing the duties. The church of Barra, and all its rights, were granted to the newly erected bishopric of Edinburgh in 1633. When this establishment fell, amidst the revolutions of subsequent times, the Hays of Yester and Tweeddale, who represented the ancient Giffords and Morhams, acquired the patronage of the church of Barra. The parishes of Garvald and Barra were united in 1702; and the patronage of the conjoined churches belongs jointly to the King and the Marquis of Tweeddale, who enjoyed the advowsons of the separate parishes. The minister was required, by the annexation, to preach alternately in the two parish churches, till the year 1744, when the church of Barra became quite unfit for divine service; and the church of Garvald has been made, by reparation, to serve every purpose of an extensive parish, though not without some inconvenience (*t*). [The parish church was enlarged in 1829. Communicants, 251; stipend, £276. A Free Church has 130 members.]

MORHAM parish, which is the smallest in Haddingtonshire, derived its name from the Saxon *Mor-ham*, the dwelling on the moor. Till recent times the parish was appropriately called Morham-*moor*. After all that improvement has gained from the waste, enough remains to justify the ancient appellation of *Moor-ham*. The church of Morham is old, and it was valued in the ancient *Taxatio* at 20 marks, which imply more people and products than were naturally to have been expected from the sterility of the soil. The rectory of Morham was rated in Bagimont's Roll at £4. The patronage of the church has always belonged to the lord of the manor. Under William the Lion, this manor was enjoyed by a family bearing the name of *Malherb*, who assumed from the lands the more known name of Morham (*u*). The Morhams continued to enjoy it throughout the 13th century (*x*). The family of Sir Thomas Morham ended in a female heir, Euphemia, who carried the manor and the patronage of the church to Sir John Gifford (*y*). From his family the property went, by another female transmission, to the Hays of Locherwart, and in recent times the lands of Morham, with the patronage of the church, were acquired by the Dalrymples of Hailes; and they belonged to the late Sir David

(*s*) Sir James Dalrymple's Coll., xxxviii.

(*t*) For other particulars, the more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco., xiii., 353, and the *Tabular State* subjoined. (*u*) Chart. Newbotle. (*x*) Ib., 90-113.

(*y*) Sir James Dalrymple's Coll., xxxviii. The ancient fortalice of Morham stood on an eminence near the church, whereof not a vestige remains. Stat. Acco., ii., 334.

Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, whose daughter now enjoys them (*z*). [The parish church was erected in 1724. Communicants, 87; stipend, £234.] This much, then, with regard to the several parishes in the presbytery of Haddington.

The presbytery of *Dunbar* will be found to comprehend eight parishes in Haddingtonshire, and one in Berwickshire. The parish of DUNBAR took its Celtic name from the town; and the town obtained its designation from the fortlet on the rock, which at this place projects into the sea. *Dun-bar* in the British, and *Dun-bar* in the Gaelic, signify the fort on the height, top, or extremity; but ought not to be rendered according to the late Lord Hailes' translation, into the English *top-cliff*. The parish of Dunbar was of old the most valuable of any in the deanery of Lothian, or indeed within the diocese of St. Andrews. Besides the present parish, it contained the parochial districts of Whittinghame, Stenton, and Spott, which were ancient chapelries, that were subordinate to the mother church at Dunbar. In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of Dunbar, with the chapel of Whittinghame, were valued at 180 marks, which is a greater valuation than any other church in Scotland could bear. In this most extensive parish there were of old no fewer than six chapels, which were all subordinate, according to the ecclesiastical system of those times, to the mother church (*a*). From the earliest times of which we have any accurate account, the Earls of Dunbar were proprietors of the whole parish, and patrons of the parish and the subordinate chapels (*b*). In 1342, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, converted the parochial church into a collegiate form; and the eight prebends which he established were the chapelries of Whittinghame, Spott, Stenton, Penshiel, and Hetherwick, within this parish, with Duns and Chirnside in Berwickshire. Soon after that establishment, several of those chapelries, Spott, Stenton, and Hetherwick, were converted into parish churches, independent of the mother church, yet dependent as prebends of the college. Spott and Stenton still continue separate parishes. When Hetherwick was made a distinct parish it was called Belton, being the name of two villages in the vicinity of Hetherwick, as well as the estate, and the parish of Belton

(*z*) For more particulars, the more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco., ii., and the *Tabular State* subjoined.

(*a*) (1) There was a chapel at Hederwick or Belton, in the western corner of the present parish. (2) There was a chapel at Pinkerton, in the south-east of this parish. (3) There was a chapel at Whittinghame, in the lowlands of Whittinghame, in the present parish of Whittinghame. (4) There was a chapel at Penshiel, in the Lammermuir. (5) There was a chapel at Stenton. (6) And there was a chapel at Spott.

(*b*) Adam, the parson of Dunbar, died in 1179. Chron. Melrose. On the 26th of April 1209, Randulph, "sacerdos de Dunbar," accepted the cure of Eccles. Id.

comprehended the western extremity of the present parish of Dunbar. It continued a separate parish till the Reformation, when it was re-annexed to Dunbar. In Bagimont's Roll the rectory of Dunbar was rated at £8, and the rectory of Belton at £4. Dunbar and Belton appear as separate rectories in the Tax-Roll of the archbishopric, 1547. The patronage of the church of Dunbar fell to the king, with the forfeiture of the earldom of March, in January 1434-5 (*c*). During the reign of James III., the earldom of Dunbar, with the patronage of the church, were enjoyed by the traitorous Duke of Albany; and again fell to the king, on the forfeiture of this unworthy brother, in 1483. The church of Dunbar ceased to be collegiate at the Reformation. When the bishopric of Edinburgh was formed in 1633, the parson of Dunbar was constituted one of its prebendaries. Andrew Wood was removed from Spott to Dunbar soon after the Restoration; and was thence promoted, in 1676, to the bishopric of the Isles, with which he held, by dispensation, the rectory of Dunbar. In 1680 he was translated to the see of Caithness, which he ruled till his episcopate was abolished at the Revolution of 1689; and he died at Dunbar in 1695, at the venerable age of seventy-six (*d*). [The parish church, erected in 1819-21, has 626 communicants; stipend, £402. A *quoad sacra* church at Belhaven has 215 communicants. A Free Church has 285 members. A U.P. Church has 291 members. There are also a Wesleyan Methodist chapel, an Episcopal chapel of 1876, and a Roman Catholic chapel.]

The name of the parish of *Spot* has always been written in this form, except that it has been sometimes spelt SPOTT. There are several places of the same name in England, as well as in Scotland. They seem all to have derived their several names from the English *Spot,* a particular place, a small piece of ground. The church and hamlet of *Spot* stand in a confined space upon a peninsula, between two ravines, through which run two rivulets, which unite their streams at a little distance below. It is a *sheltered, warm spot.* This church was of old a chapel of Dunbar, as we have seen. The patronage belonged to the Earl of Dunbar and March; and when he was attainted, in January 1434-5, the advowson fell to the crown. In Bagimont's Roll the rectory of Spott was rated at £5 6s. 8d. It appears in the Tax-Roll of St. Andrews, 1547. In September 1528, Robert Galbraith, the rector of Spott, appeared in parliament as advocate for Queen Margaret, on the forfeiture of the Earl of Angus (*e*). In 1532 he was at the head of the ten advocates who were chosen as general procurators on the establishment of the Court of Session (*f*). In 1537 he was appointed a senator of the College of Justice. In February 1540-1 he appeared in parliament as one of the king's council (*g*);

(*c*) Parl. Rec., 72.

(*d*) For other particulars, the curious reader may consult the Stat. Acc., v., and the *Tabular State* subjoined. (*e*) Parl. Rec., 582. (*f*) Black Acts, fol. cxvi. (*g*) Parl. Rec., 628.

and in March 1544, he was assassinated by John Carketle, a burgess of Edinburgh (*h*). George Home of Spott was tried for the murder of Darnley, and afterward sat as one of the jurymen on the trial of Archibald Douglas for the same murder. He was soon after himself assassinated by his son-in-law, James Douglas of Spott, according to general suspicion, and was one of the traitorous accomplices of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, when he attempted, on the 27th of December, 1591, to seize the king and murder Maitland, the chancellor (*i*). [The parish church was restored in 1848. Communicants, 110; stipend, £460.]

The village and parish of STENTON derive their names from the Saxon *Stan-tun*, the *Stone town.* The minister of the place, without attempting to explain the meaning of the name, assures us of the stoney qualities of the soil, and how much of his parish is enclosed with the freestone, which everywhere abounds (*k*). Stenton we have seen a chapel, and a prebend of Dunbar, and a rectory, the advowson whereof devolved on the crown, by the forfeiture of the Earl of March by James I. For several ages this village was called *Petcoks* [Pitcox], from the name of a village a mile and a quarter north-east of Stenton. In Bagimont's Roll the rectory of Petcoks is rated at £2 13s. 4d. The rectory of Petcoks also appears in the Tax-Roll of St. Andrews, 1547 (*l*); but the stoney qualities of the soil within the parish have induced the people to call this district *Stenton.* [The present parish church was erected in 1829. Communicants, 320; stipend, £469].

The name of the parish of WHITTINGHAME is derived, no doubt, from the Saxon Whit-ing-ham, the dwelling on the white mead. There are in England several places of the name of Whittingham, as we may learn from the Villare, and there are various places, called Whittington, which has nearly the same meaning. The village, and church of Whittinghame, stand on the bank of Garvald water. Whittinghame parish formed of old two chapelries, which were subordinate to the church of Dunbar. The lower part of the parish was served by the

(*h*) Carketle and six accomplices were accused, in Parliament, of the cruel slaughter of Robert Galbraith, the rector of Spott, and one of the senators of the College of Justice. Ib., 675. He was succeeded, as rector of Spott, by James Hamilton, the natural brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, who soon resigned this rectory, when he was postulate to the See of Glasgow. Keith, 173. He was followed by a son of Home of Cowdenknowes, who was rector of Spott at the Reformation, and he was succeeded by Andrew Wood, who died bishop of Caithness, as we have seen.

(*i*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 35. The more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco., v. 451, with the Extracts of the Parish Records, in p. 452, and the *Tabular State* subjoined.

(*k*) Stat. Acco., iii., 231. There are several places in Scotland called *Stenton,* and several in England named *Stanton.*

(*l*) For other particulars, see the *Tabular State* subjoined.

chapel of Whittinghame, and the higher part in the Lammermuir was served by the chapel of Penshiel; and these two chapels we may remember formed two of the prebends of the collegiate church when it was settled under this form in 1342. The Earls of March held their baronial courts at Whittinghame (*m*). In 1372, George Earl of March gave in marriage with his sister Agnes to James Douglas of Dalkeith, the manor of Whittinghame, with the patronage of the chapel (*n*). When Whittinghame and Penshiel became a separate parish, the Douglasses of Dalkeith enjoyed the patronage. In October 1564, Queen Mary granted to James Earl of Morton, who represented the Douglasses of Dalkeith, all his estates with the barony of Whittinghame, with the castle and mills, and also the advowson of the church of Whittinghame; and the queen's grant to that unworthy servant was ratified by parliament on the 19th of April 1567 (*o*). It was in the guilty castle of Whittinghame that Morton met Bothwell to concert the murder of Darnley, during the first week of December 1566 (*p*). Morton was forfeited in 1581, but James VI. returned the traitor's estates to his family, from whom Whittinghame passed to more worthy proprietors (*q*).

The village of PRESTONKIRK derives its name like other Prestons from its being the hamlet of the priest. It is very ancient, and there appears to have been a church here in very early times on the northern bank of the Tyne. Preston was one of the villages where Baldred preached; and was one of the three villages which contended for his body after his decease in the seventh century. Baldred was long the patron of this parish, which he had dignified by his residence (*r*). In the 12th century this parish was called *Linton* from the

(*m*) In 1363, Patrick, Earl of March, granted to Alexander de Ricklinton the half of the lands of Spot, which Sir Alexander Ramsay had resigned "in plena curia nostra apud Whytingeham." Roberts. Index, 76.

(*n*) Ib., 136.

(*o*) Parl. Rec., 763.

(*p*) See his confession on the scaffold to the ministers of Edinburgh in Bannatyne's Journal, 494; and Crawford's Memoirs of Scotland, 2nd ed., App. 2. Morton was then just returned from England, where he had been expatriated for the murder of Rizzio, and was now pardoned by the queen. Darnley was assassinated, in pursuance of that concert, on the 10th of February 1566-7.

(*q*) The estate of Whittinghame and the patronage of the church belongs to Hay of Drumelzier. See the Stat. Acco., ii., 345, and the *Tabular State* subjoined.

(*r*) The tradition is that he had built the church, which was rebuilt in 1770. His statue lay long in the church-yard, and Mr. Baron Hepburn intended to have caused it to be built into the church wall; but an irreverent mason broke it in pieces, during his necessary absence. Mr. Baron Hepburn's MS. Letter to me of the 1st December 1801. In the vicinity of the very ancient church, there is a spring of the purest water which is called *St. Baldred's Well*, and a pool or eddy

name of the village on the northern bank of the Tyne somewhat above *Preston* (*s*); and that village derived its name from a remarkable *pool* which the Tyne forms here by falling over a rock. Now, *Lyn* in the British and *Linn* in the Gaelic signify a *pool*, and to the Celtic term the Saxon settlers affixed their *tun* to denote their dwelling at the *Lin* (*t*). The church of Linton appears to have been of great value. In the ancient *Taxatio* it was valued at 100 marks. Dunbar at 180 marks, and Haddington at 130, were only of superior value among the churches in the deanery of Lothian. At a subsequent period, the tenth of the rectory of Linton was rated in Bagimont's Roll at £20. Richard, the parson of Linton, swore fealty to Edward I., and received a precept in return for the restoration of his property (*u*). The patronage of the church belonged to the Earls of Dunbar, who held the whole parish, and the lands were enjoyed under them by various vassals (*x*). When Earl Patrick formed his collegiate establishment in the church of Dunbar, he made the church of Linton one of the prebends, and indeed the most valuable of the whole of them. The patronage of the rectory and of the prebend fell to the king, by the forfeiture of the earldom in January 1434-5. *Linton* continued the proper name of the parish till the Reformation (*y*). It was even then, however, colloquially, called *Haugh*, from the location of the church on a flat or *haugh* on the margin of the Tyne. In June 1493, there was a suit heard in parliament by John Ireland, the parson of *Halch*, against George Smethtoun (*z*), and Robert Fleming, which throws some light on ancient practices. The parson complained that the parties had wrongfully obstructed his servants in pasturing his

in the Tyne, that is known as *St. Baldred's Whirl.* Stat. Acco., xi., 86. On the coast of Tyninghame, there is, as we have observed, a remarkable bason formed by the sea in a rock, which is filled at spring tides, and is called *St. Baldred's Cradle.* The Honourable Mr. Baron Hepburn has informed me, that his uncle, showing him St Baldred's Cradle, said the tradition was that it was rocked by the winds and waves. [See Ritchie's "Churches of Saint Baldred," 1883.]

(*s*) Chart. Newbotle, 121.

(*t*) There are many places of the same name in England as well as in Scotland. On the 17th of July 1127, Blahan, the presbyter of *Linton*, witnessed the charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, to the monks of St. Cuthbert at Coldingham. Smith's Bede, App. xx.

(*u*) Rym., ii., 724.

(*x*) Chart. Newbotle, and Roberts. Index. On the lands of Waughton, in the northern extremity of the parish, there was previous to the Reformation, a chapel which was subordinate to the church; and the ruins of which are still obvious to the antiquarian eye.

(*y*) The rectory of *Linton* appears in the Tax Roll of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*z*) Those were local names from Smethtoun, [Smeaton] in the vicinity of Preston, within this parish.

cattle on the moor of Preston which he had a right to do *by reason of his kirk.* David Hepburn of Waughton appeared for his interest, alleging that *the moor* belonged to him *in heritage.* The Lords, judicially, ordered the sheriff to summon, on a day named, *thirty* persons the best and worthiest of the country as an inquest to determine *how the said moor had stood in times bypast;* and the Lords ordained the patron of *the Halch* to be called for his interest (*a*). This is a very instructive proceeding in Parliament. We may remember that, by a very ancient canon of the Scottish Church, the parson had a right to commonage over every common in his parish; and that canon being followed, by immemorial custom, neither the plea of heritage nor a grant of the crown could over-rule the parson's right. This proceeding, however, shows the beginning of opposition to a practice that must have been very inconvenient if not unjust, and certainly impolitic. The patronage of this parish church was probably then invested in Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, whose influence was then unbounded; and the patronage seems to have been immemorially annexed to the lordship of Hailes in this parish (*b*). The more ancient names of this parish, *Linton* and *Hauch*, were superseded after the Reformation by the name of *Preston-haugh*, which has also in its turn been superseded during recent times by the more appropriate designation of *Preston-kirk* (*c*). [The Parish Church was enlarged in 1824; communicants, 350, stipend, £295. A Free Church has 286 members, and a U.P. Church has 112 members].

The parish of WHITEKIRK and TYNINGHAME comprehends the ancient parishes of Aldhame and Tyninghame, of Hamir or Whitekirk. *Tyninghame* derives its name from the location of the village upon a *meadow* on the northern side of the *Tyne. Tyne-ing-ham* signifies, in the Saxon, the hamlet upon the meadow on the Tyne (*d*). The church of Tyninghame is very ancient; it was founded in the 6th century by St. Baldred who died here in 607, after preaching the gospel to a confiding people, who fought for his body after his spirit had

(*a*) Parl. Rec., 378. No further proceedings appear in the Record, as the laird of Waughton was probably told by his lawyers that his plea was bad; nor does the patron appear.

(*b*) On the 10th of December 1543, appeared in Parliament Maister Nicol Creichton, parson of *Hauch,* and entered a protest on behalf of the bishop of Dunkeld; but neither the bishop's rights nor his wrongs appear on the record. The *Testament* of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, dated the 31st of August 1547, remains in the hands of the Honourable Mr. Baron Hepburn, who obligingly furnished me with a copy. By it Sir Patrick "made his eldest son, Patrick, assignee to *the kirk of Hauche* during my *taks* [leases] that I have of Maister Nicol Creichton, *now being parson of the Hauche.*"

(*c*) See the Stat. Acc., xi., 83, and the *Tabular State* subjoined. [The police burgh of East Linton, in this parish, had in 1881 a population of 1042.]

(*d*) *Ing,* in the A.-S., means a meadow; *ham* signifies a dwelling; and Tyne is the British name of the river.

fied (*e*). If we could believe in the genuineness of Duncan's charter to St. Cuthbert and his servitors, we ought to admit that four remarkable places lying within this united parish were granted by him to St. Cuthbert (*f*). Tyningham, Audham, Scuchale, [Scougal], and Cnolle, [Knowes], with Hetherwick and Brocesmouth, are the places which are contained in the supposititious charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert. This charter has always been suspected of forgery, by antiquaries, from the unsuitableness of its form more than from an examination of its matter. It appears not from any document that St. Cuthbert's monks, who were sufficiently pertinacious, ever enjoyed or claimed the churches and lands which Duncan is supposed to have given them, and which none of his successors from Edgar to Robert III. ever confirmed. It may even be shown that those churches and lands did not belong to him to give or them to receive. At the epoch of Duncan's pretended charter, Hetherwick belonged to Cospatrick of Dunbar, and continued in his family till the sad epoch of his forfeiture. Brocesmouth was possessed by William Morville, and Muriel, his spouse, who bestowed a part of this property on the monks of Kelso (*g*). It is not to be believed that such a king as Duncan would give to St. Cuthbert the lands which Malcolm Canmore had conferred on such a person as Cospatrick, the Earl of Northumberland, and as we never see St. Cuthbert's *servitors* in possession of any of those lands it is not to be credited that they ever enjoyed them. On the other hand the chartulary of Coldingham evinces that the first property which was given to the monks of St. Cuthbert in Scotland was conferred by the charters of Edgar after the demise of Duncan, and which were confirmed by his successors, who recognised his grants and allowed their possession. If the six places lying in Haddingtonshire, which Duncan is supposed to have granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert, had

(*e*) Such is the legend! It is pretty certain that Baldred died in 607 A.D. In 941, Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church of St. Balther [Baldred], and burnt the village of Tyninghame. Chron. Melrose; Hoveden, 423; and M. of Westminster. This is a very early notice of the kirk-town of Tyninghame.

(*f*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. iv. The late William Robertson, of the Register Office at Edinburgh, has given a copy of this charter, with a positive opinion as to its authenticity. Index, 153. He formed his opinion by his eye rather than his understanding; by a view of the parchment, more than by an examination of its contents.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 13-320. It afterward belonged to the bishop of St. Andrews. Aldhame and Suchele also belonged to the bishops of St. Andrews. It is a fact, which the chartulary of Coldingham testifies, that the monks of St. Cuthbert never had any other property in East Lothian than a toft in Haddington, which William the Lion gave them, and an annuity of four pennies in Gullane, which William de Vallibus conferred on them.

been really conveyed to them, we should have seen in the chartulary of Coldingham the same confirmations of them, followed by possession, as we therein perceive of the thirteen places in Berwickshire which were undoubtedly granted by the charters of Edgar. Here then are facts which, in addition to other objections, evince that the charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert is as putative as his birth and title. The church of *Tyninghame* enjoyed of old the privilege of sanctuary (*h*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Tyninghame was valued at 40 marks, and in Bagimont's Roll, it was rated at £10 13s. 4d. William Spot, the parson of Tyninghame, swore fealty to Edward on the 2nd of September 1296, and was rewarded with the restitution of his property (*i*). The manor of Tyninghame, with the patronage of the church, belonged to the bishops of St. Andrews (*k*); and they were included within the regality of that see which lay on the southern side of the Forth. During the reign of David II., Patrick de Leuchars of Fifeshire was rector of Tyninghame, and rose to be bishop of Brechin and chancellor of Scotland (*l*). Roger de Musselburgh probably succeeded him as rector of Tyninghame (*m*); and, Roger was again employed, during 1372, in a similar trust (*n*). Under James III., George Brown, who became bishop of Dunkeld, was rector of Tyninghame (*o*), and as he joined the rebellious faction, which had promoted his advancement, he concurred with them in pursuing his sovereign to an

(*h*) Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Inverlethan, giving to that church the same privilege of sanctuary as Tyninghame and Stow enjoyed. Chart. Kelso, 20. Tyninghame and Stow, we may remember, were connected with the see of St. Andrews.

(*i*) Rym., ii., 725.

(*k*) Alexander Fossard de Tyninghame, Richard le Barker de Tyninghame, and Gilbert Fitzhenry de Tyninghame, the tenants of the bishop of St. Andrews, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296. Prynne, iii., 658.

(*l*) He was consecrated bishop in 1354; he was soon after made chancellor, an office which he held till 1370, during the troublous administration of David II., who demised in 1371. Bishop Leuchars was alive in 1373, but was dead in 1384. Keith, 95.

(*m*) On the 5th of February 1366, Roger, with twenty horsemen, obtained a safe conduct to enter Berwick, to make a payment of David's ransom. Rym., vi., 493.

(*n*) On the 23rd June 1372, Roger witnessed at Berwick a notorial proceeding of the Chamberlain of Scotland, with regard to another payment of David's ransom. Parl. Rec., 127.

(*o*) He was the son of George Brown, the treasurer of Dundee; he studied at St. Andrews, where he became one of the four regents of St. Salvator's college; he was ordained a presbyter in 1464, and became chancellor of Aberdeen; he was by James II. sent on an ambassage to Rome in 1384, where he was consecrated by Sixtus IV., the bishop of Dunkeld.

untimely end on Stirling-field (*p*). Tyninghame, with the patronage of the church, appear to have been conferred on St. Mary's college, which was founded at St. Andrews, in 1552, by Archbishop Hamilton. This munificence seems not to have promoted the interest of the parish (*q*). Tyninghame was for a while held by the Earl of Haddington, under the archbishop (*r*). The earl, on the 7th of February 1628, obtained a charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands and lordship of Tyninghame (*s*). Tyninghame became the seat of this prosperous family, who, by plantation and other improvements, ornamented their domain and beautified the country. *Ald-ham*, in the Saxon, signifies the old dwelling or hamlet (*t*). The kirk-town stands on the sea cliff in the northern extremity of the parish. The church is probably as ancient as the 6th century, if it were founded by Baldred, who died in 607 A.D. This parish only contained the lands of *Ald-ham* and Scuchal [Scougal]; and those are two of the places which are certainly mentioned in the suppositious charter of Duncan, yet were never enjoyed by St. Cuthbert's monks, in pursuance of the grant. The lands of Scuchal were long possessed by the family of Scougal, which produced some eminent men, under the bishops of St. Andrews, who were patrons of the church of Aldham from the earliest times. The lands of Aldham were held, under the archbishop of St. Andrews, by Adam Otterburn, who was the king's advocate, from 1525 to 1537, and was meantime appointed one of the senators of the College of Justice, till he died about the year 1547. Both Aldham and Scougal continued with the archbishop till the year 1630 (*u*). This parish, from its paucity of people, was of little value, and was of course only estimated in the ancient Taxatio at six marks. William, the parson of Aldham, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, and received in return the restitution of his property (*x*). The ruins of the ancient church of Aldham on the sea-cliff were

(*p*) Parl. Rec., 318. The guilty bishop died on the 14th of January 1514-15, aged 76, Innes's MS. Chronology.

(*q*) On the 27th June, 1565, a complaint was made to the General Assembly by the parishioners of Tyninghame, who paid their tithes to the new college of St. Andrews, and yet had no preaching or administration of the sacraments. Mr. John Douglas, the rector of the university and master of the new college, promised to satisfy the said complaints, and that the kirk should not be again troubled with such a complaint. Keith's Hist., 544.

(*r*) Reliq. Divi. And., 118. (*s*) Dougl. Peer., 318.

(*t*) In England there are several places of the same name. In Suffolk there is the parish of Oldham.

(*u*) Reliq. Divi. Andreæ, 120. (*x*) Prynne, iii., 663; Rym., ii., 724.

apparent in 1770, but were soon after removed for some domestic purpose. At Scougal, about a mile south-east of Aldhame, there was of old a chapel, the ruins whereof still remain in proof of the piety of the Scougals.

The parish of HAMER or WHITEKIRK was anciently called *Hamer*, from the kirk-town. *Ham-er*, in the Saxon, signifies the greater ham. It may have obtained this appellation in contradistinction to Aldhame, which stood only two miles on the northward. The parish of *Hamer* was more populous than Aldhame, though not so populous as Tyninghame. In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of *Hamer* was valued only at 10 marks, Both the church and manor of Hamer were granted during the 12th century, to the monks of Holyrood-house, though by whom cannot now be ascertained. They retained both till the Reformation. The church of Hamer, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, from the whiteness of its appearance, was early called *Whitekirk;* and at length became, in the popular tradition, the name of the village and parish. In 1356, when Edward III. invaded East-Lothian, as he was attended by shipping, the sailors entered the church of our Lady in the barony of Hamer, and spoiled her of her ornaments. In relating this outrage, Fordun forgets not to tell how the Virgin raised such a storm as made the sailors wish that they had not offended her by their spoilation (*y*). The canons of Holyrood, who resided here for the service of the Virgin, seem to have been unable to prevent or to punish the profanity of the seamen (*z*). We may learn, however, from this intimation that the monks usually officiated at those churches which belonged to the religious houses. The church of our Lady at Whitekirk became a place of frequent pilgrimage (*a*). The church and lands and barony of *Auld-Hamer* or Whitekirk, with all that had pertained to the canons of Holyrood of this ancient establishment, were cast into the form of a *regality*, and granted in 1633 to the bishop of Edinburgh and his successors. On the suppression of the bishopric in 1689, the patronage of Whitekirk devolved on the king. During the 17th century the parish of Whitekirk was augmented by the annexation of the little parish of Aldhame; and in 1761, to this united parish was annexed the adjoining parish of Tyninghame. The present parish thus comprehends the ancient *scires* of Tyninghame, Aldhame, and Hamer, or Whitekirk (*b*). The churches of Tyninghame and of Aldhame have been

(*y*) Ford., l. xiv., c. 13-14. (*z*) Ib., ii., 355.

(*a*) See Hay's MS. Acco. of Religious Establishments in the Advocate's Lib., W. 2. 2.

(*b*) Simeon of Durham records, in 854 A.D., the parishes of *Aldhame* and Tyninghame as then belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne. Twisden, 139.

demolished, and Whitekirk is now the only place of worship for the parishioners of the three parishes conjoined (*c*). The patronage of this united parish belongs, by turns, to the king in right of Whitekirk, and the Earl of Haddington in virtue of Tyninghame (*d*). [The communicants of the Church of Scotland in this parish number 353. The stipend is £430.]

The village of INNERWICK derived its name from the Saxon *Inner-wic*, signifying an *interior* dwelling or hamlet. While there are two villages on the shore, *Skateraw* and *Thorntonloch*, within this parish, the village of Innerwick stands *inland* a mile and a quarter. To such circumstances and location it no doubt owes its equivocal appellation. There appears not any water near the village of Innerwick to which the Gaelic *Inver* could be fitly applied, and moreover, *wic* being a Saxon term either for a castle or a hamlet, and not the name of a stream, could not analogically be coupled with the Gaelic Inver, which is indeed corrupted by colloquial use to *Inner* (*e*). In many charters of the 12th and 13th centuries the name of this place is written Innerwic and Ennerwic. In more modern writings it is uniformly spelt Innerwick, which is adopted by the minister of the parish. The extensive manor of Innerwick was granted by David I. to Walter, the son of Alan, *the first Stewart*, and David's grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. in 1157. Various English vassals settled within the manor of Innerwick (*f*). His descendants enjoyed the superiority of this manor even down to recent times. Walter, the son of Alan, granted to his favourite monks of Paisley, at the epoch of their establishment, the church of Innerwick with its pertinents, a carucate of land between the church and the sea, with the mill of Innerwick (*g*). Malcolm IV. confirmed this foundation charter (*h*). The church of Innerwick was

(*c*) The ancient church of Tyninghame stood a quarter of a mile below the village, on the northern side of the Tyne, in a beautiful field, which has a gentle slope to the water's edge, whence the church was distant 300 yards. MS. Relation of the Rev. Dr. Carfrae of Dunbar.

(*d*) The curious reader will find little addition to the curious detail above, in the Stat. Acco., xvii., 574; yet some important facts will be found in the *Tabular State* subjoined. [See also Ritchie's Churches of St. Baldred.]

(*e*) *In*, saith Somner, *in, intro, intus*, in, within, inwardly. In the Saxon, *in* is a very frequent prefix. See Somner: *Er*, he adds, "Terminatio comparativorum apud Anglo-Saxones; ut *est*, superlativorum." Thus *in-er*, among the Anglo-Saxons, means more than within. Neither Bailey nor Johnson has sufficiently adverted to this exposition of Somner.

(*f*) Caledonia, i., 576-7; Chart. Paisley and Kelso. (*g*) Chart. Paisley, 7-9.

(*h*) Ib., 8. William the Lion confirmed it. Ib., 10; and Alan, the son of Walter, added his confirmation. Ib., 35. It was confirmed by Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan, who allowed the monks to enjoy the church of Innerwick to their proper use. Ib., 14; and to all those confirmations Pope Alexander III. added two bulls of recognition. Ib., 11-12.

not very rich. It was valued in the ancient *Taxatio* at only 30 marks. The cure was served by a vicar, who was appointed by the monks. William, who ruled the see of St. Andrews from 1202 to 1233, confirmed to the monks of Paisley their church of Innerwick, with the pertinents, to their proper use; and by his episcopal authority he ordained that the vicar should have the *altarages* with some land on the western side of the cemetery, rendering yearly to the monks seven marks of money as a pension (*i*). The vicar, in fact, enjoyed a messuage and garden near the burying-ground, and an acre of ground on its northern side (*k*). In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage was rated at £3 6s. 8d. (*l*). Thomas de Fulcon, the vicar, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick on the 28th of August 1296 (*m*); and no doubt obtained a restoration of his rights. Of old, there was within this parish a chapel dedicated to St. Dennis, the ruins whereof are still standing on a small promontory in the northern corner of this maritime parish. The monks of Paisley continued to enjoy the church of Innerwick, till the Reformation introduced here a very different system. In the meantime, the manor of Innerwick was held by various vassals under *the Stewart*. The monks of Kelso obtained from that beneficent race, some lands and pastures within this manor (*n*). The second Walter, the Stewart, gave them liberty to erect a mill on their lands, within his manor; and he renounced to them an annuity of twenty shillings and two pairs of boots, which they were wont to pay him for the fee-firm of certain pastures within the manor of Innerwick (*o*). A remarkable change at length arrived. The barony, and indeed the whole possessions of the Stewart of Scotland were erected by Robert III. into a free regality, on the 10th of December 1404, as a principality for the eldest son of the Scottish kings (*p*). When Renfrew became a separate shire, the barony of Innerwick was annexed to it, as it was part of the stewartry, though it was actually situated within East-Lothian (*q*). Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, who became a senator

(*i*) Chart. Paisley, 15. (*k*) Ib., 48.

(*l*) Honorius III. added his confirmation of the church and its pertinents, with a carucate of land, common of pasture within the manor, and the mill of Innerwick. Ib., 149. Honorius died in 1227. The monks also enjoyed the necessary accommodation for collecting their tithes. Ib., 48. In 1247, the monks obtained from David, the bishop of St. Andrews, and from John, the prior, a confirmation of the church of Innerwick, with all that belonged to it. Ib., 17-18.

(*m*) Prynne, iii., 658. (*n*) Chart. Kelso, 247-60. (*o*) Ib., 246.

(*p*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Carmichael's Tracts; Casus Principis.

(*q*) Between the years 1661 and 1669, Charles II., as Stewart of Scotland, granted many charters

of the College of Justice in 1668, obtained, in February 1670, to him and his heirs of entail, a grant of the rectory and vicarage-tithes of Innerwick. In July 1670, he obtained a grant to him and his heirs of entail, of the barony of Thornton, in the parish of Innerwick, and in January 1671, he obtained the barony itself of Innerwick (*r*). Some other changes seem to have taken place in the barony of Innerwick, as the patronage of the church belongs to a different family (*s*). [The parish church was erected in 1784. Communicants 240. Stipend £450. A Free Church has 80 members.]

The name of the parish of OLDHAMSTOCKS is derived from the name of the kirk-town, and the ancient appellation of the village was usually written in charters, *Aldhamstoc*, and *Aldhawstok* (*t*). These forms of the word are obviously derived from the Saxon *Aldham*, the old habitation, and *Stoc*, a place (*u*). Though *Old*hamstocks be the modern spelling, the popular name is *Aldhamstoks*. The final first appeared in the 16th century. The village and church stand upon the high bank of a rivulet, which is called at this place the *Dean* burn, though below it is named the Dunglass burn. The church of Oldhamstocks is ancient (*x*). In the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at the high value of 60 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, it was rated at £10. This church never belonged to any monastery. The patronage of the rectory seems to have continued with the lord of the manor, who cannot be easily traced on so doubtful a frontier. Oldhamstocks appears not among the manors or baronies of Haddington constabulary, in the Tax-Roll of 1613, and from this circumstance we may infer that it had been long merged in the barony of Dunglass. After various successions, the patronage of the church of Oldhamstocks became invested in Hunter of Thurston. On the 28th of August 1296, Thomas de

to the vassals of the stewartry living upon the manor of Innerwick; and their lands are described as lying in the constabulary of Haddington and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, but by annexation, within the sheriffwick of Renfrew. MS. Collection of Charters.

(*r*) Douglas's Baron., 283, which quotes the charters in the Pub. Archives.

(*s*) The inquisitive reader will gain very little additional information as to this parish from the Stat. Acco., i., 121; but the *Tabular State* subjoined supplies some other notices.

(*t*) Chart. Coldingham.

(*u*) The Saxon *Stoc*, which means the same as *Stow*, a place, appears in the names of many places in England. In Spelman's Villare, there are twenty places named *Stoke*, and many compounds, as *Stoke*-bury, Basing-*stoke*, *Stoke*-pogis, *Stoke*-Severn, etc.

(*x*) On the 17th of July 1127, Aldulph, the presbyter of *Aldehamstoc*, witnessed a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Coldingham. Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.

Hunsingour, the parson of Oldhamstocks, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, and was thereupon restored to his rectory (*y*). The subsequent history of this parish is obscure. It is recorded, as an existing rectory, in the Archbishop's Roll of 1547. Thomas Hepburn, the parson of Oldhamstocks, was admitted master of requests to Queen Mary, on the 7th of May 1557, two days after her inauspicious marriage with Bothwell (*z*). A detached part of the parish of Oldhamstocks, consisting of the lands of Butterdean, and lying on the northern side of the Eye water, is in Berwickshire (*a*). Thus much, then, with regard to the several parishes in the presbytery of Dunbar. [The parish church has 120 communicants; stipend £409].

The parish of ORMISTON is comprehended within the presbytery of Dalkeith. This parish derives its name from the kirk-town, which itself obtained its well-known appellation from some Saxon settler here, whose tun or dwelling it became. Orme was a common name during the 11th and 12th centuries, as we know from the chartularies; but it is in vain to attempt the ascertaining of Orme, who actually gave his name to this hamlet. The church was dedicated to St. Giles, and it was granted, with its pertinents, to the hospital of Soltre, which was founded, as we have seen, by Malcolm IV. William the bishop of St. Andrews, in the 13th century, confirmed to the master and brothers of Soltre, the church of St. Giles at Ormiston, with its revenues, to their proper use (*b*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Ormiston was valued only at 12 marks. Mary of Guelder, the widowed queen of James II., when she founded the Trinity College at Edinburgh, in March 1462, annexed to it all the churches with their rights which belonged to the hospital of Soltre. She now assigned the revenues of the church of Ormiston, in four equal shares, to the prebendaries of Ormiston, Gilestoun, Hill, and Newlands, belonging to her college. This foundation of Mary of Guelder was confirmed, in April 1462, by James bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan (*c*). The regent Murray introduced a less useful regimen. In 1567, he gave the Trinity church, with its revenues, to Sir Simon Preston, the provost of Edinburgh, who conferred the whole on the city; and the magistrates purchased the right of Robert Pont, the provost of this collegiate establishment, in 1587 (*d*). The patronage of the

(*y*) Prynne, iii. 662.

(*z*) Keith's Hist. 387. On the 18th of August 1568, Thomas Hepburn, the same parson, with others, were prosecuted in Parliament for aiding the queen in making her escape from Lochleven castle, and were, on the subsequent day, convicted of treason. Parl. Rec. 806-7-12.

(*a*) See the *Tabular State* subjoined. (*b*) Chart. Soltre, 5.

(*c*) Maitland's Hist. 208. (*d*) Ib. 212.

church of Ormiston was meantime acquired by Cockburn, the lord of the manor, who certainly enjoyed it in after times. In 1747, John Cockburn of Ormiston, sold his estate, with the patronage of the church, to John Earl of Hopetoun, who now became proprietor of the whole parish (*e*). After the Reformation, the parish of Ormiston was considerably enlarged by the annexation of the estate of Peiston, which was disjoined from Pencaitland. Whether the fine village of Ormiston, standing on the northern side of the Tyne, was ever a baronial burgh is uncertain. In the middle of the broad street, which runs through the town from east to west, there is *a cross*, of the erection whereof tradition is silent; but, "from its ancient appearance," saith the minister, "it is evidently a *relic of popery* (*f*);" and from this intimation we may infer that the inhabitants are better farmers than antiquaries (*g*). [The present Parish Church was erected in 1856. Communicants 240; stipend £340. A Free Church has 95 members].

SOUTRA and FALA make but one united parish; the first lying in Haddington, and the latter in Edinburghshire, and both forming a part of the presbytery of Dalkeith. The church and hamlet of Soutra stand on a very conspicuous site on the summit of Soutra hill, which separates Lothian from Lauderdale, and sends its rivulets in opposite directions to the north and south. This hamlet, which was so long the active scene of charity, commands a most extensive prospect; a natural circumstance this, whence it obviously derived its descriptive name from the language of the British people: *Swl-tre,*—signifying in the Cambro-British language *prospect-town* (*h*). Here was an hospital established by Malcolm IV., as we have seen, to which was annexed a chapel; and when this district was formed into a parish, the chapel was declared to be the parish church. This parish church does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*, as it belonged to the master and brothers of this charitable foundation. Thus it continued till Mary of Guelder, in her widowhood, established, in 1462, her collegiate church near Edinburgh, as we have seen; and the churches and lands belonging to the hospital of Soltre were perverted to a very different

(*e*) Stat. Acco. iv. 171.

(*f*) It is obviously the market-cross of a prosperous town in the midst of an agricultural country. The *market-cross* was an object of grant, in former times, with respect to policy more than to religion.

(*g*) Of Ormiston, was Mr. Andrew Wight, the son of a very intelligent farmer, who was employed in 1773, by the trustees for the forfeited estates, to make the Agricultural Surveys, which were printed in 1778, and the following years.

(*h*) See Owen's Dict. in vo. *swl*, a prospect. *Tref* or *tre* signifies a homestead, a hamlet. In the charters of the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries the name of this place is written *Soltre.*

purpose. The church of Soltre was now served by a vicar (*i*). Other perversions followed. At length the Regent Murray gave the Trinity Church, with its pertinents, to the Provost of Edinburgh, who assigned the whole to the corporation; and in this manner did the city acquire the patronage of the church of Soutra, with the property of the most part of the parish (*k*). It was afterward annexed to Fala, and from the period of the annexation the magistrates of Edinburgh and Sir John Dalrymple became the patrons, by turns, of the united parish (*l*). [The Parish Church has 138 communicants; stipend, £213. A U.P. Church has 106 members].

Thus much, then, with respect to the twenty-four parishes lying within the shire of Haddington. To the foregoing notices is immediately subjoined a Tabular State, as an useful supplement, which will, perhaps, be found both interesting in its facts and useful in its information. In making up the amount of the stipends of those several parishes the grain has been valued: the wheat at £1 5s. 9d. per boll; the barley at 19s. 4d.; the oats at 14s. 9d.; the pease at 14s. 6d. per boll; and the oatmeal at 16s. 8d. per boll of eight stone; being an average of the fiar prices of Haddington for the seven years ending in 1795, taking the medium of the three qualities of the grain (*m*). The stipends of mostly all the parishes in this shire have been augmented during recent times, when the prices of necessaries became higher and the value of money grew less (*n*).

(*i*) In 1467, John Heriot, the vicar of Soutra, appears as a witness in several charters. Spottiswood's Acco. of Rel. Houses, 536. In October 1479, on hearing a cause in Parliament, the Lords directed Rolly Lermonth and others to prove that Schir John Herriot, the vicar of Soutra, had power from Schir Edward of Bunkle, the provost of the Trinity College, beside Edinburgh, to lease the tithes of Fawnys. Parl. Rec., 257.

(*k*) See Maitland's Edinburgh, 210-12.

(*l*) The united parish is four miles long and four miles broad; is served by one minister, whose stipend in 1755 was £68 2s. 9d., and in 1798, £77 13s.; and the number of its parishioners in 1755 was 312; in 1791, 372; and in 1801, 354.

(*m*) The allowance for communion elements and the value of the glebes are included, but not the value of the manses and office houses. The boll of barley and oats in Haddingtonshire is 6 bushels, 9 pints, 4.9 cubic inches, English standard measure, which is about 6 pints more than the Linlithgow boll. The boll of wheat and pease contains 4 bushels, 13 pints, 9.4 cubic inches, English standard measure, being nearly 3 per cent. above the Scottish standard measure.

(*n*) The parishes, the stipends whereof have been thus augmented, are: Haddington, Athelstaneford, Aberlady, Gladsmuir, Pencaitland, Salton, Bolton, Humbie, Yester, Garvald and Barra, Dunbar, Spott, Stenton, Whittinghame, Prestonkirk, Innerwick, and Oldhamstocks.

THE TABULAR STATE.

Parishes.	Extent in Acres.	Inhabitants. 1755.	1801.	1881.	Churches. Est.	Free.	U.P.	Epis.	R.C.	Stipends. 1755. £	s.	d.	1798. £	s.	d.	Past Patrons.	Valuation. 1887-88. £	s.	d.
Haddington,	12,113	3,975	4,049	5,660	3	1	2	1	1	100 66	13 2	4 2	202 171	10 9	9 4	The Earl of Hopetoun.	21,667	3	9
Athelstaneford,	5,080¼	691	897	762	1	—	—	—	—	71	1	1	177	2	8	Kinloch of Gilmerton.	9,646	5	0
North Berwick,	5,372¾	1,412	1,583	2,686	1	1	1	1	1	72	6	8	160	14	8	Dalrymple of North Berwick.	16,083	2	5
Dirleton,	10,798¾	1,700	1,115	1,506	1	1	—	1	—	106	4	4	215	3	6	Nisbet of Dirleton.	14,605	11	3
Aberlady,	4,928	739	875	1,000	1	—	—	—	—	79	9	11	168	13	9	The Earl of Wemyss.	9,563	11	0
Gladsmuir,	7,165¼	1,415	1,470	1,747	1	—	—	—	—	74	7	6	164	19	9	The King and the Earl of Hopetoun.	13,651	3	2
Tranent,	6,176¾	2,459	3,046	5,198	1	1	1	—	—	82	12	4	153	16	0	The King.	23,815	7	3
Prestonpans, Cockenzie,	1,429½	1,596	1,964	2,573	1 1	1 1	— —	— —	— —	116	16	9	191	10	3	The Earl of Hyndford.	10,747	3	5
Pencaitland,	5,075¼	910	925	1,107	1	1	—	—	—	85	16	9	178	18	8	Hamilton of Pencaitland.	7,506	15	2
Salton,	3,811¾	761	768	575	1	1	—	—	—	84	10	6	155	3	8	Fletcher of Salton.	5,538	6	8
Bolton,	3,106¼	359	252	337	1	—	—	—	—	66	13	9	124	12	0	Lord Blantyre.	3,701	13	6
Humbie,	8,797¼	570	785	907	1	1	—	—	—	77	4	5	141	0	10	The King and the Earl of Hopetoun.	8,625	3	0
Yester,	8,847¾	1,091	929	924	1	1	—	—	—	69	6	0	153	7	6	The Marquis of Tweeddale.	8,349	17	10
Garvald,	13,442	774	749	758	1	1	—	—	—	67	13	6	152	9	9	The King and the Marquis of Tweeddale.	8,349	18	0
Morham,	2,087¼	245	254	209	1	—	—	—	—	69	10	9	137	13	6	Dalrymple of Hailes.	2,859	15	0
Dunbar, Belhaven,	8,803	3,281	3,951	5,393	1 1	1 —	1 —	1 —	1 —	98	1	10	223	4	9	The Duke of Roxburgh.	21,013	5	6
Spott,	7,582¾	727	502	579	1	—	—	—	—	63	17	2	165	0	8	Hay of Spott.	6,041	7	0
Stenton,	4,818¾	631	620	594	1	—	—	—	—	56	11	8	121	15	0	Nisbet of Dirleton.	6,147	3	0
Whittinghame,	15,595	714	658	639	1	—	—	—	—	62	19	8	128	9	8	Hay of Drumellier.	7,158	1	4
Prestonkirk,	7,088½	1,318	1,471	1,929	1	1	1	—	—	86	15	4	185	12	3	Dalrymple of Hailes.	15,865	18	0
Whitekirk,	7,153½	968	925	1,051	1	—	—	—	—	123	11	4	155	6	6	The King and the Earl of Haddington.	10,555	2	2
Innerwick,	13,424¼	941	846	777	1	1	—	—	—	83	3	4	169	15	3	Nisbet of Dirleton.	11,078	12	0
Oldhamstocks,	1,419¾	504	466	568	1	—	—	—	—	83	1	1	123	6	5	Hunter of Thurston.	4,950	1	8
Ormiston,	3,443½	810	766	1,026	1	1	—	—	—	78	13	3	180	12	4	The Earl of Hopetoun.	6,875	6	5
Totals,					28	15	6	4	3							Total, with Burghs and Railways,	£318,350	14	0

CHAP V.

Of Edinburghshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THIS county obviously derived its appellation from the city of Edinburgh, the chief town of the shire, the metropolis of the kingdom. The name of the capital of North-Britain as it has puzzled all the antiquaries, has been proposed as an appropriate theme for scholastic dissertation. Meantime, it is certain, that the *town* derived its name from the *castle,* rather than the castle from the town, in whatever language they may be denominated. What appellation the British settlers gave to the rock, the *Din* of the first people, the *Burgh* of the Saxon intruders is not quite clear. Aneurin the Ottadinian poet, who wrote during the *sixth* century, speaks of *Dinas Eidyn,* the *city of Eidyn* ; but those poetical expressions must have been applied to some southern city on the Eden river, which was more familiar to Aneurin, who, as he had shared in the unsuccessful conflicts of those times, knew the localities of the affecting scenes. The ancient *Triads* of the British people notice *Caer*-Eidyn and *Dinas*-Eidyn ; yet, is it probable, that the *Triads* only copied the prior names of the place, and the anterior notice of the thing, from Aneurin. As it is certain that the Romans never had a post on the remarkable site of Edinburgh, it is equally obvious that they never gave it a name, however much conjecture has tortured the expression and the purpose of Ptolomy (*a*). The oldest name that can now be traced up to this commodious rock is *maydyn,* to which was added, pleonastically, the English *castle;* and this appellation has been applied to several British fortlets in North and South Britain. We may, from all those circumstances, infer that the Gadeni people had a strength on this site, the scene of so many struggles, at the troublous epochs of the Roman abdication and of Saxon intrusion (*b*). "The Britons," saith Camden,

(*a*) See Camden's Britannia ; Horsley, 364 ; Gordon's Iter. Septent., 180-83.

(*b*) Wyntoun's Cronykyl, i., 54. That *Celtic* name certainly preceded the Saxon ; for the *Castrum Puellarum* appears, as its designation, in charters at the dawn of record. Now, this is a mere translation of *Maiden Castle,* which is itself the mere vulgarism of the *May-dyn* of the British people. Baxter, who has an ingenious etymon always at hand, informs us that the Maiden Castle is the *Maidun*

"called it *Castel Myned Agned*, the Scots [Scoto-Saxons] the *Maiden's* castle, and the Virgin's castle, of certain young maidens of the royal blood, who were kept there in old time." Such were the popular traditions which this learned antiquary thought it worth his while to adopt. The whole proceeded, probably, from the *Maydyn* of the British times. Hence, the *Maiden* castle; hence, the *Castrum puellarum;* and hence, the fable of the Pictish princesses, who are feigned to have been educated in a castle which seems to have never belonged to the Pictish people. The late Lord Hailes, indeed, made it a question of serious inquiry whether Edinburgh Castle was ever known by the name of *Castrum puellarum* (*c*); but Walter Hemingford would have answered that question in the affirmative (*d*), and the Chartulary of Newbotle would have shown him the way to the *Castrum puellarum* (*e*). On this question, then,

of the British, signifying *ingentis Collis*. The affix *din* is obviously the British word for a *castle*, and the research of Bullet has found *Mai*, in the Gaulish, to signify *grand*. Yet the fact perhaps does not warrant this exposition. Mai-din, British, or Magh-dun, Gaelic, may appositely signify the fort, or fortified mount, in the plain, and there is nothing in the Saxon that would apply, with any fitness, to the thing signified. What may be found in the Scandinavian Gothic upon the point, I pretend not to know!

(*c*) Scots Mag., 1773, p. 120. There is one answer in p. 222, and a second in p. 240.

(*d*) Historia, i., 98. After the capture of Roxburgh Castle by Edward I. in 1296, Hemingford adds: "Profectus est, cum exercitu toto, ad *Castrum Puellarum*, quod *Anglice* dicitur Edensburch." In a prior age, indeed, M. Paris, in giving an account of the English physician who was sent in 1255 to Edinburgh Castle, to visit the discontented queen of Alexander III., says: "Cùm autem idem magister Reginaldus [the doctor] ad *Castrum Puellarum*, quod *vulgariter* dicitur *Edenburc*, exposita adventus sui causa et literas ostenderet tam regis quam reginæ Anglorum, dictam causam testificantes, admissus est benignè." Hist., 907. This is a still more curious passage than the former from Hemingford. We thus perceive that *Castrum Puellarum* was the *learned* named of the place, and Edenburc only the *vulgar* appellation. In a still prior period we shall immediately find that *Castellum Puellarum* was the technical and diplomatic name of Edinburgh Castle, which was one of the five castles which William the Lion surrendered to Henry II. in 1174, viz., the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Gadeworthe, *Castellum Puellarum*, et Castellum de Stryvlyn. Rym., i., 89; Hoveden, 545; and Fordun, the best of the Scottish historians, in giving an account of the defeat of Guey, the Count of Namur, on the burgh moor, in 1335, says he retreated to the site of the ruined "Castrum Puellarum de Edinburgh." L. xiii., c. 35.

(*e*) There is a charter of Radulphus, the abbot of Holyrood, giving the monks of Newbotle "illam particulam terre nostre in feodo de Petendreich que jacet ex orientale parte vie regie et "publice que ducit a monasterio de Newbotle versus *Castrum Puellarum;* scilicet, inter *parcum* "juxta Newbotle et rivulem que dicitur Balnebuth versus aquilonem et inter viam predictam et "terram dictorum monachorum versus orientem." Chart. Newbot., No. 16. There is no date to this charter, but it must have been made, as we know from the name of the grantor, about the year 1253.

there can no longer be any doubt. The fact is, that the name of the castle was very early applied to the town, and to the monastery below it, as we might indeed learn from Hemingford in 1296, and from M. Paris in 1255 (*f*). We now perceive that the earliest name of this metropolis was imposed by the Gadeni people in their own significant speech, whose *strength* it was, even before the arrival of Agricola among them during the first century.

There is still less difficulty in ascertaining when the Saxon name of the same capital was imposed by Edwin, the Northumbrian king, who gave his own celebrated appellation to the *burgh* on the *rock*, whence the town derived its appropriate designation (*g*). The Saxon name then assumed the forms of *Edwines-burgh* and *Edenes-burgh*, the *fort* of Edwin (*h*).

(*f*) There was a charter of David I. witnessed by William, the abbot "de Castello Puellarum." Charleton's Hist. Whitby, 82. "An° 1154, Malcolmus rex dedit ecclesiam de Travernent canonicis *de Castello Puellarum*." Chron. Sanct. Crucis Edin. in Anglia Sacra, i., 161. There is a charter of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Cambuskenneth, which was dated "apud *oppidum* puellarum." Chart. Cambus., 54. In the charters of David I., who demised in 1153, we may perceive that he sometimes speaks of those objects by the name of *Castrum Puellarum*, and sometimes by the name of *Edenburgh*. Chart. Newbot., 27-8; Chart. Kelso, 8; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 106; Chart. May, 9; Dugd. Monast., ii., 1055. There is a charter of Earl Henry, who died in 1152, in which Edinburgh Castle is called *Castrum Puellarum*. Chart. Kelso, 240. Several of the charters of Malcolm IV., who demised in 1165, bear to have been granted at the *Castrum Puellarum*, at *Castellum Puellarum*, at *Oppidum Puellarum*, and at Edinburg. Chart. Newbot., 159, 175; Chart. Paisley, 8; Chart. Cambusken., 54; Chart. Aberd., 211; Chart. May, 16; and Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl., 11. Of the charters of William, who succeeded his brother in 1165, few were granted at Edinburgh. Of those few, most of them are dated from *Edinburgh*, and scarcely any from *Castellum Puellarum*. Many of the charters of Alexander II. were dated from Edinburgh Castle, as he resided in it; and he uses the designation of *Castrum Puellarum* generally, and but seldom *Edinburg*. See the Chartularies throughout. Alexander III., who demised in 1286, dates his charters commonly from *Castrum Puellarum*, sometimes *Castellum Puellarum;* once, in 1278, he speaks of his residence at *Castrum Puellarum de Edinburgh*, but never, as far as appears, by the name of *Edinburgh* only. See his charters. It is unnecessary to trace so clear a point any further. It does not appear, however, that the coins of the Scottish kings bear *Castrum Puellarum*, or *Oppidum Puellarum*, as the name of the place of mintage.

(*g*) Edwin, the potent king of Northumberland, fell a premature sacrifice to civil discord in 634 A.D. Savill's Fasti, annexed to the "Scriptores Post Bedam."

(*h*) See the charters of Scone by Alexander I., and of Holyroodhouse by David I. Sir James Dalrymple's Col.; and Maitland's Edinburgh. See also the Coins of William the Lion, in Cardonnel's Numismata, pl. 1: "Adam on Edenebu—." We thus see that the name of the mintmaster was Adam, and that the language of the inscription was Saxon; the A.-S. *on*, being placed to denote the English *in*. This, then, is a very early specimen of the Saxon speech of Edinburgh. See Caledonia, i., 254. Fordun, however, has his own fiction, i., 64; and Wyntoun has his conceit, which comes nearer to the *British* original. Cronyc., i., 54.

The next change of this dignified name was from the *Saxon* to the *Gaelic*, from *Edwins-burgh* to *Dun-Edin;* and herein the philologist may perceive the different formations of the Saxon and the Gaelic, the name of the Saxon king being *prefixed* in the first, and the name of the same king being *annexed* in the last. Nor is this translation so modern as superficiality would suppose. The Register of the priory of St. Andrews, in recording the demise of Edgar [1107], says, "mortuus in Dun-Eden et sepultus in Dunfermling (*i*)."

In more recent times this metropolis has received, from ignorance and refinement, several names which betray the unpropitious sources whence they proceeded. Bolton, in his admirable *Hypercritica*, when exposing the absurdity of changing proper names in Latin histories, adds: "In this fine and mere schoolish folly Buchanan is often taken, not without casting his reader into obscurity." It was he who first called the Scottish metropolis *Edina* rather than Edinburg-us, which had been more appropriate though less poetical (*k*).

The *charters* we have just seen cast the clearest lights on the ancient names of Edinburgh, but the *seals* of this city rather obscure the clear than illustrate the dark. There is a very ancient seal, which was engraved at the expense of the Antiquary Society of London, in the work of Astle on the Scottish seals (*l*).

(*i*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 797-803. In more recent times, indeed, Edinburgh is called, in Gaelic, *Dun-monaidh*, the hill of the moor, both in the Highland Tales, and in Bishop Carswell's Translation of the Service of the Church, which was printed at Edinburgh.

(*k*) The classical name is now *Edinensis*. See the elegant title page of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Lesley, the contemporary and rival of Buchanan, says, indeed: "Cruthnæus Camelodunum Primariam Pictorum urbem, et Agnedam, postea *Ethinburgum* ab Etho "quodam Pictorum rege dictam, cum Puellarum Castro (ubi regis et nobilium Pictorum filiæ, dum "nuptui darentur, servari et præceptis ad humanitatem et virtutem informari solebant) condidit." Edit. Rome, 1578, p. 84. In his curious map, however, Lesley has *Edinburgum;* but St. Andrews he dignifies as the metropolis.

(*l*) Pl. ii., No. 1: The committee of antiquaries was unable to read the *legend* of this seal, and the letterpress in p. 13, by way of exposition, says that "it is doubtful if the *Castrum Puellarum* be not Dumfries, though repeatedly inferred to be Edinburgh by our English historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." But we have seen above, from a thousand charters, what fitness there was in this *doubt* of antiquarianism. I was disposed to doubt whether there was such a seal of Edinburgh, till I received a letter from Col. Henry Hutton of the Artillery, who is compiling a *Monasticon Scotiæ*, dated the 13th of September, 1801: "I met with a curious old "seal of Edinburgh, the last time I was in Scotland, appendant to some old papers (I think of "the 15th century), in the charter room of the city [of Edinburgh]. It has two sides, on one "of which is the figure of St. Giles [the guardian saint of the city], with a *legend*, which has "hitherto baffled all my endeavours to decipher." I have also tried in vain to decipher the same legend. There is the delineation of Sir James Balfour, of the common seal of Edinburgh

Maitland seems to have been the first inquirer who freed both the history of Edinburgh and the origin of its name, from the fables which had involved both for ages in fictitious honours (*m*).

In the meantime, the shire of Edinburgh was known both in history and tradition, by the significant name of Mid-Lothian. The fine country lying along the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, was scarcely known by the name of Lothian till the *tenth* century had almost expired (*n*). During the reign of David I., Lothian still extended southward to the Tweed (*o*). It was during the subsequent reigns restricted to the country lying northward of the Lammermoor, and in the 13th century, Lothian became divided, by the national policy, into three parts, which were known in the tradition and recognized in the law of the nation, by the names of East, West, and Mid-Lothian (*p*).

§ II. *Of its Situation and Extent.*] Mid-Lothian has Linlithgow on the west, the Forth on the north, Haddington and a small part of Berwick on the east, and Selkirk, Peebles, and Lanark on the south. Edinburghshire or Mid-Lothian lies between 55° 39′ 30″, and 55° 59′ 20″ north latitude; and between 2° 52′, and 3° 45′ 10″ west longitude from Greenwich. The college of Edinburgh, according to astronomical observations, stands in 55° 57′ 57″ of north latitude, and 3° 12′ west longitude of Greenwich (*q*). Edinburgh-

city, in the Brit. Mus. Harl., 4694. The device is a large castle. The legend is—"S. Commune burgi de Edenburgi." One of the earliest maps of Edinburgh is that of James Gordon of Rothiemay, during the reign of Charles I., which was engraved by F. de Wit of Amsterdam; and he calls the city civitas *Edinodunensis.*

(*m*) Mait. Hist. Edin., 2-6.

(*n*) Caledonia, i. 259, wherein the meaning of the word Lothian is investigated.

(*o*) See the charter of Robert I. Robert. Index, 155.

(*p*) Bagimont's Roll; Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 119.

(*q*) Doctor Lind had the goodness to communicate to me the mean result of many observations by the astronomers at Hawkhill observatory, as follows:—

	N. Lat.	W. Long. of Greenwich.
Hawkhill observatory, - - - - -	55° 58′ 28″	3° 10′ 7″
The Steeple of St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh, -	55° 57′ 38″	3° 11′ 55″
The Summit of Arthur's Seat, - - -	55° 57′ 18″	3° 10′ 0″

There must be some error in noting the longitude of the summit of Arthur's Seat, which is somewhat westward of Hawkhill, and must be about 3° 10′ 50″ W. of Greenwich. In Andrew Hart's Bible, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1610, there is an *exact Callender*, calculated to the latitude of Edinburgh, which is under 56 degrees. This Callender was calculated by Robert Pont, the father of Timothy, the topographer.

shire extends from east to west, 38 [36] miles, and from north to south 15 [24] miles. These measurements give a superficies of 358 [367] square miles, which contain 229,120 [234,926] English acres (*r*), and the number of people being in 1801, 124,124, this population is equal to 34·671 souls to a square mile.

The three Lothians have been often surveyed. Timothy Pont finished his map during the reign of Charles I. (*s*). The *three Lothians* were again surveyed during King William's reign by John Adair, with less skill perhaps, and certainly with less utility (*t*). John Laurie published a valuable map of Mid-Lothian in 1763, and in 1773, Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong, published a six sheet map of the three Lothians, which was reduced and engraved by Kitchen (*u*); and there is a very useful sketch of this shire prefixed to the Agricultural Survey of Mid-Lothian, by George Robertson in 1795, with a view to its important subject. In proportion, as old notices are relinquished for new intimations, such surveys become less helpful to the topographer and less amusive to the reader.

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] The area of Edinburghshire may be considered as mountainous. The Pentland hills commence in Liberton parish, near the centre of the county; and extend in a south-west direction about twelve miles; stretching beyond the boundary of the shire into Peebles. The Caerketan Craig, which is situated at the northern extremity of the Pentland range, rises above the level of the sea fourteen hundred and fifty feet, amidst other hills of great heights (*x*). The Logan-house hill, which is situated towards the middle of

(*r*) On the large map of Mid-Lothian, in 1763, by Laurie, the superficies of this shire is 358 square miles, or 229,120 statute acres. On the map of the Lothians by Armstrong it is 337 square miles, or 241,280 statute acres. On Arrowsmith's map of Scotland, from the Engineers' Survey, this shire contains 358 square miles, or 229,120 statute acres, which I have adopted, as most accurate.

(*s*) His map of Lothian and Linlithgow is No. 9 of Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, and is of considerable value.

(*t*) The Surveys of Adair were engraved by R. Cooper.

(*u*) The latitudes and longitudes of this map were supplied by that excellent mathematician, the Rev. Alexander Bryce, of Kirknewton.

(*x*) The Pentland hills of the northern range rise above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map of Mid-Lothian, to the following elevations:—

Leep Hill, - - - -	1,500 feet.	A nameless hill, - - -	1,350 feet.
Caerketan Hill, - - -	1,450	A nameless hill, - - -	1,340
Castle Law, - - -	1,390 [1,595]	Craigintarrie, - - -	1,210

the same range and is the highest of the Pentland hills, has been found by the most accurate observations to be seventeen hundred feet above the level of the sea at Leith, and is surrounded by other hills of great heights (*y*). The Spital hill, which is the most southerly of the Pentland range, rises amid other hills to a great elevation (*z*). The Pentland hills* in Glencorse parish, like the other eminences of that mountainous tract, consist of different sorts of whinstone and of other lapideous strata, which are commonly termed primitive rocks.

Next to the Pentland mountains the Moorfoot hills are the most conspicuous ranges. From Coatlaw, standing on the west side of Moorfoot water, the most northerly range stretches east-north-east about ten miles, having Tweeddale on the west, and terminates in Cowberry hill near the source of the Gala water (*a*). The other range also branches off from Coatlaw on the western point, and extends, with a wider spread than the former, about ten miles in a south-east direction over the extensive country which is drained by the Heriot and Luggate waters (*b*). These two ranges of the Moorfoot heights may be regarded as two sides of a large triangle, having the river Gala for its base on the east. The northern range of the Moorfoot hills cuts off, as it were, from Edinburghshire, the parishes of Heriot and Stow, which form the south-east corner of this county. Heriot and Stow, which constitute a sort of district by themselves, are watered by the Heriot and Gala streams. They are studded irregularly by some round hills which, however, do not form any regular range (*c*).* In Ratho parish there is a small congeries of hills which run from

(*y*) The Pentland hills of the middle range rise above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map, to the following elevations :—

A nameless hill, - -	1,600 feet.	Kipps Hill, - -	1,420 feet [1,806].
Carnethie, - - -	1,500 [1,890]	Black Hill, West, -	1,360
Black Hill, East, - -	1,550	Hare Hill, - -	1,330 [1,470].

(*z*) The Pentland hills of the southern range rise above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map, to the following elevations :—

The Spital Hill to - - 1,360 feet. Three nameless hills, in the south part of the range, to 1,390, 1,380, 1,310 feet.

(*a*) Coatlaw, the most westerly of those mountains, rises to the height of 1,680 feet, above the level of the sea. There are other hills among the Moorfoot eminences which rise above the same level to the different elevations of 1,500, 1,450, 1,430, 1,400, 1,390, 1,360, and 1,320 feet. Laurie's map of Mid-Lothian.

(*b*) Blackhope Scares, which is the highest hill in this range, rises 1,850 feet above the level of the sea. The other hills in this range ascend to the various elevations of 1,680, 1,660, 1,630, 1,600, 1,560, 1,540, 1,520, 1,470, and 1,410 feet above the same level. Id.

(*c*) Agricult. Survey, 18.

* Scald Law, 1,898 feet, is the highest hill in the Pentland range.

north to south about a mile and a half, and which are called Platt hills, from two hamlets that are situated on two of those mountainets (*d*). Through the parish of Corstorphine run the hills of this name, in a curving direction from south-east to north-west, for an extent of two miles, and rise to an elevation of four hundred and seventy-four feet above the level of the sea. The Corstorphine hills could hardly have gained the appellation of mounts if they had not been in a manner insulated in the midst of a rich plain, which is several miles in extent, wherein they rise four hundred and seventy-four feet above the level of the sea, and exhibit several indentations along their summits, which make them a very conspicuous object. Between Dalmahoy and the river Leith, on the south, there are three hills in a line, which are called Dalmahoy Craigs (*e*). On the summit of the hill of Ravelrig there seems to be a *ring camp*, and at the base of it an encampment of a square form, which is indicative of a Roman work (*f*). Between the parishes of Crichton and Cranston on the east, and Cockpen and Dalkeith on the west, there is a continued ridge of hill which stretches nearly six miles from south to north, and which does not much obstruct the road from Edinburgh to Coldstream that crosses its centre (*g*).

Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Craigs exhibit a wild and romantic scene of vast precipices and broken rocks which, from some points, seem to overhang the lower suburbs of Edinburgh (*h*). In any other situation than the singular site of Edinburgh, the Calton-hill, which has scarcely been noticed by tourists, would be considered as an eminence of considerable height, as a rock of uncommon appearance, that supplies a walk of very diversified views.

Edinburghshire is undoubtedly well watered. The Forth, which bounds it on the north, communicates to this county many advantages of navigation, of food, and of fertilization. After the Forth the Esk may be said to be the chief river, which is composed of two streams that unite their kindred waters below Dalkeith, and glide in a deep channel into the Forth at Inveresk. The Esk is swelled by the waters of many streams from the Pentland hills, particularly by the Glencorse water near Achindinny, and after a various course of

(*d*) The Platt hills are 600 feet above the level of the sea.

(*e*) The southmost is 680 feet, and the next is 660 feet, above the sea.

(*f*) Armstrong's map; Stat. Acco. of Currie, v. 5, p. 326.

(*g*) The sketch of the county in the Agricult. Survey. That ridge is, in different places, 550, 590, 600, and 680 feet above the sea-level.

(*h*) Pennant's Tour, 55. Arthur's Seat rises 790 [822] feet above the sea-level; Salisbury Craigs, 550 [574] feet; and the Calton Hill, 320 [348] feet. Laurie's map.

two-and-twenty miles, contributes by its junction to form "the murmuring Esk."

Several streamlets which flow from Cairn-edge, a hilly range that separates Peebles from Edinburgh, form the commodious river Leith, which flows in a hollow channel between well wooded banks. It afterwards receives the Bevelaw burn with some smaller rivulets, and coursing in a north-east direction two-and-twenty miles it glides into the Forth, where its issue, which was of old called Inverleith, forms the port of Leith (*i*). Almond river, which rises in Lanarkshire, and runs through the southern corner of Linlithgowshire, first waters Edinburghshire, where it is joined by the Breich-Burn. The Almond, from this junction, forms the boundary between the shires of Linlithgow and Edinburgh till it falls into the Forth at Cramond, the *Caea-amon* of the Britons, the *Alaterva* of the Romans; except, indeed, for the course of two miles within the parish of Mid-Calder, where the county of Edinburgh projects a mile to the westward of it. The Gala water rises in the Moorfoot range. It is soon enlarged by the greater volume of Heriot stream, when both take the name of the Gala. It is joined in its course by Luggate water, with several streamlets which drain the valley through which it glides. The Gala now pursues its southerly direction for ten miles, when it enters Selkirkshire, and after a meandering course mixes its waters with the Tweed, which peoples it with the finny tribes. Such are the streams which ornament and benefit Edinburghshire. Yet, do they not furnish an abundant fishery, either for foreign traffic or domestic use. Nor are there any lakes in this shire, which, for their size or usefulness, or embellishment, merit much mention.

This country abounds with minerals and fossils. Beds of pit-coal stretch across the country from Carlops to Musselburgh, from south-west to north-east, fifteen miles in length and eight in breadth. This valuable fuel has been known and used here since the happy times of Alexander II., if not earlier. There are at present raised yearly about a hundred and eighty thousand tons, of the value of thirty-nine thousand pounds. Limestone equally abounds in Edinburghshire, though it lies nearer to the hills. There are probably made in every year sixteen hundred thousand bushels, which are worth ten thousand

(*i*) This is the most useful river of any in Edinburghshire, perhaps in Scotland. In the course of ten miles it drives 14 corn mills, 12 barley mills, 20 flour mills, 7 saw mills, 5 fulling mills, 5 snuff mills, 4 paper mills, 2 lint mills, and 2 leather mills. Stat. Acco., xix., p. 590. The rent of some of those mills, which are in the vicinity of the metropolis, is upwards of £20 sterling per foot of water-fall, and it forms at its confluence the commercial port of Edinburgh.

pounds. There is in this shire great plenty of freestone, and of good quality. Granite and whinstone are found in every parish. In Penicuik there are found millstones, marble, and petrifactions. The annual value of all those does not surpass six thousand pounds. Ironstone abounds, and copper exists. What has been found of marl is sufficient to show that more might be discovered in this county by diligent search (*k*). A copper mine was laid open in 1754, at Lumphoy, on Leith water, six miles south-west of Edinburgh (*l*).

The mineral waters of this shire contribute to preserve or to restore the health of the inhabitants. St. Bernard's Well, on the rocky margin of the Leith water, has been recently praised for its good qualities, perhaps equal to its real value. In Cramond parish there is a mineral spring, which is called *the Well of Spa*, and has been found beneficial in scorbutic complaints (*m*). In Mid-Calder parish there are sulphureous waters, which have been experienced, like those of Harrogate, to be beneficial in complaints of scrofula and gravel. In the more elevated parish of Penicuik there are several chalybeate springs, which are supposed by the common people to have cured them of many maladies. Two miles southward of Edinburgh is St. Catherine's, or the oily well, which engaged the protection of King James; and is said to have cured cutaneous and other disorders of the people, "though plunged in ills and exercised in cares."

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] The natural objects which have just been mentioned may be deemed some of its earliest antiquities. But it is the colonization of the area of this shire by the progressive settlements of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Scoto-Irish, with the languages which they left in its topography, that ought to be considered as the most interesting of its antiquities, because they are the most instructive. The Ottadini and Gadeni people, the British descendants of the first colonists, enjoyed their original land during the second century of our common era; as we know from Ptolomy and Richard (*n*); and their language, as it appears in the maps of this shire, is a satisfactory proof of their settlement and genealogy (*o*). The Romans seem not to have left in the topography of Mid-Lothian any speci-

(*k*) Stat. Acco., x., 429; xv., 437; xviii., 371: Agricult. Survey, 25-6.

(*l*) Scots Mag., 1754, 450.

(*m*) Wood's History of Cramond, 115.

(*n*) Caledonia, i., 58-59.

(*o*) Those British people left, in the names of the waters within Mid-Lothian, indubitable traces of their significant speech. There are, as we have seen, the *Forth*, the *Badotria* of Tacitus, the Almond, the Esk, the Leith, the Breich, the Gore, and the rivulet Gogar. In the appellation of places, may

mens of their language, whatever remains they may have left of their roads and encampments, their baths and sepulchres. Soon after their abdication the Anglo-Saxons intruded into Mid-Lothian, though in fewer numbers than settled in Berwick and in Haddington, as we may infer from the smaller number of the names which have been imposed by them in this shire than in either of those counties (*p*). The Scoto-Irish came in from the west at length upon the *British*, perhaps, and upon the Anglo-Saxon settlers in Mid-Lothian. As we proceed westward from the Tweed along the Forth, through the shires of Berwick, and Haddington, and Edinburgh, we see the Gaelic names gradually increase in numbers (*q*). The Celtic names appear to be in this shire about one-fourth of the Anglo-Saxon, owing probably to the superinduction of the *English* names both upon the Gaelic and the Anglo-Saxon names proper. But the English appellations are not fit objects of this etymological inquiry, as they may be said to have been applied to their several localities within time of memory. The Gaelic names were imposed partly after 843 A.D., the commencement of the Scottish period, but more perhaps after Lothian had been ceded, in 1020 A.D. to the Scottish king. In this manner, then, are the facts of topography usefully brought in to support the feeble intimations of dubious history in exclusion of traditional fictions.

Edinburghshire does not abound in the stone monuments of the earliest people. In Kirknewton parish, however, there are still appearances of druidical

be equally traced to the Celtic speech: Cramond, Cockpen, Caerbarrin [Carberry], Dreg-horn, Dalkeith, Inch-Keith, Kail, Nidref [Nidderie], Pendreich, Roslin, *Keir*-hill, *Lin*-foot, *Lin*-house water, and others might be instanced to show how the English adjuncts have been engrafted on British roots.

(*p*) The Anglo-Saxon names of places appear to decrease in numbers as we proceed towards the north and west, where the Scoto-Irish begin to prevail. In the south and south-east may be seen the Anglo-Saxon, *Law*, *Rigg*, *Dod*, *Shiel*, *Lee*, *Dean*, *Hope*, *Ham*, *Burgh*, *Wic*, Shaw, By, Cleugh, Holm, Threap, and *Chester*. There are a few instances of Saxon words in single names, as, *Stow*; *Botle*, in Newbotle; Wade, or Weid, in Lass-wade; Thwait, in Morthwait [Morphet]. But there is no example of *Fell;* nor any intimation that a *Scandinavian* people ever resided in Edinburghshire.

(*q*) The most obvious Gaelic names are: *Achincorth*, *Achenlecks*-walls, *Achinhound*-hill, *Achtigamel*, *Allermore*-hill, *Achendenny*, *Achenoul*, *Badds*, *Balgreen*, *Badlieth*, *Balernoe*, *Bellerny*, *Braid*, *Catcuin*, *Calder*, *Crossaimit*, *Carnethie*-hill, *Cairnie*, *Cairn*-hill, *Craig*, *Craigentarrie*, *Currie*, *Dalry*, *Drumsheugh*, *Dalmahoy*, *Dalwolsie* [Dalhousie], *Drum*, *Drumaben*, *Drumdrynan*, *Drumbraiden*, *Garvald*, *Glencorse*, *Inveresk*, *Inch*, *Inverleith*, *Killin*-water, *Killeith*, *Lumphoy*, *Moredun*, *Pow*-burn, *Phantassie*, *Ratho*, *Torpichen*-hill, *Torquehan*, *Torsonce*, *Tipperlin*, *Torphin*, *Torbreck*, *Kipps*, *Wymet* [Wolmet]. The Celtic *Pol*, or Pow, appears only in *Pow*-burn, *Pol*-beth, and *Pol*-ton; but there are not in this shire any instance of either *Ald* or *Gil*.

circles (*r*). On Heriot-town hill there is a circle consisting of high stones, and measuring seventy or eighty feet in diameter (*s*). Such are the faint memorials of the worship which the first settlers offered to the Deity. There are many cairns in this shire which may be equally deemed the funereal monuments of the pristine inhabitants. In Borthwick parish, on the lands of Currie, there are several cairns, the cemeteries of the earliest times (*t*). On the ground of Comiston, in Colinton parish, there are two very large conical cairns wherein human bones have been found, with fragments of ancient armour. Not far from those curious remains stands a massy block of whinstone which is called the *Cat*-stane, and which is seven feet high above the ground and more than four feet below it (*u*). All those intimations denote the site of an early conflict, as indeed the remains of an ancient encampment evince. In Mid-Calder parish there are several mounds of earth which appear to be the repositories of the dead, and which are known in the southern parts of our island by the appropriate name of *barrows* (*x*). In the vicinity of Newbotle Abbey there was of old a large tumulus which was composed of earth, of a conical figure, 30 feet high and 90 feet diameter at the base, and which was surrounded by a circle of stones. This barrow, which had a fir tree growing on its summit, was removed when Newbotle house was rebuilt. Upon opening this tumulus there was found a stone coffin near seven feet long that contained a human skull, which was presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, in April 1782 (*y*). In August, 1754, a farmer ploughing his field at Roslin turned up the cover of a stone coffin about nine feet long, which contained the bones of a human body. The bones were much decayed, except the skull and teeth, which were sound and large (*z*). This must have been the grave of some British warrior rather than the coffin of one of the chiefs who fell in the battles of Roslin during the year 1303.

In Edinburghshire there remain also various specimens of the military art of the earliest people. In Penicuik parish, near the tenth mile-stone from Edinburgh on the Linton road, is an *oval camp* on an eminence which

(*r*) Stat. Acco., ix., 415. (*s*) Ib., xvi., 57.

(*t*) Ib., xiii., 635. Below the tumuli, and even around them, there have been dug up earthen pots, which were full of half-burnt bones, and which were each covered by a flat stone. The pots were of coarse, but curious workmanship, and were ornamented with various figures. Ib., 636.

(*u*) Ib., xix., 591; and Maitland, Edin., 508. The name is obviously derived from the British *Cad*, the Gaelic *Cath*, signifying a battle; and cat-stane means the *battle-stone*.

(*x*) Stat. Acco., xiv., 371. (*y*) Account of that Society, 95.

(*z*) Scots Mag., 1754, 402.

measures within eighty-four by sixty-seven yards, enclosing a number of tumuli that are each eleven yards in diameter. It is encompassed by two ditches, each four yards wide, with a mound of six yards between them, having three entrances, and it is called, by the tradition of the country, *the Castle.* There is a similar encampment on the bank of Harkenburn, within the woods of Penicuik (*a*). In Borthwick parish, on the farm of Catcune, there is a field which has immemorially been called the Chesters, in the middle whereof there is an oval encampment measuring about half an acre. In the midst of this oval is an immense round whinstone, which labour has not yet been able to remove, and a hundred yards distant from it are several cairns, the sepulchral monuments of the warriors who had defended the *Cat-cune,* the battle-hillock, as the Celtic name imports (*b*). In Crichton parish, at Longfaugh, there are the remains of a camp having a circular form, which may still be traced on a rising ground. In the neighbourhood of this ancient strength there have been recently dug up many bones, the only rests of the brave men who were its best defence (*c*). In Heriot parish, on Midhillhead, there may still be seen three large *rings* or deep ditches, of about a hundred paces diameter, the obvious security of the earliest people (*d*). In Liberton parish there is an ancient rampart of an *oval* form. In the same vicinity, there are the remains of fortifications, which retain the characteristic names of *Kaims.* There are near them two tumuli, called *Caer-duff*-knows, or the *Black Camp* on the knolls, and there are also here, as proper accompaniments of so many warlike objects, *Cat*-stanes or battle-stones (*e*).

(*a*) Scots Mag., x., 431.

(*b*) A mile and a half south-west from this field, on the lands of Middleton, are *Chesters* of quite a different description. The former Chester is on a southern exposure; these Chesters are on a northern. They are on a sloping bank, and consist of five terraces, alternately overhanging a pleasant valley and rivulet. The Reverend Mr. Clunie, the minister of Borthwick, MS. letter to me. These last intimations seem to import that the site of a camp had been converted into a place of sport.

(*c*) Stat. Acco., xiv., 436. (*d*) Ib., xvi., 57-8.

(*e*) Antiq. Trans. Edin., 304-8. In the ancient British speech, *Cad* signifies a battle, a striving to keep; so *Cath,* in the Gaelic, equally signifies a battle. The Saxons, who affixed their word *stane* to the Celtic term *Cat,* found those memorials of warfare already in existence, and adopted a previous appellation, which perhaps they did not perfectly understand. *Caer* also means, in the British, a *mound,* for *defence;* and *Du,* black; and so in the Gaelic form of the same word *Duff,* signifies *black.* We have already seen *Cat*-stane and *Cat*-cune; and there are, on the northern side of the Pentland hills, the *Cat*-heaps. Mait. Hist. Edin., 507. The prefixes *Cath, Cat, Cad,* all carry the intelligent mind back to the disastrous conflicts of Celtic times.

In Lasswade parish, near the house of Mavis-bank, there is a *circular* mount of earth, which is begirt with ramparts that are now cut into terraces. Herein have been found ancient weapons of *brass*, with fibulæ, bridle-bits, and other warlike articles of a similar nature (*f*). There is reason to believe that the Romans according to their custom, may have taken possession of this ancient strength, as a commodious post for protecting their passage of the Esk (*g*). In Ratho parish, there are two ancient strengths which are surrounded by ramparts; the one on Kaims-hill, in the south-western part of the parish; and the other on the South Plat-hill, near the manse. The last has been greatly destroyed, by carrying away the stones for the various purposes of improvement (*h*). To this class of military antiquities may be referred the *Maiden* castles of Roslin and of Edinburgh, as fortlets of the British people, which the name pretty plainly intimates; and this circumstance will probably lead some minds to consider the *Castrum Puellarum* of Edinburgh, as a Gadeni strength of the very earliest times. To all those may be added the caves of Hawthornden, which were probably the hiding places of the first people, and which may have been improved by more recent warriors. If we except the topographical language which is still spoken in this shire, those notices indicate the chief remains of the Ottadini and Gadeni, the British tribes who had inhabited the wilds of this shire, during a thousand years before they were disturbed by the intrusion of strangers.

Towards the conclusion of the first century, the Romans entered upon the area of Edinburghshire, and they retained their possession more than three hundred and sixty years, by roads, by camps, and by naval stations. Their antiquities have been already investigated, and need not be repeated (*i*). During

(*f*) In Penicuik parish, near Brunt-stane Castle, was lately found an arrow-head of flint, barbed, which was about two inches long and one inch broad. It is preserved in Penicuik House. Stat. Acco., x., 420-5.

(*g*) Ib., x., 286-7; Roy's Milit. Antiq., 103. Roy points to this place as the *traject* of the Romans over the North Esk, on their route to Cramond.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., vii., 264.

(*i*) See Caledonia, i., 164-66. A gold coin of the Emperor Vitellius was found in 1775 by ploughing a field in the neighbourhood of Penicuik House, and presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh by Sir James Clerk in 1782. Acc. of the Society, p. 62. A copper coin of the Emperor Vespasian was found in a garden at the Pleasance of Edinburgh, and was presented to the same society by Doctor John Aitkin in 1782. Ib., 72. Near Ingleston, in Ratho, there was long ago dug up a piece of a pillar, having upon each side the Roman *securis*, the badge and ensign of magistracy, says Sibbald, who presented this relict to the College of Edinburgh. Sibbald's Roman Ant., 40.

their long residence in this shire, the Romans erected altars that are supposed even now to be seen, and dropt their coins and their arms, which are often found. At length their legions retired from the shores of the Forth, whereon they delighted to dwell; and at the epoch of 446 A.D., the Romans abdicated their government within their province of *Valentia*, leaving the *Ottadini* and *Gadeni* in possession of the pleasant country of their British forefathers, without any pretension of the *Picts*, or any intrusion of the Scots.

At the commencement of the Pictish period, the Romanized descendants of the first settlers were doomed to sustain a fresh struggle, which, from their new habits, they were little able to encounter. They were invaded by a fierce people, who, as they were of a different lineage, spoke a dissimilar language; and they were over-run during the year 449, rather than subdued, by a Saxon people. But at the end of a century of wretchedness they submitted to the superior genius of the Saxon Ida. They were now mingled with a race who have transmitted their speech and their policy through many ages of change to the present times. They were at length placed under the jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the Northumbrian kingdom. About the year 620, the warlike Edwin built on their northern frontier a *burgh*, which ensured their submission, and has transmitted his name with eclat to our inquisitive times. The disaster of the intemperate Egfrid in 685 A.D., gave the ancient people some repose; but involved the mingled inhabitants in new perturbations through ages of conflict. The cession of *the Lothians*, by a Northumbrian earl to Malcolm II., the Scottish king, in 1020 A.D., introduced among the ancient British and the Anglo-Saxons the Scottish people, who long enjoyed all the prdominancy of superior power. Such were the succeeding people, and various authorities which followed each other in this shire during more than six centuries, either of barbarous quiet or of wasteful hostility. The several maps of this shire must be considered as curious delineations of the antiquities of the successive colonists, and as satisfactory evidences of their genealogical history.

In addition to all those antiquities there are various objects, which, however regarded by some, can only be deemed modern antiquities; "because they're old, because they're new." In this class Edinburgh castle is the first point. This fortlet was originally built upon a precipitous rock, whose area measures seven acres; and whose height is 294 [383] feet above the sea-level. It was of old only accessible on the eastern side, which is now fortified by art. That it was a strength of the British people in the earliest times, we have already seen.

During every age it will be found to be an interesting object in the varied events of the national annals (*a*).

Craigmiller castle stands at no great distance on the south-east. Like it, the name in its present form furnishes little instruction either from its age or its architecture. But if the true appellation be *Craig-moil-ard*, signifying in the Gaelic, a rock, bare, in the plain, with a correspondent situation, these circumstances would evince that it probably received its Celtic name after the epoch of 1020. But there is nothing to show in what age or by what hand it was built. A village had risen under the shelter of this castle as early as the reign of William the Lion (*b*). The castle became the property of the Prestons as early as 1374, who long retained it. In 1427, the castellated wall was built, as an inscription testifies. It was in this castle that James III.'s brother, the Earl of Mar, was imprisoned. In 1554, it was burned by the English army. It seems to have been soon repaired; and here Mary Stewart resided when Murray and Lethington and her other ministers made their insidious proposal to her of a divorce from Darnley. At the epoch of the restoration, Craigmiller became the property of the great lawyer, Sir Alexander Gilmore (*c*).

Crichton castle, which was the fortlet of Chancellor Crichton under James II., is situated about ten miles south-east of Edinburgh, on the edge of a bank above a grassy glen. During his life, it was razed by the Douglases. It was afterward rebuilt with more ornament but less strength; and yet has become a ruin owing to time and chance (*d*). Borthwick castle stands south-east of Edinburgh a dozen miles, the ruined residence of Lord Borthwick; being a vast equilateral tower ninety feet high, with square and round bastions at equal distances from its base. This fortlet was the property of James Earl Bothwell, who sought refuge here from insurgency with Mary Stewart (*e*). Dalhousie castle, standing eight miles south-east of Edinburgh, the property of

(*a*) A prospect of the south side of the castle of Edinburgh may be seen in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693, No. 1: "Facies Arcis *Edenburgenæ*." In Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, 1789, there are five views of Edinburgh Castle, and in Cardonnel's Pict. Antiq., 1789, there is a S.W. view of Edinburgh Castle. But the most picturesque of all is Campbell's view of "Edinburgh from the west," in his Tour, facing p. 192 of vol. ii. [See also Grant's History of the Castle of Edinburgh.]

(*b*) In the Haddington Collections there is a charter of William, the son of Henry de Craigmiller, of a toft, in this village, to the monks of Dunfermline, dated in 1212.

(*c*) There are two views of Craigmiller in Grose's Antiq., ii., 50-1; there is a view of it in Cardonnel's Antiquities; and the clearest view seems to be that in Campbell's Tour, ii., 285. [See also Billing's Baronial Antiquities.]

(*d*) That ruin may be seen in Grose, ii., 52. [See Billing.]

(*e*) Its ruin may be seen in Grose, ii., 68. [See Billing.]

the gallant Ramsays of Dalhousie, has undergone many changes during the revolutions of Mid-Lothian (*f*). Hawthornden, a small castellated mansion which is perched on a high projecting rock that overhangs the North Esk, is more celebrated than any of those castles, from its being the residence of William Drummond, the most ingenious and amiable of the poets of Charles I.'s reign (*g*). Hawthornden and Roslin every tourist visits, from Edinburgh, to enjoy the softness of their scenery and to admire the picturesque of their beauties. The origin of Roslin Castle is laid in fable. It stands upon a peninsular rock which runs out into the meadow of the Esk (*h*). Much less is said of the sieges which it has sustained than of the hilarities that have enlivened its massy walls through many a rude age. Ravensnook castle in Penicuik parish, on the Esk, was also the property of the Sinclairs of Roslin (*i*). Brunston castle, which also stands on the Esk, within the same parish, is a ruin large and unsightly that is surrounded by a ditch (*k*). Within Penicuik parish there are several other towers, which seem to evince that anarchy had long predominated in this hilly district (*l*). In that neighbourhood may still be seen the ancient tower of Woodhouselee, in a hollow glen beside the river. The heiress of Woodhouselee fell a sacrifice to the corrupt tyranny of the regent Murray (*m*). Her husband, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, put the guilty tyrant to death, as "base-born Murray rode through old Linlithgow's crowded town." Four miles distant, on the slope of the Pentland hills, is Woodhouselee of modern times, the elegant seat of Lord

(*f*) There is a view of it in Grose, ii. 69.

(*g*) There are three views of it in Grose, ii. 53-8. There is an etching of Hawthornden by the present Marchioness of Stafford. This accomplished lady was too erudite to forget that, "Here Jonson sat, in Drummond's classic shade."

(*h*) There are two plates of Roslin Castle in Cardonnel.

(*i*) Stat. Acco., x. 425. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) From Brunston, on the north-west, at no great distance, there is the ruin of a strong tower; and there are two other ruinous towers at Braidwood and at Wellstown. Id. In the same parish, on Glencorse water, there is a strong tower called Logan house, which is said to have been a hunting seat of one of the Jamess. Id. About a mile to the westward there is the Howlet's house, which is also ruinous: still further westward, on the northern side of the hills, appears the ruin of Bevelaw tower, which is also said to have been a hunting seat of the James's. Id.

(*m*) Grose has two views of Woodhouselee; and he gives from Crawford's Memoirs the frightful narrative of that lady's death. Antiq., ii. 59. Walter Scott, in a true poetic vein, conducts his Grey Brother, "To *haunted Woodhouselee;*" he again touches, with a happy pencil, this terrible incident of the Scottish history in his admirable poem of "Cadyow Castle." [See Burton's Hist. of Scot., v. 5, p. 12.]

Woodhouselee, one of the senators of the College of Justice (*n*). Throughout the whole course of the Esk every scene is interesting. "Roslin's rocky glen" has been already intimated, and we have merely touched "classic Hawthornden." We now arrive at Dalkeith, "which all the virtues love." Among its other honours it enjoys a British name describing its natural qualities of a *narrow* dale. During the 12th and 13th centuries it was possessed by "the gallant Grahams." As early as the reign of David II. there was at Dalkeith a baronial castle, which was held by the turbulent Douglasses. Dalkeith castle had the honour to receive the Princess Margaret on her way to her espousals at Edinburgh (*o*). After the battle of Pinkie it was readily

(*n*) Of old this was called Fullford tower, which was enlarged and adorned by the late William Tytler, the celebrated defender of Mary Stewart. Stat. Acco., xv. 441.

(*o*) On the iid of August 1503, the sayd quene departed from Fast castle, nobly appoynted and accompanyed; and at the departynge they schot much ordonnaunce, and had very good chere, soe that every man was content. The said quene, accompanied as before, drew her way toward Hadington; and in passyng before Donbare, they schot ordonnaunce for the luffe of her. She was lodged for that sam nyght in the abbay of the nonnes, ny to Hadington, and her company at the said place: wher in lyk wys was ordoured provysyon at the Grey Freres, as well for the company as for the horsys, as on the day before; and thorough the countre in sum places war made by force wayes for the cariage, and the grett quantyte of people sembled for to se the said quene, bringyng with them plaunte of drynke for ychone that wold have it, on paying therefore. The iiid day of the said monneth, the quene departed from the said abbay, wher sche and her company had grett chere, and in fayre aray and ordre past thorough the said towne of Hadington, wher sche was sen of the people in grett myrthe; and from that she passed to hyr lodgynge to Acquick [Dalkeith]. Half a mylle ny to the said toune, sche apoynted hyr rychly hyr ladyes and lordis, and others of hyr company did the same, and in fayr ordre entred into the castell, wher cam before hyr without the gatt the lord of the said place, called the Counte of Morton, honnestly appoynted and accompayned of many gentylmen, in presentynge hyr the kees of the said castell; and she was wellcomed as lady and maistresse. Betwyxt the two gatts was the Lady Morton, accompayned of gentylmen and ladyes: the wiche kneeled doune, and the said quene toke hyr up, and kyssed hyr, and so she was conveyd to hyr chammer within the said castell, the wich was well ordonned and a strong place After that sche was come and well appoynted, and also hyr lordes, ladyes, knyghts, gentylmen, gentylwomen, the kynge cam arayed in a jakette of cramsyn velvet, bordered with cloth of gold; hys lewre behinde hys bake, hys beerde somethygne long, accompayned of the Right Reverend Father in God my Lord the Arch Bischop of Saunte Andrews, brother of the said kynge, and Chauncellor of Scotlaunde, the Bischop of Castenate, the Erls of Huntly, Argyle, and Lennos, and the Lord Hambleton, cousin of the said kyng, with many others, lordes, knyghtes, and gentylmen, to the numbre of LX horsys. The king was conveyed to the quene's chamber, wher she mett hym at her grett chamber dore, right honorably accompayned. At the mettynge he and she maid grett reverences the one to the tother, his hed being bare, and they kyssed togeder, and in lykwys kyssed the ladyes and others

surrendered by the order of George Douglas, the proprietor (*p*). Here Mary Stewart visited Morton, her unworthy chancellor, and conferred several favours on him (*q*). In the subsequent century this barony was acquired by the Scots, a milder race. On the ancient site, Anne, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, built the present house in imitation of the palace of Loo, but on a smaller scale (*r*). In the parish of Inveresk, below, is Pinkie house, which was built by Alexander Seton, the chancellor, who was created Lord Fyvie in 1591, Earl of Dunfermline in 1605, and who died in 1622.

In Cranston parish, was of old *Cousland* castle, which was burnt by the regent Somerset (*s*). In Currie parish, on the estate of Malenie, is *Lennox* tower, where the Lennox family never lived (*t*). On the Gore water, in Borthwick parish, is the ruin of a strong house which is called *Catcune* castle, near the memorable site of the Gadeni town, the scene of many a conflict (*u*). Upon the Upper Tyne, in Edinburghshire, is the ruin of Locherwart castle, the ancient seat of the Hays, the progenitors of the Marquis of Tweeddale. There are the ruins of Fala tower standing on the northern edge of Fala moss, within the eastern limit of Edinburghshire. Luggate castle may be seen in its ruins on Luggate water, in the eastern division of Edinburghshire. In the western stood Corstorphine castle, the ancient seat of the Foresters of Corstorphine (*x*). Merchiston tower near Edinburgh, is often mentioned with fond recollection as the residence of Napier who invented the *logarithms*, and who dedicated

also. And he in especiall welcomed th Erle of Surrey varey hertly.—Then the quene and he went asyd, and commoned togeder by long space. She held good manere, and he bare heded during the tym, and many courteysyes passed. Incontynent was the board sett and served. They wasched their haunds in humble reverences, and after, sett them doune togeder, wher many good devyses war rehersed.—After the soupper they wasched ageyn, with the reverences: Mynstrells begonne to blowe, wher daunced the quene, accompayned by my lady of Surrey. This doon, the kyng tuke licence of hyr, for yt was latte, and he went to hys bed at Edinborg, vary well countent of so fayr metting, and that hee had found the fayr company togader. Lel. Col., iv., 282.

(*p*) "On Wednesday the xiiii of September [1548], my lord's grace, saith Patten, ridying back, eastward, to divers places, took *Da-kyth*, in his way, where a howse of George Douglasses doth stande: And comyng somewhat nere it, he sent Soomerset his herald to knowe, whom kept it, and whether the kepers would holde it, or yield it to his grace: Answere was made, that there was a lx parsons within, whoom their maister lying thereat, the Saturday at night, after the batel, dyd will, that they, the hous, and all that was in it, should be at my lordes graces commandment, and pleasure."

(*q*) Randolph's Correspondence, in the Paper Office.

(*r*) Stat. Acco., xii., 25-6. (*s*) Ib., ix., 281. (*t*) Ib., xiii., 326.

(*u*) Reverend J. Clunie's MS. Account.

(*x*) In Pont's map of Lothian it is represented as a large pile. Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 9.

many of his after thoughts to "musing meditation" on the *Apocalypse* (*y*). But it is in vain to enlarge the list of such antiquities to which chronology cannot attach, and by which architecture cannot be enlightened. It is apparent that Mid-Lothian, lying at so great a distance from the hostile confines on the south, and having the shelter of the Lammermuir and of other ridges, did not contain the number of *bastel houses* which we have seen in the border shires of Roxburgh and of Berwick.

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire*]. It is more than probable that Mid-Lothian was placed under the salutary regimen of a sheriff as early as the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, as early indeed as the introduction of the Scoto-Saxon laws. Under David I. there was a sheriff here, though his extent of jurisdiction is not very apparent (*z*). Under Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, the sheriff of Edinburgh appears more definitely (*a*). Under Alexander II. John de Vallibus was sheriff of Edinburgh (*b*). In 1271 Sir William Sinclair of Roslin was appointed sheriff of Edinburghshire for life, and he is supposed to have lived till 1300 (*c*). There is reason to believe that Edinburghshire during those times extended over Haddington on the east and over Linlithgow on the west (*d*). When Edward I. endeavoured to settle the Government of Scotland in 1305, he appointed Ive de Adeburgh the sheriff of Edinburgh,

(*y*) There is a view of Merchiston tower in Grose's Antiq., i., 62.

(*z*) In David's charter to the canons of Holyrood, in Maitland's Hist. Edin., 145, Norman, *the sheriff*, is a witness.

(*a*) In a charter of Malcolm IV., Galfrid, whom he calls "vicecomes meus de *Castello Puellarum*," is mentioned as a perambulator, with other sheriffs of the neighbouring shires. Chart. Newbot., 175. The *Castellum Puellarum* was here put for the *town*; and the town had not yet obtained the privilege of having its own sheriff. Henry de Brade was sheriff of Edinburgh under William the Lion. Ib., 23-24. He was mentioned as sheriff of Edinburghshire about the year 1200. Crawford's MS. Gleanings, from the Records, 24.

(*b*) Ib., 130; Nisbet's Heraldry, 250, of the same series.

(*c*) Chart. Dunferm.; Crawfurd's Peer., 381; Dougl. Peer., 550. On the 9th of May, 1278, William de Sinclair, then sheriff of Edinburghshire, was present in the king's chamber, with several respectable barons, within the *Castrum Puellarum*, when a resignation of the lands of Bethwalduf was made into the king's hands. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112. He also witnessed a charter of Nicholas de Vetereponte to the hospital of Soltre. Chart. Solt., 13. William de Sinclair witnessed other charters, between 1272 and 1282. Chart. Newbot., 26. He was certainly sheriff of this extensive shire at the demise of Alexander III. He was alive in the disastrous year 1296.

(*d*) In October, 1296, the castle of Edinburgh, with the sheriffdoms of *Edinburgh*, Linlithcu, and Haddington, were committed to the charge of Walter de Huntercumbe, a Northumberland baron, by Edward I. Rym., ii., 731.

Haddington and Linlithgow (*e*). When Randolph surprised the castle of Edinburgh in 1313, Peter Luband was captain of the ancient fortalice, and sheriff of Edinburghshire under the English king (*f*) In June 1334, Edward Baliol assigned to Edward III. the town, the castle, and county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington (*g*). Edward thereupon appointed John de Kingston the keeper of the castle and sheriff of Edinburghshire. But such trusts he did not long execute. In 1335, Edward appointed John de Strivelin the sheriff of Edinburghshire and the keeper of the castle (*h*). In 1337, Sir Andrew Moray, the guardian, besieged Edinburgh castle; and Lothian having submitted to his power, the guardian appointed Laurence Preston the sheriff of Lothian; and the sheriffdom was wasted by Preston's efforts to maintain his own authority and the quiet of his shire against the English (*i*). At the epoch of the restoration of David II., the sheriffdom of Edinburgh continued to extend over the constabularies of Haddington on the east and of Linlithgow on the west (*k*). During the latter part of the reign of David II., Symon de Preston was sheriff of Edinburghshire (*l*). Adam Forrester of Corstorphine was sheriff of Edinburghshire and of Lothian in 1382, during the reign of Robert II. (*m*). Robert III. granted to William Lindsay of the Byres, during his life, the offices of sheriff of Edinburgh and constable of Haddington (*n*). In 1435, Sir Henry Preston

(*e*) Ryley's Placita, 504.

(*f*) Leland's Collect., ii. 546; Barbour, 205. Leland miscalls the sheriff, indeed, Leland. Lord Hailes has adopted into his Annals, ii. 38, the name of Leland for Luband. His real name was Luband, as we may learn from the record as given by Ryley's Placita, 505; he was captain of Linlithgow castle in 1305, while a small district only was then subject to the English. Robert Bruce granted to Robert Lauder the lands of Colden, within the barony of Dalkeith, which were of Peter Luband, knight, late convicted of treason against the king. Roberts. Index, 7. Robert I. granted Garmylton Dunning to Alexander Stewart, which belonged to Peter Luband, knight. Id. Robert I. granted to Alexander Stewart the lands of Fischerflatis, which were of Peter Luband, knight. Id.

(*g*) Rym., iv. 615.

(*h*) Ayloffe's Cal., 161-2. He was again appointed to the same trusts in 1336. Ib., 169.

(*i*) Fordun, xiii. 41.

(*k*) In a charter of David, the son of Walter, the laird of Kinneil, dated the 6th of April 1362, this barony is declared to be in constabulario de Linlithgow, infra vicecomitatum de Edinburgh. Chart. Glasgow, 359. In David II.'s confirmation of that charter, the same terms of description are used. Ib., 363.

(*l*) In 1366, Symon de Preston, the sheriff of Edinburgh, witnessed a deed of Malcolm de Fawside. Roberts. Index, 79. On the 23rd of February 1368-9, Symon de Preston of Gorton [Goverton of old], "tunc temporis vicecomes de Laudoniæ," witnessed a charter of David II. Ib., 84. David II. was restored in 1357, and demised in 1371.

(*m*) Chart. Aberdeen, 383-6.

(*n*) Roberts. Index, 142. He died in 1413-14.

of Craigmiller was the sheriff of Edinburghshire, and provost of the city under James I. (*o*). As early as the reign of James III., it became the practice for the sheriffs of Edinburgh to attend the meetings of parliament (*p*). They owed that attendance to the parliament as the highest court. During the treasonous year 1482, Alexander Hepburn, the sheriff of Edinburghshire, appeared before the parliament, to answer for the erroneous execution of a precept from *the king's chapel,* [the chancery]; and, the Lords found that, being informally executed, the return ought to be set aside (*q*). In July 1488, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, who had contributed by his guilty enterprize to the accession of the infant James IV., was nominated sheriff of Edinburghshire, in fee and heritage (*r*); and he died in 1508. He was succeeded by his son Adam, who obtained a confirmation of his hereditary offices; which, however, did not comprehend the sheriffship of Linlithgow, though his patent did extend to Haddington and Berwick (*s*). Adam died in 1513, with James IV., on Floddon-field. His son Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, while yet an infant, succeeded him as sheriff of Edinburghshire, and died in September 1556 (*t*). He was succeeded by his son, the notorious James, Earl of Bothwell, who was served heir to his estates and offices, on the 3rd of November 1556 (*u*). James, Earl of Bothwell, as *sheriff* of Edinburgh, opened the parliament on the 29th November 1558, with the marschal and constable of Scotland, which had now become the form (*x*). James, Earl of Bothwell, was one of the commissioners who opened the parliament, on the 14th of April 1567 (*y*). It was in this parliament, which restored so many persons and confirmed so many rights, that confirmed the estates and offices of the Earl of Bothwell (*z*). He forfeited soon after all those estates and offices, by a singular fortune which acquitted him of crime,

(*o*) Macfarlane's MS. Collections, (*p*) Parl. Rec., 273.

(*q*) Ib., 283. Hepburn of Whitsun continued for some turbulent years to be the sheriff of Edinburghshire, as we may see in the Parl. Rec., 283-301.

(*r*) Ib., 359-97. In 1503, the Earl of Bothwell was sheriff of Lothian and constable of Haddington; but Hamilton of Kincavel was then sheriff of Linlithgow. Sir James Balfour's Practicks, 16. When the Earl of Bothwell was made sheriff of Lothian in fee, his grant and power seems not to have extended to Linlithgow.

(*s*) Privy Seal Rec. Lib., fo. 151. Under the Bothwells, Henry Naper, James Logan of Restalrig, and others, acted as *sheriff-deputes.* Parl. Rec.

(*t*) Parl. Rec., 689; Lord Hailes' Rem. on the Hist. of Scotland, 173.

(*u*) See the late Lord Hailes' Rem. on the Hist. of Scotland, 173-4.

(*x*) Parl. Rec., 729. Mary Stewart, we may remember, had been married to Francis, the dauphin of France, on the 24th of April 1558; and her mother Mary acted as regent of Scotland.

(*y*) Ib., 749; but he is not called *sheriff* in the Record. (*z*) Ib., 754.

when he was formally tried; yet, found him guilty, when he was a second time irregularly accused. Bothwell's succcessor as sheriff of Edinburgh is not distinctly known. John Marjoribanks, *the sheriff-depute*, with the deputies of the constable and marshal, opened the parliament on the 17th of November 1569 (*a*). In the subsequent year, James, Earl of Morton, who had by his crimes contributed so materially both to the acquittal and the forfeiture of Bothwell, was appointed his successor as sheriff of Edinburghshire (*b*). He probably ceased to be sheriff when he was chosen regent in 1572. In 1581, James VI. created Francis, the infant nephew of the forfeited Bothwell, Earl of Bothwell and sheriff of Edinburgh, and proprietor of all the other offices and estates of his uncle (*c*). After committing several murders and some treasons, though frequently pardoned by the facility which had made him an earl and sheriff, Francis, Lord Bothwell, was forfeited in 1593. Sir William Seton, the fourth son of George, Lord Seton, was now appointed successor to that unworthy noble (*d*). Sir George probably had for his successor, Sir Ludowic Lauder of Over-Gogar, who was undoubtedly the principal sheriff of Edinburghshire in 1630 (*e*). William, the first Earl of Dalhousie, acted as sheriff of this shire during the civil wars of Charles I.'s reign. John, the Earl of Lauderdale, is said to have been appointed sheriff of Edinburghshire at the Restoration (*f*). His younger brother, Charles Maitland, who succeeded to the earldom, was appointed on the 12th of November 1672, sheriff of Edinburghshire during his life, with power to appoint deputies and other officers (*g*):

(*a*) Parl. Rec., 812.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Peer., 352, who quotes the charter in Morton's Archives.

(*c*) Crawfurd and Douglas Peerages. At that epoch, the suits of Edinburgh and the suits of Haddington were called separately in Parliament, though the two districts had but one sheriff. Wight on Parl. App., 431-2. This fact proves clearly that the districts and offices and jurisdictions were different, in the comtemplation of Parliament.

(*d*) MS. History of the Seton family. He continued sheriff of Edinburgh in 1613. Taxt Roll Record.

(*e*) Sir Ludowic, as sheriff principal of Edinburgh, held a special court on the 25th of May 1630, for serving William, the Earl of Monteith, heir to David, Earl of Strathearn. Hay's Vindication, 136.

(*f*) Douglas Peer., 395, mentions this appointment, without adequate authority. He was certainly appointed constable of the castle of Edinburgh, as we know from the inscription on his tomb-stone. Crawfurd's Peer., 255.

(*g*) Warrant Book in the Paper Office. On the 14th of November 1682, the Earl of Dalhousie was appointed sheriff during pleasure. Id. On the 12th of December 1682, George Gordon, the first Earl of Aberdeen, was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh during pleasure. Id. He became President of the Session in 1681, and Lord Chancellor in 1682.

and he died upon the 9th of June 1691 (*g*). On the 4th of July 1684, the Earl of Perth was appointed Sheriff of Edinburgh during pleasure (*h*), in the room of the Earl of Aberdeen (*i*). He was re-appointed on the accession of James VII. (*k*). He had been made Justice General in 1682; Chancellor in 1684, having also superseded the Earl of Aberdeen as chancellor as well as Sheriff. At the Revolution he was imprisoned, he was long confined, and being discharged at the end of four years, on condition of expatriation, he went first to Rome, thence to his old master at St. Germains, where he was created Duke of Perth, and died in 1716 (*l*). King William's government seems to have been in no haste to appoint a new Sheriff for Edinburgh in the room of the imprisoned Perth (*m*). In February 1703, William, the fifth Earl of Dalhousie, was appointed Sheriff of Edinburgh for life (*n*). On the 12th of August 1718, Charles Earl of Lauderdale, was nominated Sheriff of Edinburgh during pleasure; but he continued to execute this trust till his death in 1744 (*o*). In August 1744, James Earl of Lauderdale was appointed his father's successor, and he was the last under the ancient regimen (*p*). Yet, as he only enjoyed this office during pleasure, he could not make a claim when jurisdictions were to be abolished by purchase. In 1748, Charles Maitland of Pitrichie was appointed the sheriff-depute, with a salary of £250 a year (*q*), under the new system, the happiest change in the progress of this trust, though it was not perfect.

But the power of the Sheriff of Mid-Lothian, and the extent of his authority, appear to have been limited in every age by various jurisdictions within his shire. The castle of Edinburgh had always, probably, a constable, whatever

(*g*) He absented himself from the meeting of the Estates of Scotland, which carried into effect the Revolution. Proceedings of the Convention, No. 5.

(*h*) Id. (*i*) Warrant Book of that date.

(*k*) Ib., of the 26th February, 1685.

(*l*) He had the yet higher honour of assisting by his influence the laborious Innes in making his curious Collections for the Scottish history.

(*m*) On the 1st of October, 1689, the magistrates of Lauder complained to the Privy Council, that in respect there is neither sheriff nor sheriff-depute in Berwickshire, their lordships would consider how the same might be remedied. Proceedings in Scotland, No. 61. June 17th, 1690, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth's commission, as Sheriff of Berwick, was read in council, and recorded. Ib., 119. But there seemed to be no Sheriff appointed for Edinburghshire at that late period.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer., 174; but the Earl became colonel of the Scots regiment of guards in Spain, and died in 1710.

(*o*) MS. List of sheriffs in the Paper Office.

(*p*) Scots Mag., 1744, 395. (*q*) Ib., 1748, 155.

his power may have been. As early as 1278, he appears to have exercised a civil jurisdiction (*r*). Thus, William de Kingorn continued Constable of the castle of Edinburgh, administering a civil jurisdiction at the sad epoch of Alexander III.'s demise. The office of Constable of Edinburgh castle was continued by Edward I., when he arrogated the superiority of Scotland (*s*). This mixed authority of the Constable of Edinburgh castle probably continued under Robert Bruce and his feeble successor (*t*). The dignity of the Constable must have suffered diminution, when the castle was demolished by the policy of Bruce; yet, had it in prior times, perhaps, power enough to give the denomination of constabulary to the whole shire of Edinburgh, which became, under David II., divided into several *wards* (*u*).

From those obscure intimations with regard to the constabulary of the castle, it is natural to advert to the jurisdictions of the town. It was James III. who, in November 1482, from grateful recollection of the effectual aid of the citizens, gave the corporation the offices of Sheriff and Coroner within its specified limits, with power of holding courts and trying criminals, and of receiving the emoluments of such jurisdictions (*x*). Under all those authorities the Provost of

(*r*) In 1278 John de Strathechin resigned the lands of Bethwalduf into the hands of Alexander III., "in camera domini regis, apud castrum puellarum de Edinburgh," before William Clerk, the Constable of the castle. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112. In the same year William de Kingorn was Constable of the castle of Edinburgh. Chart. Newbotle, No. 23. On the 1st of July, 1284, Thomas, the son of William de Lamberton, resigned the lands of Easter Crags of Gorgie into the hands of Alexander III., "apud Castrum Puellarum," before William de Kingorn, "tunc Constabulario dicti Castri." Ib., 49.

(*s*) On the 8th of July 1292, Edward I. received the fealty of various persons, "in Capella Castri Puellarum," in presence of Radulf Basset, the *Constabularius* of the same castle. Rym., ii., 569. In 1299 and 1300 John De Kingston was Constable of the castle and Sheriff of Edinburghshire. Wardrobe Account, 114. On the 13th of May 1301, John De Kingston, the Constable of Edinburgh Castle, was empowered to receive the submission of various people to Edward I. Ibid., 888. On the 26th of October 1305, John de Kingston was appointed one of the Custodes Scotiæ. Ib., 970.

(*t*) On the 16th of November 1367, David II. granted to Symon Reid, the Constable of Edinburgh Castle, the forest of Lochendorb, which had fallen to him by the forfeiture of the late John Comyn, knight. Roberts. Index, 83.

(*u*) David II. granted to David of Liberton the office of serjeant in the *overward* of the *constabulary* of Edinburgh, with the lands of Over-Liberton to the same pertaining. Ib., 63. These were called the *sergeants lands*, and continued to bear this name under James VI. and Charles I. Inquisitiones Speciales in Edinburghshire.

(*x*) Maitland's Edin., 9, from the charter. This was confirmed by James IV. in March 1509-10. Ib., 242, and those charters were confirmed and enlarged by the *golden* charter of James VI., who speaks of the town and its territory as a sheriffwick. Ib., 247.

Edinburgh is high sheriff, coroner, and admiral, within the city, its territories, and within its dependency of Leith (*y*).

The Abbot of Holyrood, under the charter of David I., was entitled to *his court* as fully as the abbots of Dunfermline and of Kelso enjoyed theirs (*z*). This jurisdiction seems to have been much extended by Robert III., both in extent and power, by giving the Abbot a right of regality over all his lands in whatever sheriffdom they might be situated, particularly over the barony of Broughton in Edinburghshire (*a*). These jurisdictions seem to have been acquired by the trustees of Heriot's Hospital. At the epoch of the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction, the trustees of Heriot's Hospital claimed £5,000 for the regality of Broughton, but were allowed only £486 19s. 8d.

David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermline the manor of Inveresk, the lands of Carbarrin [Carberry] and Smithton [Smeaton] in Mid-Lothian, with a baronial jurisdiction over those and other lands (*b*). As the town and port of Musselburgh were comprehended in the manor of Inveresk, the territories granted were called the lordship and *regality* of Musselburgh (*c*). The monks of Dunfermline enjoyed the lordship and regality of Musselburgh till the Reformation: and falling to James VI., he granted this ancient property and jurisdiction to his Chancellor, Sir John Maitland, who was created Lord Thirlestane in 1590, and died in 1595. Happy! had the sacrilegious spoils of the Scottish church been ever as well bestowed by James VI. as they now were on so honest and useful a minister. In September 1649, John, the Earl of Lauderdale, was served heir to his father in the lordship and *regality* of Musselburgh, with other lands, and the superiority over the vassals of the lordship of Musselburgh, "et jure regalitatis ejusdem (*d*)." In 1709, the lordship and regality of Musselburgh were sold by the Earl of Lauderdale to

(*y*) Arnot's Hist., Edin., 497. (*z*) Mait. Hist., Edin., 148.

(*a*) Ib., 157. Archibald, the Abbot of Holyrood, granted a charter to the monks of Newbotle of an acre of land "in vico nostro nuncupato St. Leonards' gate, infra regalitatem nostrum de Broughton." Chart. Newbot., 7; and they held regular courts of regality like other barons. Inquisitiones Speciales, 1636, 1642.

(*b*) Chart. Dunfermline.

(*c*) On the 23rd of March 1503-4, a cause was moved in Parliament against William Froge and George Hill, the bailies of Musselburgh, for their misconduct in serving certain writs of inquest, which had issued from the *chapel* [the chancery] *of the Abbot of Dunfermline*, on a tenement in that town. The Lords found that the inquest had erred in serving the writs, and set aside the retour. Parl. Rec., 501.

(*d*) Inquisit. Speciales from the Rec. The regality of Musselburgh paid of old into the Exchequer yearly, £2. MS. Exchequ. Reg.

the Duchess of Buccleuch. In 1747 the Duke of Buccleuch claimed for this regality, when all such jurisdictions were to be resumed by purchase, £3,000; but for all his claims he was only allowed £3,400 sterling.

The Douglases of Lothian obtained in early times a baronial jurisdiction over many lands in several shires, which was called the *regality* of *Dalkeith* (*e*). In 1541, James, the third Earl of Morton, obtained a charter from James V. confirming this *regality* and those lands (*f*). The notorious James, Earl of Morton, the Chancellor of Scotland, obtained in 1564, from Mary Stewart, a confirmation of all those lands and jurisdictions (*g*). William, Earl of Morton, and the Lord of Dalkeith, was served heir, in November 1606, to his grandfather, in his earldom, in the lordship of Dalkeith, and in his various jurisdictions (*h*). In January 1682, George, Earl of Dalhousie, was appointed bailie of the regality of Dalkeith (*i*). After the death of Monmouth, James, his son, was created Earl of Dalkeith. His mother, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, died in 1732, aged 81, when she was succeeded by Francis, her grandson (*k*). For the regality of Dalkeith, the duke claimed in 1747, £4,000; but for all his claims he was allowed only £3,400.

The barony of Ratho came into the possession of *the Stewart* of Scotland when he married Marjory, the daughter of Robert Bruce, who gave it with her in marriage. When Robert II., the son of that marriage, ascended the throne in 1371, Ratho and the whole lands of the Stewart being formed into a regality, were given as the appanage of his son and heir as *Stewart*. In December 1404, Robert III. granted to his son James, *the Stewart*, the barony of Ratho and all the other estates of the Stewart of Scotland, which were now formed into a royal jurisdiction (*l*). When the sheriffdom of Renfrew was settled, by dismembering Lanarkshire, the barony of Ratho was disjoined from Lothian and annexed to Renfrewshire.

The knights of St. John of Jerusalem enjoyed a regal jurisdiction over their barony of Ballentrodo in Mid-Lothian, which was comprehended in their

(*e*) Roberts. Index, 40-65-86-88. (*f*) Dougl. Peer., 492. (*g*) Parl. Rec., 763.

(*h*) Inquisit. Special. from the Rec.

(*i*) Dougl. Peer., 174, quotes the charter in Lord Dalhousie's Archives, but the peerage writer forgot to mention by whom the earl was appointed. He was probably nominated by the Duchess of Monmouth. On the 22nd of November 1687, the Duchess of Monmouth, saith Fountainhall, Decisions, i., 481, sent a letter to the privy council to put out one Anderson, who had set up a meeting-house within *her burgh of regality of Dalkeith*, which the chancellor directed, threatening the preacher with prison.

(*k*) Dougl. Peer., 104.

(*l*) See the charter in Carmichael's Tracts, 103.

regality of Torphichen. When the knights of St. John had by the Reformation been converted into temporal lords, both the barony and the regality became invested in them as lords of parliament (*m*). The Knights Templars had also a jurisdiction over their lands within Edinburghshire. This jurisdiction seems to have been acquired by the family of Primrose, and in June 1651, James, the son of David Primrose, was served heir to his father in the Templars' lands of Cramond Regis, and also in the hereditary office of bailie of the Templars' lands within this ample shire (*n*). The Archbishop of St. Andrews had a regality over his extensive estates in this shire, which he executed by a bailie, as we have already seen, who sold his office.

Before the Reformation the abbots of Kelso had a jurisdiction over their barony of Duddingston, which they carried into effect by a bailie of regality (*o*). Over the barony of Preston-hall there was a regality, which the Duchess of Gordon claimed in 1747, and for which she was paid £25 9s. 10d. sterling. For Primrose regality over the lands of Carrington, Lord Dalmeny was allowed £101 13s. 7d. sterling. In 1747, Sir Robert Dickson claimed a regality over the lands of Carberry, but his pretensions were not sustained. In May 1542, James V. granted to Nicol de Ramsay of Dalhousie, a power of justiciary over his lands of Dalhousie and Carrington in Edinburghshire, and Foulden in Berwickshire, but this power seems to have expired with himself in 1554 (*p*). In November 1362, David II. granted to John de Edmonstoun, during his life, the office of *coroner* in Edinburghshire (*q*). In the subsequent century the provost of Edinburgh was both sheriff and coroner of the town, as we have already seen. In addition to all those privileged authorities, there existed from the early reign of Malcolm IV. a *Justiciary of Lothian*, who exercised a much greater power than the Sheriff of Lothian, and who must have restrained his subordinate jurisdiction. Of old, the power of the diocesan bishop of St. Andrews, both ecclesiastical and baronial, must have often embarassed the sheriff. The authorities of the Diocesan ceased when the Reformation began. In February 1563, during the administration of Murray, was instituted the commissary court of Edinburgh in place of the bishop's officials, with a double jurisdiction, ordinary and universal. Its ordinary powers are exercised over its own limits,

(*m*) Inquisit. Spec. under 1618, from the Rec. Lord Torphicen was paid for his jurisdiction in 1747, £134 12s. 6d.

(*n*) Inquisit. Speciales from the Record.

(*o*) Chart Kelso, 544.

(*p*) Dougl. Peer., 172.

(*q*) Roberts. Index, 73.

but it is also the *general consistorial* court of Scotland (*r*). It is under this universal power, perhaps, that Edinburgh is deemed the *communis patria* of Scotsmen when abroad; whence every prudent Scotsman, saith President Stair, ought to have a resident procurator (*s*). But the College of Justice is the king's *consistorial* court of supreme jurisdiction. Such then were the peculiar authorities which either limited the power or obstructed the proceedings of the sheriff within this shire (*t*). The final abolition of all those hereditary jurisdictions was one of the happiest events in the diversified annals of Mid-Lothian.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Next to the colonization of Mid-Lothian by successive settlers of different lineages and dissimilar tongues, the objects most worthy of a rational curiosity are the castle and the city of Edinburgh (*u*). The castle, as we may learn from its Celtic name of *Mai-dyn*, was a fortlet of the British Gadeni during the earliest times. As a strength of the original people, it may have existed a thousand years before the Northumbrian Edwin repaired its defences and gave it his name (*x*). It was probably relinquished during the reign of the Scottish Indulph (*y*). It was resigned to Malcolm II. by Earl Eadulph in 1020 A.D. (*z*). In this castle died the worthy Margaret, the widowed consort of Malcolm Canmore, in November 1093 (*a*); and on the 8th of January 1106-7, in *Dun-Eden*, died Edgar, their son, after a short and unimportant reign (*b*). Whether his successor, Alexander I., ever resided in that castle is

(*r*) Maitland's Hist. Edin., 377; and for the commissariate jurisdiction, see Arnot's Edin., 491, who was a lawyer.

(*s*) Institute, 659.

(*t*) Regularly, saith Sir George Mackenzie, those who dwell in *regalities* are not subject to the sheriff. Observ., 42.

(*u*) Caledonia, i., b. i., c. 11; b. ii., c. 3; b. iii., c. 6.

(*x*) Edwin flourished from 617 A.D. to 634, as we know from Savill's *Fasti* in his *Scriptores Post Bedam.*

(*y*) Chron., No. 3, in Innes's Crit. Essay, 787. Indulph reigned eight years, from 953 to 961 A.D., Caledonia, i., 375.

(*z*) Ib., 402.

(*a*) Ib., 420. There was a chapel dedicated to the pious Margaret, soon after her decease, within the castle which she had dignified by her residence, and edified by her death. This chapel is mentioned by David I. in his charter at Holyrood. Robert II. granted to St. Margaret's chapel, within the castle of Edinburgh, an yearly rent of eight pounds sterling out of the customs of Edinburgh. This donation was confirmed by Robert III. Roberts. Index, p. 151. In De Wit's map of Edinburgh *the chapel* of Edinburgh Castle appears very prominent to the eye, though without any of the adjuncts of a chapel.

(*b*) Reg. of St. Andrews, in Innes's Essay, and Caledonia, 618.

quite uncertain, though there cannot be any doubt whether he held Edinburgh as a town of the royal demesne (*c*).

It was during the beneficent reign of David I., who succeeded his brother Alexander in 1124, that we see the *Castellum Puellarum* possessed by David in all the settled splendour of a royal residence, while the town was merely the demesne of the king (*d*). Edinburgh, under the administration of David I., appears to have been as populous and important as Berwick-upon-Tweed, which was then the largest and most commercial in North-Britain. Edinburgh under David was one of the *quatuor burgorum* which formed a commercial judicatory for commercial matters. Under him it probably acquired an augmentation of people; as we see him erect a new mill as well as a new church in its vicinage. Soon after his accession he conferred his well-known charter on the canons of Holyrood (*e*). He empowered the canons of Holyrood to build a town between their church and *his burgh:* and hence arose the *suburb*, which is so well known as the *Canongate*; whose burgesses were enabled by David I. to buy and sell and traffic as freely and fully as his own burgesses of Edinburgh. Yet are we not to infer that Edinburgh was a *royal burgh* in the modern sense. It was then a town *in demesne*, by another step it became a town *in firm*. It obtained this step probably from William the Lion (*f*). David often resided in the

(*c*) Chart. Scone, No. 1; Chart. Inchcolm, 16.

(*d*) This castle continued to be the frequent residence of the Scottish kings, whatever Maitland may intimate to the contrary, till subsequent times. The fact is established by the many charters of all those kings, which were dated within its walls. See the chartularies, throughout. Maitland supposes Edinburgh town to have been made a royal burgh by David I. The fact is, that it was a demesne of the king, even before the accession of Alexander I. For Alexander conferred on the abbey of Dunfermline one mansion in *Edensburgh*. Chart. Scone, No. 1. In the foundation charter of Holyrood by David I., we see it from many notices still more distinctly as a town in demesne. He calls it *his burgh*. William the Lion confirmed to the monastery of Dunfermline an annual rent of a hundred shillings, "de firma burgi de Edinburg." Chart. Dunferm. This grant was confirmed by Alexander II. Id. The first charter which was ever granted to Edinburgh was that of Robert I., dated the 28th of May 1329. Maitland, p. 7. There are a great variety of grants by subsequent kings, out of the *customs* of Edinburgh. Robertson's Index. Yet, had it some sort of corporate body, when the alderman, *et tote la commune*, swore fealty to Edward in 1296. Prynne. The first *provost* who appears in record is John Quitness, who was a witness to Robert II's. charter in 1378. Hay's Vindic. 26, with Crawford's MS. Note.

(*e*) The charter is in Maitland's Edinburgh; and there is an Inspeximus Copy of it by Robert II. in Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, p. 125. "A° 1128, coepit fundari ecclesia sanctæ crucis de Edenesburch." Chron. Sanct. Crucis.

(*f*) K. William granted to the monks of Dunfermline 100 shillings yearly, "de firma burgi de Edinburg," on the day of Malcolm's demise. Chart. Dunfermline. This was confirmed by Alexander III. Id.

maiden castle; as we know from the dates of so many of his charters. Malcolm IV. his successor (*a*), frequently resided in this castle; as we may learn from the same circumstance (*b*). Yet, he recognised Scone to be the *metropolis* of his kingdom. William the Lion, though he generally dwelt at Haddington, resided sometimes in the maiden castle (*c*). In 1174, in order to regain his liberty, he surrendered Edinburgh castle to Henry II., as we have seen. In 1177, a council of the Scotican church was assembled at Edinburgh, by Vivian, the papal legate (*d*). Another council of the Scotican church was assembled at Edinburgh in 1180 (*e*). On the 3rd of September 1186, William married Ermengard at Woodstock, when Henry II. restored to him "*Castellum Puellarum,*" which William immediately assigned to Ermengard in dower, with a hundred librates of rent and forty knights fees (*f*). A convention of prelates and barons assembled at Edinburgh in 1190, who gave to William an aid of 10,000 marks (*g*). By him Edinburgh was converted into a place of mintage, as we know from Cardonnel, and as we have already seen (*h*).

After the demise of William in 1214, at the end of a lengthened reign, Alexander II., a youth of seventeen, came to Edinburgh where he held a parliament, and confirmed the offices of his chancellor, his chamberlain, and of other dignities (*i*). Edinburgh seems not to have felt any of the wretchedness of the war, which immediately ensued between Alexander and King John. The English sovereign certainly burnt Dunbar and Haddington; saying that "he would smoke the little red fox out of his covert;" But, his rage does not appear to have reached Edinburgh. Peace was restored in 1219, when Alexander engaged on oath, that he would marry Joan the daughter of the poisoned John, if he could obtain her consent. On the 25th of June 1221, Alexander accordingly married Joan, the princess of England. Yet, though she were provided in a jointure of £1000 of land-rent, Edinburgh seems to have contributed nothing to her matrimonial provision (*k*). The king and queen soon after came to Edinburgh where they for some time resided (*l*).

(*a*) See the chartularies throughout. (*b*) Id. (*c*) Id.

(*d*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 589; Lord Hailes' Councils, 5.

(*e*) Dalrymple's Col., 325; Lord Hailes' Councils, 17. (*f*) Hoveden, 632.

(*g*) Fordun, l. viii., c. 50; yet Maitland says the first time that the parliaments met at Edinburgh was in the year 1436. Hist. Edin., 6.

(*h*) Numismata, pl. i. (*i*) Ford., l. ix., 27. (*k*) Rym., i., 252.

(*l*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 206. And Alexander II. often resided in Edinburgh Castle throughout his reign, whence he gave many of his charters which sometimes are dated at *Edinburgh*, often at the *Castrum Puellarum*, and not unfrequently at *Castellum Puellarum*. The charters of Alexander II. testify those facts.

In 1239, a general council of the Scotican church was assembled by the papal legate at Edinburgh (*m*). But it must be acknowledged that this castle and town did not partake much either in the miseries or the hilarities of the reign of Alexander II., one of the ablest and best of the Scottish kings.

Alexander III. also made Edinburgh castle not unfrequently the place of his residence (*n*). Alexander married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III., at York, on the 26th of December 1251. They seem to have made Edinburgh castle the chief place of their royal residence (*o*). The infant queen was not pleased with her situation. She complained in 1255 of the castle of Edinburgh as a solitary place, without verdure, and unwholesome from its vicinity to the sea. A physician was sent by the king and queen of England to visit their daughter in her dreary abode (*p*). He probably reported that such a castle was not unwholesome, whatever grievances the youthful queen of a youthful husband might feel or feign (*q*). At this epoch the whole nation was divided into two potent factions, the Scottish, with Walter Cumyn, the Earl of Menteith, at its head, and the English, with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, for its chief. While the Scottish faction were preparing to hold a parliament at Stirling, the Earl of Dunbar with his followers entered the *Castellum Puellarum*, took charge of the king and queen, and expelled the opposite party (*r*). This is the earliest instance of two factions meeting in hostile collision within the limits of Edinburgh. We have thus seen that Alexander III. not only resided in this castle but frequently held his courts in it for transacting juridical affairs. On the 28th of June 1284, Thomas of Lamberton resigned into the king's power the lands of Easter Crags of Gorgie, in the

(*m*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 592 ; Lord Hailes' Councils, 14.

(*n*) There is a charter of Alexander III. dated on the 3rd of June 1250, "apud Castrum Puellarum." MS. Col. of Charters. On the 26th of March 1279, Alexander wrote a letter to Edward I. dated "apud Castrum Puellarum." Rym., ii., 1064.

(*o*) M. Paris, 907. (*p*) Id. (*q*) Ib., 908.

(*r*) Chron. Melrose, 220, which speaks of the *Castellum Puellarum* as the *castle of Edinburgh* in 1255. Lord Hailes, with this veracious chronicle before him, did not sufficiently attend to this fact. An., i., 166-7. On the 9th of May 1278, in the king's chamber, "apud Castrum Puellarum de Edinburgh," in the chamber called "*the blessed Margaret's chamber*," John de Strathechin resigned into the king's hands the lands of Bethwalduf, in the presence of William Clerk, the constable of the castle of Edinburgh. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112 ; Chart. Dunferm., fo. 15 ; Dalzell's Monast. Antiq., 54. We may thus see that the worthy Margaret was still remembered in the traditions of the country, at the end of two centuries after she had in this chamber resigned her last breath.

presence of William de Kingorn, the constable of this castle (*s*). In a juridical proceeding of James, the Stewart of Scotland, on the 26th of January, 1284-5, we may see still more distinctly that an exchange of lands was effected before the king himself, "in *aula* castelli de Edinburg, ad *colloquium* domini regis (*t*)," in the presence of William de Soulis, then justiciary of Lothian, and other *magnates Scotiæ*. Before the eventful demise of Alexander III., on the 19th of March 1285-6, the *maiden castle* had been converted into the safe depositary of the principal records and of the appropriate regalia of the kingdom (*u*).

From that direful event Edinburgh partook of the wasteful revolutions of many years. The proceedings of the *custodes regni*, with the *testament* of Alexander, were deposited, with many public papers, in the castle (*x*). In June 1291, the *Castrum Puellarum* was surrendered with the town to Edward I., as lord paramount of the whole kingdom. On the 8th of July, 1292, Edward received the fealty of Adam, the abbot of Holyrood, "in capella Castri Puellarum (*y*)." On the 29th of the same month, after Edward's return from the North, he received the fealty of the abbot of Newbotle, and other respectable persons, "apud Castrum Puellarum, in capella ejusdem castri (*z*)." After the battle of Dunbar had decided the gallant struggle for the nation's independence, Edward I. advanced through Lothian to Edinburgh in May 1296, when he compelled the obstinate castle to surrender to his overpowering force; and when he again received within its chapel the unwilling submission of many persons. On the 28th of August 1296, William de Dederyk, alderman of the burgh of Edinburgh, "e tote la commune de mesme burg," swore fealty to Edward I. (*a*). Edinburgh had now risen from being a town in demesne to be a corporation. In October 1296, the castle of Edinburgh, with the Sheriffdom of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Haddington, were committed by Edward I. to the charge of Walter de Huntercombe (*b*). He appears to have been super-

(*s*) Chart. Newbot., 49. (*t*) Autograph Charter, in my library.

(*u*) Ayloffe's Calend., 330. Herein may be seen a schedule, dated at Edinburgh, in the vigil of St. Bartholomew, 1291, of the *Ornamenta*, which were found in thesauria Castri de Edinburgh. Among other regalia there was found, "Unum Scrinium, in quo reponitur crux que vocatur *la blake rode*." And see other notices to the same effect in the same Calendar, 335-8, wherein the castle is called *Castrum Puellarum*. We may now infer from all those notices that the castle of Edinburgh, at that sad epoch, was promiscuously called *Castrum Puellarum*, *Castellum Puellarum*, and *Castrum Edinburgi*.

(*x*) Ib., 335.

(*y*) Rym., ii., 569. Among other persons who were present on that singular occasion was Radulph Basset, constabulary of the same castle. Id.

(*z*) Ib., 571. (*a*) Prynne, iii., 653. (*b*) Ib., 731.

seded before the year 1299 by John de Kingston in those confidential trusts (*b*). He was also empowered on the 13th of May 1301 to receive the submission of the neighbouring inhabitants (*c*); and on the 26th of October 1305 he was appointed by Edward one of the *Custodes Scotiæ* (*d*).

In the meantime Mid-Lothian and its castle furnished few events for the topographical historian to record. Hostile armies may have traversed the plains of Lothian, and domestic feuds may have sometimes disturbed its quiet; but throughout many a year there was neither battle to engage the swords of the youth nor siege to incite the anxieties of the old. During the succession war, the English armies had advanced and retreated through Mid-Lothian during the struggles of a gallant people without any uncommon event, till hostilities had almost ceased in the usual languor of frequent truces; but when the peace ended at the beginning of the year 1303, Edward sent a fresh army into Scotland under the command of John de Segrave. The English advanced towards Edinburgh in three divisions. The first had scarcely approached to Roslin on the 24th of February 1302-3, under the conduct of Segrave, when it was attacked by some chosen bands under Cumyn, the guardian, and Simon Fraser of Tweeddale: Segrave was discomfited and wounded. His second division, which advanced to support him, only shared his misfortune; and the third division also advancing, a sharp conflict ensued, with very doubtful success. The events of this day are blazoned by the historians of the one nation, and thrown into shade by the annalists of the other (*e*).

But still more eventful scenes were now at hand. In 1306 Robert Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, which he left to his posterity after many a gallant conflict. Edward I. died in 1307, crying out for vengeance, and inciting perseverance with his last breath. It was not, however, till the 14th of March 1312-13, that the castle of Edinburgh was taken by assault under the able conduct of Randolph, the king's nephew. In 1322, Edward II. advanced to Edinburgh, but he was obliged to retire for want of provisions; and his soldiers plundered the abbey of Holyrood. The *fourteenth* parliament of Robert Bruce assembled in the abbey of Holyrood on the 8th of March

(*b*) In the winter of 1299-1300 great quantities of various stores, for enabling him to perform those trusts, were placed in his hands, as we may see in the Wardrobe Account.

(*c*) Rym., ii., 888.

(*d*) Ib., 970. And when Edward issued his well-known ordinance, for the government of Scotland in 1305, he continued John de Kingston in the command of Edinburgh castle. Ryley's Placita, 505.

(*e*) Fordun, l. xii., c. 2; Hemingford, i., 198.

1326-7 (*f*). The last parliament of this interesting reign met at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March 1327-8; wherein the representatives of the burghs were first admitted among the estates, and the treaty of Northampton was confirmed, which acknowledged the independence of Scotland. In the last year of his important life, Robert Bruce granted a charter to the people of Edinburgh, which recognised their ancient privileges and added new (*g*). Edinburgh, at that epoch, was still an unwalled town, having few people and little importance: yet was it a place of mintage to Robert I. (*h*).

David II., the infant heir of Robert Bruce and his kingdom, were left with pretensions on them, by Edward Baliol, the pretender to the crown. He was supported by Edward III., who was equally ambitious and as overbearing as his grandfather. The Scottish king was little able to contend with such powerful pretenders. On the 10th and 12th of February 1333-4, Edward Baliol pretended to hold a parliament within the chapel of the abbey of Holyrood, at Edinburgh. The partizans, who were then assembled, agreed with him to surrender the independence of the crown, and to grant to Edward III. a large share of Southern Scotland(*i*). On the 12th of June 1334, the pretender assigned to that ambitious king the town, the castle, and the county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow (*k*). Three days afterward, Edward III. appointed John de Kingston the keeper of the castle and the sheriff of the shire of Edinburgh (*l*). While Edward Baliol marched into the west from Edinburgh during November 1334, Edward III. led his army into Lothian, where he domineered a while without control. He at length marched forward to other objects; and Count Guy of Namur, who landed meantime at Berwick with a reinforcement of men-at-arms in the pay of Edward, advanced to Edinburgh, thinking that such a warrior as Edward had not left an enemy in his rear. But the Earls of Murray and March, and Sir William Ramsay, attacked him on the burgh moor. A desperate conflict long continued, even on the castle hill and in the streets. The count at length capitulated (*m*). At this town, however, the king of

(*f*) Roberts. Index, 28.

(*g*) Mait. Hist. Edin., 7. Robert I.'s charter was dated the 28th of May 1329.

(*h*) Cardonnel, p. 50, and pl. ii. The legend was *villa Edinbug*, for want of space upon a very small coin.

(*i*) Rym., iv.. 591-3. (*k*) Ib., 615. (*l*) Ib., 617.

(*m*) Fordun, l. xiii., c. 35; Rym., iv., 658; Lord Hailes' An., ii., 180-1.

England spent much of his time in the autumn of 1335 (*n*). In 1336, Edward III. directed the castle of Edinburgh to be rebuilt, which Bruce is said to have razed (*o*). In the same year he granted to John de Stryvelyn the custody of Edinburgh castle and the sheriffship of Edinburghshire (*p*).

In 1337, Sir Andrew Moray, the guardian of Scotland, on his return from wasting Cumberland, laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The English hastened from the borders to relieve it. William Douglas encountered them in a sharp conflict at Crichton, in Mid-Lothian. He seems to have obliged the enemy to retire, though he was badly wounded. Yet, the guardian raised the siege, owing to whatever cause (*q*). In the meantime, Lothian submitted to him; and he made Lawrence Preston sheriff of a country, which was wasted by the successive efforts both of the foe and friend (*r*). A famine ensued in the land; and during the same year Edward III. asserted his claim to France, which, occupying much of his attention, brought great relief to Scotland. The English retained possession of Edinburgh castle throughout the three subsequent years. But William Ramsay of Dalhousie, one of the most enterprising officers of an active age, issuing frequently from the caves of Hawthornden, expelled the English, and even followed them into Northumberland. The castle of Edinburgh was at length taken on the 17th of April 1341, by the stratagem of Bullock, and the enterprise of Douglas of Lidisdale (*s*). David II., returning from France, now invaded England with a numerous army. But he was defeated and taken in 1346, at the battle of Durham (*t*). After this sad disaster, Edward Baliol led the Gallowaymen into Lothian, which they wasted with fire and sword (*u*). But the war of Scotland declined into frequent cessations. Edward III., indeed, advanced with his army to Edinburgh in 1356. But the dispersion of his fleet, that supplied him with provisions, obliged that warlike prince to retire; who wasted the country through which he retreated, by Gala and Teviotdale (*x*). In the subsequent year, David II. was restored to his people under a treaty, dated the 3rd of October 1357 (*y*). The tenth parliament of this wretched reign was convened at Edinburgh on

(*n*) He was at Edinburgh on the 16th and 21st of September 1335. Rym., iv., 667-8. He was at Cockburnspath on the 23rd of September. Ib., 669. He was at Edinburgh on the 24th and 28th. Id; and he was at Berwick on the 26th of October 1335. Id.

(*o*) Lord Hailes' An., ii., 191; and the English king's warrant for that effect is in Ayloffe's Cal., 166.

(*p*) Ib., 169. (*q*) Lord Hailes' An., ii., 195. (*r*) Fordun, l. xiii., c. 41-2.

(*s*) Lord Hailes' An., ii., 207. (*t*) Ib., 216. (*u*) Fordun, l. xiv., c. 6.

(*x*) Fordun, l. xiv., c. 13. (*y*) Rym., vi., 46-52.

the 26th of September 1357, in order to carry into effect the late treaty which was soon after ratified by the Estates, and by each of the orders separately (*z*). The nineteenth parliament of David II. was assembled in the abbey of Holyrood on the 8th of May 1366 (*a*). Herein were discussed several points of a recent treaty which seemed intolerable to the Estates of a harassed people. On the 22nd of February 1370-1, a day happy for Scotland, died David II. in Edinburgh, after a very disastrous reign, and he was buried before the great altar in the abbey church of Holyrood, where a monument was erected to his memory (*b*). During the reign of David II., Edinburgh was a frequent place of mintage (*c*). In the frequent parliaments of David II.'s reign, Edinburgh appeared as the chief burgh at the head of all the national burgesses (*d*). David II. granted various pensions from the customs of Edinburgh (*e*), and he gave to the burgesses and community of Edinburgh, a piece of land on the way leading to the castle whereon the *weigh-house* was built (*f*), which has always obstructed and greatly disfigured the principal street of this metropolis.

This town had not the honour of witnessing the coronation of Robert Stewart under the parliamentary entail of Bruce's crown. On the 3rd of May, 1371, however, he held a privy council at Edinburgh (*g*). In 1381 the Duke of Lancaster found a welcome reception with the monks of Holyrood, till England

(*z*) Rym., vi., 41. The clergy, the barons, and the burgesses gave separate commissions to certain members of its own body. Ib., 44. Those several commissioners ratified, by a separate deed of their own at Berwick, the agreement of each Estate. Ib., 59. To the resolution of a general council at Perth, on the 13th of January 1364-5, the seals of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee, were appended in the name of all the burghs. Parl. Rec., 102. Of the seventeen burghs which were represented in Parliament, Edinburgh then ranked as the first.

(*a*) Roberts. Index, 110.

(*b*) On the 24th of May, 1372, Edward III. granted a safe conduct to certain persons who went from Scotland to Flanders, to provide a stone for the tomb of David II. Rym., vi., 721. On the 28th of May 1373, he granted another safe conduct to certain persons on their way to Flanders, "pro diversis lapidibus nigris." Ib., vii., 10. This tomb has not, however, preserved the vivid memory of a king who entailed on his people so many miseries.

(*c*) Cardonnel, pl. ii., p. 52-3. The legend was *villa Edinburg.*

(*d*) Parl. Rec., 108-17.

(*e*) Roberts. Index, 49-50. During this reign Edinburgh continued to be one of the *four burghs* that formed a chamberlain's court for commercial affairs.

(*f*) Roberts. Index, 78. This grant was on the 3d of December 1365.

(*g*) Parl. Rec., 119. In November 1384, there was a general council held at Edinburgh. Ib., 133: and Lord Berner's Froissart, fo. 317. There was another general council at Edinburgh, in April 1385, with various continuations. Parl. Rec., 133.

became so free from insurrection as to admit of his safe return (*h*). Yet in 1384 the same duke led an army to the gates of Edinburgh, which he is said to have spared on account of his hospitable reception there during some years before (*i*). The Scottish king summoned an army to the burgh moor for the purpose of retaliation or revenge (*k*). Meantime, Robert II. learned from some French envoys that a truce was made between England and France, and a small French reinforcement also arrived. Some embarrassment immediately ensued. The king wished for peace, the barons panted for war, and they met within Saint Giles's church at Edinburgh, where they resolved on hostilities, and told the French knights that they should be immediately called into action. The summer of 1384 saw, in the result, the counterminous borders on either side wasted by alternate inroads (*l*). In May 1384, the admiral of France, John de Vienne, arrived at Leith, with a thousand men at arms and much money. The wages of corruption were divided among the Scottish barons in the proportions of their influence (*m*). Thirty thousand men who were mounted on small horses, assembled on the moor of Edinburgh, whence they marched to the borders under the Earls of Fife and Douglas; yet besides an inroad they effected nothing worthy of such a force, being checked by an English army (*n*). Robert II. then resided at Edinburgh, which scarcely contained 4000 houses, which accommodated 20,000 people. Froissart called Edinburgh *the Paris* of Scotland; yet, could it not comfortably lodge the French knights, who did not conceal their disappointment and disgust. The whole country, indeed, remained as Froissart pretty plainly intimates, in the wretchedness, and penury, and nastiness in which the warfare and waste of a century had left a harassed country (*o*). During August 1385, Richard II. retaliated by leading an irresistible army through Lothian. On his route he burnt the monastery of Newbotle; and arriving at Edinburgh he gave the town, with St. Giles's Church, and the Abbey of Holyrood, to his vengeful torch. After remaining at Edinburgh during five days of malignant triumph, he marched

(*h*) Ford., l. xiv., c. 46.

(*i*) Ib., c. 47. Walsingham blames the duke for his forbearance, 398; and he adds that the inhabitants removed their effects, and even unroofed their houses, which were covered with straw. Wyntoun and Fordun concur in saying that the town was ransomed by the people.

(*k*) From that epoch the array of Scotland was generally made on the burgh moor of Edinburgh.

(*l*) Lord Berner's Froissart, fo. 317. His lordship says those inroads were undertaken without the knowledge of the Scottish king, who was disinclined to war.

(*m*) Rym., vii., 484. (*n*) Walsingham, 316. (*o*) Lord Berners, ii. 3.

to Stirling, leaving the whole metropolis in flames except the castle, which was naturally strong, and was now well defended (*q*). The English king, though he was attended by a great deal of victuallers, was at length obliged by want to retire from a country which he had ruined, by every mode of hostile devastation. Meantime, in July 1385, John the Stewart, who now acted as the king's lieutenant, granted permission to the citizens of Edinburgh to build houses within its castle, in order to enable them to sustain the storm, which, from the south, lowered upon their destiny (*r*). Robert II. convened the Three Estates at Edinburgh, in April 1389, wherein his second son Robert, the Earl of Fife, was constituted governor of the kingdom, owing to the age and infirmities of his father (*s*); and he demised, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, on the 19th of April 1390. In the meantime, Robert II. made various grants out of his revenues of Edinburgh, which equally evince his own liberality and the ability of the town (*t*).

His eldest son, John, immediately succeeded him, by the name of Robert III., who had now passed his fiftieth year. He held a council within the castle of Edinburgh, on the 1st of December 1390, when he renewed the league of his fathers with France (*u*). Almost a dozen years elapsed without any hostilities from abroad, or any disturbance within the limits of Lothian, while the king's brothers domineered within his kingdom. Incited by antiquated claims, and irritated by new provocations, Henry IV. marched through the Merse and Lothian to Leith, in August 1400. He repeatedly assaulted Edinburgh castle, which was successfully defended by the Duke of Rothesay, the apparent heir of Robert III.; but the English monarch is said to have

(*q*) Bower, l. xiv., c. 50; Walsingham, 317; Lord Berners, ii., fo. 11.

(*r*) Mait. Hist. Edin., 7. There are various documents in Rym., vii., which exhibit John the prince and steward acting then as the king's lieutenant; and in June 1385, as the king's lieutenant he presided in a general council, which was then held at Edinburgh. Parl. Rec., 104. In July 1388, Robert II. granted to the same citizens a piece of ground on the north side of the *market* street, for beautifying the town. Maitland, 7.

(*s*) Bower, l. xiv., c. 55.

(*t*) On the 26th of December 1385, he granted to Sir William Douglas, the son of Archibald, the Lord of Galloway, and to his spouse Egidia, the king's daughter, a yearly pension of £300 sterling, out of the great customs of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Dundee and Aberdeen. Hay's Vindication, 55. He granted to Adam Forster, burgess of Edinburgh, a pension of 20 marks sterling, from the great customs of the metropolis. Roberts. Index, 123. He granted on the 14th of February 1389-90, from the same fund, £8 sterling to *St. Margaret's Chapel* within Edinburgh Castle. Ib., 151.

(*u*) Parl. Rec., 136.

spared Edinburgh from a recollection of the favourable reception which his father had received within this hospitable town (*x*). When he saw no advantage, and heard of disturbances at home, he retired upon his steps, without doing much other mischief than assaulting Dalhousie castle.

The prince of Scotland, who thus defended Edinburgh castle, was soon after brought to his premature end. Rothesay was young and profligate. He had already spoused the daughter of George Earl of March; an imprudence, which as we have seen, brought innumerable mischiefs on his country. He was afterward induced to marry Mary, the daughter of Archibald Earl of Douglas (*y*); but, neglecting his wife and his other duties, Rothesay was assassinated by duress, in the dungeon of Falkland castle, by Albany, the king's brother, and Earl Douglas, the king's son-in-law. The parliament which assembled at Edinburgh, in May 1402, in trying to exculpate those two overbearing nobles, who avowed the prince's imprisonment for the public good, only recorded their terrible guilt (*z*). The aged king, feeling his inability to protect his subjects or his family, resolved, in 1404, to send his only son, James, who was now eleven years old, to France, for his education and safety. The prince was, by the king's order, secretly removed from the bishop's palace at St. Andrews; he was safely carried through the Lothians, under the faithful charge of Sir David Fleming, to North-Berwick; and he was thence conveyed to the impregnable castle of the Bass, with the salutary purpose of waiting the arrival of the vessel which was to transport him to his foreign destination. After remaining here almost a month, he raised his dubious sail, under the guidance of Henry Sinclair, the second Earl of Orkney; but the prince was carried into England during a truce, and detained unjustly, through many a dreary year of peace and war. The fate of the worthy Sir David Fleming was still more deplorable. Returning home from the performance of the important trust which was placed in him by the unhappy king, he was slain, on the 14th February 1405, by James Douglas of Balveney, who sallied out of Edinburgh with his followers, and assassinated him on Longherdmanston-moor, after a bloody conflict. The guilty Douglas took prisoners several nobles and knights, who were soon enlarged. This odious event, which stained Currie parish with so foul a

(*x*) Bower, l. xv., c. 2. He spared the abbey of Holyrood owing to the same cause, saying, far from his policy be the practice of molesting any church, much less that wherein his father had found refuge.

(*y*) There was a pension granted by Robert III. to David, Duke of Rothesay, and Mary Douglas, from the customs of the burghs lying besouth the Forth. Roberts. Index, 146.

(*z*) Parl. Rec., 136; Roberts. Index, 104; Lord Hailes' Rem. Hist. Scot., 278.

dye, was passed over by the corrupt government of Albany as a common occurrence of wretched times (*a*). The venerable and worthy king did not long survive those "sour adversities," dying on the 4th of April 1406, after an unfortunate reign of almost seventeen years (*b*). Meantime, Edinburgh, during the reigns of Robert II. and Robert III., was a place of coinage, as it had equally been under David II. and Robert I. (*c*).

At that epoch James I. was a prisoner in England; and Edinburgh and Lothian partook of the waste and woe of the two regencies of Albany, and his son, Murdoch. In 1416, Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, took the castle of Edinburgh, which he delivered to the charge of William Crawford, who restored it in 1418 (*d*). The motives of such men, during such times, it is not easy to ascertain. In 1419, died the aged Albany, the domineering regent. In December 1423, a treaty was made for the freedom and restoration to his people of James I. (*e*). The town of Edinburgh, as we have just seen, had the honour to contribute greatly to the king's return. James I. passed the Tweed to Melrose abbey on the 5th of April 1424 (*f*). The king, in his turn, often honoured Edinburgh with his residence. In August 1429, James I., his queen and court, then residing here, Alexander, the Lord of the Isles, submitted himself to the king's mercy before the high altar of the church of Holyrood, in the presence of the queen and nobles (*g*). On the 16th of

(*a*) Wyntoun's Chron., ii., 412-13; Bower, l. xv., c. 18. The blood-stained Douglas succeeded to the earldom, upon the death of Earl William, in 1440, and died on the 24th of March 1443-4. Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglases, 148-57-60, who covers the detestable murder of Sir David Fleming "with some sweet oblivious antidote."

(*b*) Robert III. granted to his brother Walter, the Lord of Brechin, a pension, from the customs of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 138. He conferred on James Douglas, of Dalkeith, a pension from the same revenue. Ib., 150. He gave a pension from the customs of Edinburgh to James Stewart of Kilbride; and failing his heirs-male, to John Stewart of Ardgowan. Ib., 145. These were the king's two natural sons. Crawford, 21; Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts, 62. Robert III. also granted to William Stewart of Jedworth a pension of 40 marks from the customs of Edinburgh and Linlithgow. Roberts. Index, 154. He gave to William de Lindsay 40 marks sterling from the customs of Edinburgh and Haddington. Ib., 157; and he conferred on Thomas Moffat a pension of £10 from the great customs of Edinburgh. Ib., 127.

(*c*) Cardonnel, 6. These coins have upon the obverse "Villa de Edinburgh." Ib., pl. iii.

(*d*) Bower, l. xv., c. 24.

(*e*) Rym., x., 303. That treaty required that obligations, securing the payment of the ransom, should be granted by the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Id. The town of Edinburgh, on the 16th of February 1423-4, gave its bond for the payment of 50,000 marks English money. Ib., 325.

(*f*) Rym., x., 343.

(*g*) Bower, l. xvi., c. 16.

October 1430, the queen was delivered of twins in the abbey of Holyrood (*h*). In the subsequent year the festivities of Edinburgh were saddened by a pestilence (*i*). The last parliament of James I. was held at Edinburgh on the 22nd of October 1436 (*k*). James I. coined much of his money at this metropolis of his ruined kingdom (*l*).

The sad catastrophe of James I., which happened at Perth, produced beneficial effects to Edinburgh. Perth, as it had no castle which could shelter the royal family from the most murderous attacks of ferocious nobles, ceased to be the seat of government. Though parliaments had frequently assembled at Edinburgh, yet at that epoch it became the king's residence, and the parliament's place of meeting. From the reign of David II., Edinburgh appears the primary burgh in all public transactions; and the parliamentary commissioners, who were sent from Edinburgh, were treated with great distinction. They were generally chosen on the committees of articles for the making of laws, and on the committees of causes for the administration of justice (*m*).

James II., who was an infant of scarcely seven years of age when his father was murdered, fled from Perth, the guilty scene, to the safer residence of Edinburgh castle; and on the 20th of March 1436-7, a parliament was held in the church of Holyrood, where the youthful king was crowned (*n*); neither Scone nor Stirling being deemed places of sufficient security for such a ceremony; and here was the government settled, Crichton being confirmed as chancellor, with the charge of Edinburgh castle; and Livingston being appointed the king's governor, with the keeping of Stirling castle. Some of the assassins of James I. were brought to Edinburgh, where they were legally tried, and exemplarily punished. The years 1438, 1439, and 1440, were

(*h*) Id. The eldest twin was named Alexander, who died an infant; the youngest twin was baptized James, and succeeded his murdered father in 1437.

(*i*) Id. (*k*) Parl. Rec., 72.

(*l*) Cardonnel's Numis., 66. On the obverse of his coins the place of mintage is inscribed, "Villa Edinburgh." Ib., pl. iv.

(*m*) The number of representatives from Edinburgh seems not to have been specified, but it appears to have been generally *two*. In the Parliament of Stirling, on the 4th of September 1439, William of Cranston, a burgess of Edinburgh, was present, as the commissioner of that town; and affixed his seal, with two others, on the part of the burghs, to the agreement between the queen and the governor Livingston. Crawfurd's Peer., 276, wherein this curious fact is transcribed. The commissaries of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Linlithgow, witnessed, in a similar manner, a charter of James II., granted, in the parliament at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June 1445, to James Lord Hamilton. Davidson's Chamberlain's Accounts, 27.

(*n*) Parl. Rec., 29-73.

idly wasted in disputes among the rulers about the keeping of the king's person; and Edinburgh castle was made the frequent scene of contest and circumvention, which were not settled even by the parliamentary agreement of September 1439. On the 24th of November 1440, William, the sixth Earl Douglas, David Douglas, his brother, and Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, their special counsellor, were adjudged in Edinburgh castle, the youthful king sitting as justiciary (*o*).

William, Earl Douglas, who thus died on "treason's true bed," was succeeded by James Douglas of Balvèny, who had assassinated Sir David Fleming, without challenge, on Longherdmanston moor, as we have seen; and, dying on the 24th of March 1443-4, left a son, William, who, arrogating the practices of his fathers, met a similar fate (*p*). This personage, when he entered on the earldom, saith Godscroft, the appropriate historian of his family, entered also hereditarily to their enmity against the two grand guides of the time, Crichton the chancellor, and Livingston the governor (*q*). This noble, with all his enmities and his arrogance, James II., in an evil hour for his people and himself, assumed as his favourite in 1444. Crichton, the ablest man in Scotland, was now dismissed from his high office of chancellor. Feeling this event as an avowal of hostility, he provisioned Edinburgh castle; and prepared, with his usual vigour, to defend himself from the threatened violence (*r*). A parliament was called at Edinburgh, in June 1445, for executing the vengeance of the ruling favourite. Crichton and Livingston were now forfeited without a hearing (*s*). Douglas directed their estates to be seized;

(*o*) Chron. at the end of Wyntoun; Lesly, 284; Godscroft, 155, who says, "they were all three beheaded in the back court of the castle that lieth to the west." The historian of the Douglases declares them all to be innocent of any crime; yet he states explicitly that Earl Douglas would not acknowledge the authority of government, and set up a government within a government, and acted with kingly, and more than kingly power. Ib., 148-9. It were to be wished, however, that we had the charge and the proofs which were exhibited against them. Young Douglas was allowed to sit in parliament when he was scarcely sixteen; and is it strange that such a youth should arrogate royal power and regal state! Godscroft, 155, has transmitted a traditionary malediction, which was long the popular exclamation on the remembrance of those terrible scenes:—

"Edinburgh castle, town, and tower,
God grant ye sinke for sinne;
And that even for the black dinner
Earl Douglas got therein.

(*p*) Godscroft, 157-61. (*q*) Hist. Douglases, 162. (*r*) Pitscottie, 36.

(*s*) Pitscottie, 37-8.

and Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, his instrument, was detached by him to besiege the castle of Crichton in Edinburghshire, which was easily won, and soon demolished. But Crichton was not a man to be dismayed by adversity. He sallied from Edinburgh castle and laid waste the lands of Corstorphine; and thence carried fire and sword into the territories depending on Douglas in Lothian (*t*). The king and Douglas now laid siege to Edinburgh castle; but it was defended with so much skill and resolution by Crichton, that they were glad to give him his own terms of capitulation, after a long blockade, which ended in February 1445-6 (*u*). So much were the resources and fortitude of Crichton respected by the king and his favourite, that he was even taken into the king's favour, and was actually restored to his old office of chancellor (*x*).

In the midst of those guilty scenes, during terrible times, arising from corrupt manners, James II. showed his attachment to Edinburgh by the variety and extent of his liberalities. There seems to be no end to his grants, with whatever policy they may have been conceived and conceded (*y*); and we now

(*t*) Pitscottie, 38-9. (*u*) Ib., 42; Major, 322.

(*x*) He was besieged in 1446, and was chancellor in 1448. Chron. at the end of Fordun; Pitscottie, 42; Major, 322. "Upon the surrender of the castle," saith Pitscottie, "it was reformed again of new, better than it was before." On the 12th of June 1450, the king granted to William, Lord Crichton, the chancellor, the lands of Castlelaw in Lothian, *to recompense the sum of* £1800 *expended on the king's house, and* £400 *lent to the king.* Scotstarvit's Calendar. This grant may allude to the reparation of Edinburgh castle.

(*y*) On the 24th of November 1447, James II. granted to the community of Edinburgh a right of holding *the Trinity fair*, with the privileges to the same pertaining, as freely as they held *All hallows fair.* This grant was confirmed by James VI. On the 30th of April 1449, James II. granted permission to the magistrates to fortify the town of Edinburgh, with power to impose a tax on the inhabitants for defraying the expense. Maitland, 137-8. Arnot, 234-5. They describe the course and distance of the wall which shows the limits of the city, that was now fortified for the first time. On the 16th of April 1451, James II. granted to the burgesses an exemption from all duties, except the petty custom payable by unfreemen and strangers. The charter is transcribed into Maitland, 241. On the 4th of November 1454, he granted to the magistrates a right to hold, yearly, within their jurisdiction, a court of parliament of the four principal burghs of the kingdom, Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Lanark. This grant was confirmed by James VI. Maitland, 241; Wight on Parl., 332. Haddington, we may recollect, was anciently one of the *quatuor burgorum*, and also the place of their conventions, so that Haddington was now deprived of both those privileges which seems to mark its decay. On the same day, he gave the magistrates of Edinburgh the *haven silver* and customs on ships entering the roadstead and harbour of Leith. Maitland, 242. On the 13th of August 1456, he granted to the magistrates of Edinburgh all that vale or low ground lying between the rocks called the Craigend gate on the east, to the king's highway leading to Leith on the west. Id.

see that Edinburgh owes more to James II. than to any other of the Scottish kings.

At the early age of eighteen, James II. sent his chancellor, Crichton, with other envoys, to find him a proper wife on the neighbouring continent. They found a suitable spouse for him in Mary of Guelder. Her they spoused at Brussels for their sovereign, on the 1st of April 1449; and in the subsequent June she arrived at Leith, and proceeded on horseback, behind the Count of Vere, to her lodging in the convent of the Grey Friars, in Edinburgh. The king visited the princess of Guelderland at twelve o'clock at night of the following day; and in the course of the following week the queen's nuptials and coronation were celebrated, in the abbey of Holyrood, with all the pomp of a sterile land during a calamitous age. Yet, were the people of Edinburgh and of other towns, even at that epoch, in such a progress of improvement as to require the decisive obstruction of sumptuary laws (*y*). From this period, Edinburgh became the frequent place of parliamentary meetings, in preference to every other town (*z*). In the meantime, William, the Earl of Douglas, entering into the most treasonous practices, attempted to seize Crichton, the chancellor; who, in his turn, endeavoured to arrest Douglas, who was then at Edinburgh with a slender train (*a*). The insolence of William, the eighth Earl of Douglas, brought him to an unhappy catastrophe, on the 13th of February 1452, by a stroke of the king's indignation (*b*). James II. lost his own life, which was of so much importance to his people, by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh castle, on the 3rd of August 1460, leaving his heroic widow, Mary of Guelder, to protect his children and support his crown (*c*).

(*y*) See the Stat. of James III.; Parl. Rec., 37; and the Act which was made at Edinburgh on the 6th of March 1457-8; restraining the sumptuous clothing of men and women, both of the town and country. Ib., 42.

(*z*) Ib., 30-74-77: On the 19th of October 1456, and on the 6th of March 1457-8, the Estates again assembled at Edinburgh, when William Cranston, the commissioner from this town, was appointed one of the committee for the administration of justice. Ib., 39-40.

(*a*) Pitscottie, 67-8: Crichton, the Chancellor, died in 1454, without leaving in Scotland so able a minister.

(*b*) Godscroft, 194. The parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 26th of August 1452 considered the earl as a rebel, and adroitly justified the king's Act.

(*c*) James II. was buried in the monastery of Holyrood. His widow, who has not escaped the accustomed calumny of Scottish history, died on the 16th of November 1463; and was buried in the Trinity College, which she had founded. Maitland's Edin., 212.

By the sad demise of the Scottish king, James III. immediately succeeded to his gory sceptre. During his turbulent reign, Edinburgh became the usual seat of his inefficient government, and his parliaments generally assembled at Edinburgh, and often sat "in pretorio burgi" (*d*).

After the battle of Towton, Henry VI. crossed the Solway, and with his queen, his son, and nobles, sought refuge at Kirkcudbright, whence they came to Edinburgh, where they met the kindest reception from the widowed queen. A treaty was here made for marrying Edward, the prince of England, to Mary, the princess of Scotland; and Henry, from a sense of the attention of the magistrates of Edinburgh, granted the citizens liberty to trade in every port of his kingdom, on paying the same duties as the people of London (*e*).

James III. chose the princess Margaret of Denmark for his queen; and this princess, who had the fortune to please the historians of Scotland, arrived at Leith in July 1469; and she was soon after married, and crowned in the church of Holyrood, with unusual splendour (*f*). The *pestilence* which prevailed at Edinburgh, in September 1475, prevented the meeting of parliament in its town-house, according to the summons (*g*). James III., who made Edinburgh the seat of his residence, in October 1477, granted a charter to the corporation, establishing the site of its various markets, which had been hitherto unsettled in their proper places (*h*).

In 1478, began those intrigues at Edinburgh, which ended at length in the king's death. His two brothers, Albany and Mar, who were the chiefs of the conspirators, were arrested. Albany was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, whence he made his escape to France; Mar was sent to Craigmillar castle, and soon after died. The same intrigues produced a war with England (*i*). Albany passed in 1842 from Paris to London, where he entered into treaties with Edward IV. for dethroning his brother, and surrendering to Edward the

(*d*) Parl. Rec., 141: and throughout this reign of James III.

(*e*) Maitland, 8; Arnot, 11.

(*f*) "On the 13th of July 1469, James III. of Scotland was maryit *in Holyroodhouse,* in gret dignitie with Margaret, the king's douchter of Norway, Dasie, Swasie, and Denmark." The old Chron. at the end of Wyntoun.

(*g*) Black Acts, fo. lxi.

(*h*) Maitland, 8-9. A suit was moved in parliament, on the 11th of June 1478, with respect to the retour of an inquest of "tua Buthis," lying in the "Buth Rawis," within the burgh of Edinburgh. Parl. Rec., 223.

(*i*) Parl. Rec., 252-3.

sovereignity of Scotland (*k*); and in pursuance of those stipulations, an English army, commanded by the well-known Duke of Gloucester, and accompanied by the Duke of Albany, marched into Northumberland. Meantime, James III. assembled in July 1482, a great army on the burgh-moor, for resisting those insidious invaders of his injured kingdom (*l*). While he marched from Edinburgh to Soutra, and thence to Lauder, Gloucester and Albany proceeded forward from Alnwick to Berwick. The Scottish nobles who were acting in concert with Albany and Gloucester, and who had the Earl of Angus at their head, on the same night that the king arrived at Lauder, hanged several of his menials over Lauder bridge. The Scottish army thereupon dispersed, and the king himself was carried to Edinburgh castle (*m*). Gloucester took Berwick town, wasted the Merse, and marched forward with Albany through Lothian to Edinburgh. Being unable to resist, it readily opened its gate. At the request of Albany, Gloucester saved the town and people from fire and pillage, "only taking such presents, saith Hall, as the merchants *gentelly* offered him (*n*)." The garter king now went "to the high cross, in the market place," to summon the king to perform all that he had engaged to Edward IV., and to pardon Albany (*o*). These events occurred on the 1st of August 1482. But Gloucester did not remain long at Edinburgh while the Scottish people were collecting around him. He marched back his army through Mid-Lothian, to Lethington, beyond the Tyne. On the 2nd of August 1482, Albany was pardoned by a formal act which was executed at Edinburgh (*p*). But a peace with Gloucester was still to be made, and the price which he put upon so great a good, at that perilous moment, was the cession of Berwick for ever. The conduct of Edinburgh, on that occasion, does great honour to the real patriotism of her citizens. They agreed to repay to Edward IV. whatever money he had advanced to James III., in pursuance of their contract for the marriage of the Lady Cicilie, Edward's daughter, to James's

(*k*) Rymer, xii. 154, has recorded the treachery of Albany and the baseness of Edward; Habington's Hist. of Ed. IV., 201, recites some additional details.

(*l*) Pitscottie, 141, says the king took with him certain artillery out of the castle of Edinburgh, and made Cochran conveyer of them.

(*m*) The king remained in Edinburgh castle from the 22d of July to the 29th of September 1482, as we have seen. Hall says, indeed, that James, while Glocester and Albany marched to Berwick, "did voluntarily incarcerate himself in the strong castle of *Maydens* in Edinburgh." Chron. vol. lv.

(*n*) Id. (*o*) Id. (*p*) Rym. xii. 160.

son (*r*). After all those actions, which does Edinburgh such great credit, the provost and citizens assisted Albany in releasing the king from his confinement, whether real or affected, in the *castle of the Maydens.* The gates flew open, as if by enchantment, at their approach. The king embraced his brother as a mark of his thankful reconcilement; and they rode together from the castle to Holyroodhouse, amidst the tumultuous joy of a deluded people; and the king was studious to bestow on the inhabitants of Edinburgh, munificent tokens of his grateful recollection of their useful attachment to him during his utmost need (*s*).

The parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the 2nd of December 1482, by making Albany Lieutenant General of the realm, virtually delivered the king and the nation into his insidious hands. During Christmas holidays 1482, that ambitious prince attempted to seize the king's person; but James, who resided at Edinburgh as his safest shield, by rousing the citizens and retiring into the castle, disappointed his brother's treasonous purpose. By the prompt performance of all its stipulations with England, during those terrible times, Edinburgh seems to have obtained great praise. It was called *ditissimum oppidum,* by the continuator of the Annals of Croyland, who censured Gloucester for not sacking this opulent town (*t*).

(*s*) On the 4th of August 1482, the provost, the merchants, and the citizens, entered into a bond to repay to Edward what he had advanced, provided he signified by the 10th of October then next, that he would rather have payment than the marriage of his daughter. He accordingly made such a signification, and the money was honestly paid by Edinburgh. Rym. xii. 162-5-7, and see before p. 274. Walter Bartrahame was then provost of the *tons* of Edinburgh. We may remark that the provost does not call Edinburgh a city, nor himself *lord* provost.

(*s*) On the 16th of November 1482, by a special charter, he constituted their provost hereditary sheriff within the town, and gave the corporation the fines and escheats arising from the office. He empowered the magistrates to make laws, for the better government of the people, within their jurisdiction. He exempted them from the payment of certain duties, and he empowered them to exact customs on some merchandizes which might be imported at Leith. Arnot, 13; Maitland, 9. And as a perpetual remembrancer, saith Maitland, of the loyalty and bravery of the Edinburghers on the aforesaid occasion, the king granted them a banner, with power to display the same in defence of their king, their country, and their own rights. The flag, which is at present denominated the *Blue Blanket,* and which is kept by the convener of the trades; at whose appearance therewith, it is said, that not only the artificers of Edinburgh are obliged to repair to it, but all the craftsmen within Scotland, and fight under the convener of Edinburgh. Maitland, 10.

(*t*) For the revenue of the corporation at that epoch, see Maitland, 10. The people of this wealthy town tried in 1488 to be wealthier by unworthy means. They supposed the ruin of Leith to be the enrichment of Edinburgh. Id.

The death of Edward IV. and the disappointment of Albany did not prevent the cabals of the nobles, nor suspend the final fate of James III. The king found it necessary to retire from Edinburgh in March 1488, the insurgents having possessed themselves of the southern shires. He passed the Forth, and endeavoured, with some success, to raise troops in the northern districts, where Angus and Gray had not shed their baneful influences. The rebels, after they had taken the castle of Dunbar, marched through Lothian to Leith, where they seized the king's property, which they applied to the uses of insurrection. Returning from the north, the king made the convention of Blackness with the insurgent nobles, disarming himself, and thereby leaving his opponents in power. James had no sooner disbanded his army, than the rebellious nobles came out with augmented numbers, avowing their design of dethroning the king. The unhappy monarch now supplied the castle of Edinburgh, where his treasures and valuables were deposited; and he again collected his northern forces, which he marched to Stirling-field, where he lost his crown and life on the 11th of June 1488. The castle of Edinburgh soon surrendered to the rebellious force that had conquered the king; and with it the leaders obtained the king's treasure and jewels; as in this stronghold his valuables had been deposited as a place of safety (*t*). Edinburgh town was meantime the principal place of coinage of James III., as it had been of James II. (*u*). The citizens of Edinburgh had protected the late king; and the beneficent king, in return, had granted to the citizens many privileges.

The first parliament of James IV. assembled at Edinburgh on the 9th of October 1488, amid the guilty triumphs of rebellious faction (*x*). Two of the leaders, Patrick Lord Hailes, the Earl of Bothwell, and Alexander Home, were empowered to rule *the Lothians* and Merse. Lord Hailes, who was the master of the household and the constable of Edinburgh castle, was authorized to take charge of the artillery and *stuff* in the castle, with the king's brother, the Duke of Ross (*y*) In February 1488-9, that successful leader was empowered "to bring in the king's property, casualties, and revenues, in the shires of Edinburgh, Haddington, Kirkcudbright and Wigton (*z*)." In this manner, then, were the castle, the city, and the shire of Edinburgh, delivered to the domination of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell (*a*).

(*t*) Pitscottie, 172; Parl. Rec. 373. Edinburgh castle was also the ordnance depository of the same king; and his ordnance stores consisted of two great *curtaldis*, which had been sent from France, ten falcons, thirty iron cart guns, sixteen carts for powder and stone bullets.

(*u*) Cardonnel, pl. v., p. 79-81. (*x*) Parl. Rec. 331. (*y*) Ib. 339. (*x*) Ib. 364.

(*a*) At that epoch Edinburgh enjoyed the peculiar privilege of recovering rents by a summary

As James IV. grew up in years and in stature, Edinburgh became a busy scene of magnificent entertainments, in which he greatly delighted. He frequently proclaimed tournaments to be held at Edinburgh, to which were invited the knights of every country. The fame whereof, saith Pitscottie, caused many errant knights to come out of strange countries to Scotland; because they heard of the knightly games of the king, his nobles, and gentlemen (*b*). Meantime, the king, at the age of thirty, entered into spousals with the Lady Margaret, who was scarcely fourteen, the eldest daughter of Henry VII.; and their marriage was celebrated at Edinburgh, within the abbey and palace of Holyrood, with uncommon splendour, in August 1503 (*c*). This abbey, the scene

process; and the Parliament of February 1468-9, by a special act, extended the same privilege to Perth, and to the other burghs. Ib. 366. September 1497 is the epoch of the appearance at Edinburgh of *a contagious plague* which was yclept the *grandgore*. The infected were ordered, by proclamation, to retire to *the inch*, an island in the Forth. Maitland, 10. If this plague were the same veneral disease which appeared at the siege of Naples in 1495, it must have made a rapid progress to Edinburgh.

(*b*) Pits. 186-7.

(*c*) The Lady Margaret, after spending some joyous days at Dalkeith castle, on the 7th of August 1503, departed for Edinburgh, "nobly accompanied, and in fayr array, in *her litere*, very richly enorned."—A myle from Dalkeith, the kynge sent to the quene a grett tame hart for to have a corse. The kynge caused the said hart to be losed and put a grayhond after hym, that maid a fayr course, but the said hart wanne the town and went to his repayre.—Half of the way the kyng came to mett her, monted apon a bay horse, renning as he wold renne after the hayre, accompanyed of many gentylmen.—At the commying towardes the quene he made hyr very humble obeyssaunce, in lepynge downe of hys horse and kyssed hyr in hyr litere. This doon, he monted ageyn, and ychon being put in ordre as before, a gentylman husscher bare the swerde before hym.—The Erle of Bothwell bare the swerde at the entreng the towne of Edenbourgh, and had on a long gowne of blak velvett fourred with marten.—The kyng monted upon a pallefroy, withe the said quene behinde hym, and so rode thorow the said towne of Edenburgh.—Halfe a mylle ny to that, within a medewe, was a pavillion, whereof cam owt a knyght on horsebak, armed at all peces, having his lady paramour that barre his horne; and by a vantur there cam another also armed, and robbed from hym his said lady, and blew the said horne, whereby the said knycht turned after hym; and they did well torney tyl the kynge cam hymselfe, the quene behynde hym, crying *Paix*, and caused them for to be departed.—Ther war many honest people of the town and of the countre aboute, honestlye arrayed all on horsbak, and so by ordre, the kyng and the quene entred within the said town. At the entryng that same, cam in processyon the Grey Freres, with the crosse and some relicks, the wich was presented by the warden to the kynge for to kysse, bot he wolde not before the quene, and he had hys hed bare during the ceremonies.—At the entryng of the said towne was maid a yatt of wood painted, with two towrells and a windowe in the midds. In the wich towrells was at the windowes revested angells syngyng joyously for the coming of so noble a lady, and at the said middyl wyndowe was in lyk wys an angell presenting the kees to the said quene.—In the mydds of the towne was a crosse new paynted, and ny to that

of so many events, were founded, as we have seen, under David I., the father of so many monkish establishments. The abbeys, from their accommodation, and their sanctity during rude ages, became the lodgings of kings and nobles. James I. with his queen, resided in the abbey of Holyrood when they attended public affairs at Edinburgh. In the same commodious hostel James III. resided till he was driven from it by treason. We may easily suppose that the frequency of the royal residence gradually improved the abbey to a palace, in which the royal nuptials were now celebrated on the interesting Union of the *Thistle* and and *Rose* (*d*).

same a fontayne, castynge forth of wyn and ychon drank that wold.—Ny to that crosse was a scarfaust maid, wher was represented Paris and the three Deessys with Mercure, that gaffe hym the apyll of gold for to gyffe to the most fayre of the three, wiche he gave to Venus. More fourther was of new maid one other yatt, upon the wiche was in sieges the iiii vertus; theiss is to weytt, justice, force, temperance, and prudence. Under was a licorne and a greyhound, that held a difference of one chardon florystred and a red rose entrecassed, with thos war tabrets that played merrily whyll the noble company passed thorough. The towne of Edenbourgh was in many places haunged with tapissery; the howses and wyndowes war full of lordes, ladyes, gentylwomen and gentylmen, and in the streyts war soe grett multitude of people without nombre that it was a fayre thynge to se. The wiche people war verey glad of the commyng of the said quene; and in the churches of the sayd towne bells rang for myrthe.—Then the noble company passed out of the said towne to the churche of the Holycrosse, out of which cam the archbishop of Saunt Andrew, brother to the said kynge, his crosse borne before hym, accompanyed with many bishops and abbots in their pontificals, with the religious richly revested. After this doon, ychon lept off his horse, and in fayr ordre went after the processyon to the church, and in the entryng of that sam, the kynge and the quene light downe, and after led her to the grett awter, wher was a place ordonned for them to knele apon two cuschyons of cloth of gold. But the kynge wolde never knell down first, bot both togeder.

(*d*) On the 7th of August 1503, saith the herald, Young, "after all reverences doon at the church, in order as before, the king transported himself to the *pallais* thorough the *clostre*, holdynge allwayes the quene by the body, and hys hed bare, tyll he had brought her within her chammer." Lel. Col. iv. 290. At that period, the palace had a chapel within it, and the chaplain was the keeper of the palace. Yet, the historians of Edinburgh suppose that James V. built the first part of the palace. The same historians seem to have forgotten that such a marriage was celebrated splendidly at Edinburgh. The herald, Young, has given the whole in the most curious detail in Leland. But it was reserved for Dunbar, the greatest of the Scottish poets, to celebrate the nuptials of James and Margaret in a strain of versification, which emulates, if it do not surpass the amatory effusions of James I., as well as the elegant tales of Chaucer:

"To see this court, bot all were went away;
Then up I leinyt, halflings in affrey,
Callt to my muse, and for my subject chois
To sing the ryel Thrissil and the Rose."

Important as that Union was to the state, had prudence managed the sceptre, it was not more consequential in policy than the introduction to Edinburgh in 1508 of printing, by Chepman and Millar, under a charter of James IV., was to the literature of his rugged people (*d*). The king continued to reside at Edinburgh. It was here that he entertained the French ambassador at great expense, with coarse profusion (*e*). Such entertainments were at length interrupted by the plague, which harrassed Edinburgh, during the afflictive year 1513 (*f*). Meantime, as the king was now preparing for unlucky warfare, he went daily to inspect the progress of his artillery within Edinburgh castle, and the outfit of his navy at Newhaven (*g*). He summoned the whole array of his kingdom to assemble on the Burgh-moor of Edinburgh. The king was not to be frightened from his absurd warfare either by the spectre at Linlithgow or the demon at Edinburgh (*h*). Unawed by such spirits, the provost, the Earl of Angus, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, with many burgesses, joined the king's host. This great army marched from the burgh-moor in August 1513, to its destiny on Floddon field. It was there dissipated on the 9th of September 1513, with mighty loss, when the king was slain. The fortitude with which the citizens of Edinburgh received, on the morrow, the disastrous news, will ever do them great honour (*i*). As the Earl of Surrey did not follow up his decisive blow till he was urged by his unfeeling master, time was given to a resolute people to make the most vigorous resistance, of which Edinburgh had shown an encouraging example (*k*).

But, on that disastrous occasion, Edinburgh was deemed too unsafe for the sitting of the Great Council, which adjourned to Stirling, where James V. was crowned (*l*). As Surrey did not advance ; as the spirits of the people became more settled ; the Great Council returned to Edinburgh, wherein it sat in

(*d*) There are several very curious specimens of the earliest printing press of Scotland, by Chepman and Millar, which are preserved in the Advocates' Library with curious care.

(*e*) See Arnot's Hist. Edin. 98—111.

(*f*) To stop its progress, the magistrates ordered the shops to be shut during 15 days, and nothing to be sold but the necessaries of life. Maitland, 11.

(*g*) Dacre's Letter to Henry VIII., dated the 24th of February. Calig. B. iii. 23.

(*h*) Pitscottie, 203-4. (*i*) Mait. 11-12 ; Lord Hailes's Remarks, 147.

(*k*) On that occasion, the town council of Edinburgh ordained that a guard of four-and-twenty men should be raised for the defence of the city, and that 500l. Scots should be collected for the purpose of fortifying the town and purchasing artillery ; and the council ordered an extension of the town wall, so as to include the new buildings on the southward. Maitland, 12—139. The plague continued meanwhile to rage in Edinburgh, and the town council adopted measures to check its ravages. Ib. 12 ; Arnot, 14.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 525.

September and October 1513 (*m*). Yet, as Henry VIII. reproached Surrey for his lenity, as the unfeeling uncle of the Scottish king commanded the most wasteful inroads to be made on his country, southern Scotland was ravaged with fire and sword during the autumn of 1513 (*n*). The Great Council removed from Edinburgh to Perth, where it sat till the 5th of December in more security (*o*).

All eyes were now fixed on the arrival of the putative Duke of Albany, who was to give stability to a disjointed government, and vigour to the Scottish arms. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 26th of May 1515, when he was received with unwonted magnificence. The barons went out to meet him (*p*), the burgesses set forth splendid exhibitions (*q*), and the queen waited for him at the gate of Holyrood palace (*r*). Albany soon after proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, the peace with England which France had negotiated for Scotland. At Edinburgh, on the 12th of July 1515, assembled the parliament which directed the inauguration of Albany, with unusual pomp, who was proclaimed protector and governor of Scotland till the infant king should arrive at the eighteenth year of his age (*s*). Albany now resided in the palace of Holyrood, and the queen found more safety for herself and her two sons in Edinburgh castle. But Albany seems to have thought himself insecure while the queen retained her children and the castle. With the concurrence of parliament, he proceeded with four appointed peers to demand the royal children as belonging to the nation rather than to her. She spoke to them at the castle gate, but she declined to admit them into the fortalice which her late husband had delivered to her special charge (*t*). She thus, however, eluded their demands, and sent her sons to Stirling castle, which Albany prepared to beseige. The queen followed them thither, as she supposed she had at Stirling more influence. Yet she soon surrendered Stirling castle and her children to

(*m*) Parl. Rec. 526-7-8.

(*n*) Original Letter, Calig. B.; which evinces the erroneous representations of the Scottish historians.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 528-38. (*p*) Lesley, 375-6

(*q*) Holinshed, 303, says the burgesses represented sundry conceits, pageants and plays, to do him honour.

(*r*) Lesley, 376. (*s*) Dacre's Letter to the English Council, Calig. B. ii. 281.

(*t*) Id. Dacre makes the queen say to those lords: "This castle is part of *my enfeoffment*, and of it, by my late husband, the king, was I made sole governess." Id. She may have been made governess, but in Edinburgh castle she had no right of dower by her enfeoffment. Rym. xiii. 63.

Albany; and immediately returned to Edinburgh castle, where she remained a while, distrusting and distrusted.

Edinburgh castle, from being a scene of intrigue, soon became a prison of state (*u*). It was also chosen as a place of secure residence for the infant king. In May 1517, when Albany meditated a visit to France, the king was placed in Edinburgh castle, under the care of four nobles; Marshal and Erskine, Borthwick, and Ruthven. But, the plague again appearing in Edinburgh, the king was removed to Craigmillar castle, and sometimes to Dalkeith. In the meantime, the town became a frequent theatre of tumult, from the competition of the Hamiltons and Douglases, for superiority in the magistracy. At the head of the Hamiltons was Arran; in the front of the Douglases was Angus; each pretending to be provost. In December 1519, tumults ensued, and lives were lost: Albany transmitted a prohibition from France in February 1519-20, against choosing for supreme magistrate either a Douglas or a Hamilton (*x*). From this scene of tumult, Arran withdrew to Glasgow, to which he was followed by the chancellor and other lords; and the king's governors, meanwhile, shut the gates of the castle against Angus (*y*). Such facts evince with sufficient conviction, that neither law nor manners existed in Scotland under the regency of Albany. The parliament was about to meet, at Edinburgh in April 1520; and a more violent tumult between those irascible parties took place, when many lives were lost (*z*). The borderers came to the aid of Angus, and domineered a while with lawless violence; and the plague

(*u*) In October 1515, to Edinburgh castle, of which the Earl of Arran had then the charge, the Lord Home was committed by the regent Albany. But the keeper and the prisoner emigrated together to the borders; so unprincipled were the nobles of that age. They were also so irascible that they seldom met without an assault. The Earl of Murray having a quarrel with the Earl of Huntly, and meeting him in the streets of Edinburgh in November 1515, a conflict ensued between the nobles and their followers, which was not appeased till the regent personally interposed, and committed them to the castle. Lesley, 379. The Lords Rothes and Lindsay, on the 17th of June 1518, also fought in the streets of Edinburgh till they were both sent to separate castles. Holinshed, 306.

(*x*) Arnot, 14, who mistakes the date of that prohibitory interposition.

(*y*) Lesley, 392.

(*z*) In popular history, this bloody conflict on the streets of Edinburgh was called *cleanse the causey*. The Hamiltons were expelled by the Douglases with great loss. Arran, and his putative son, Sir James Hamilton, escaped by a ford in the Nor-loch. Archbishop Beaton, the chancellor, took refuge in the Dominican church, whence he was dragged from behind the high altar, and would have been slain but for the interposition of Douglas, the well-known bishop of Dunkeld. Lesley, 394-5; Pitscottie, 219-21; and the Parl. Rec. 555, which corrects the egregious mistakes of the Scottish historians.

continued by its ravages to add its horrors to the rapine of party. The town council in vain endeavoured to augment the respectability and the power of the provost, in order to enable him to cope with criminals who were too powerful for the enfeebled state (*a*).

At length arrived the regent from France, in November 1521. The queen who no longer found "sweet solace" in her husband Angus, went out, with several nobles, to meet the protector, who was expected to afford relief from lawless outrage. Angus fled with his unprincipled followers to the English borders; and Albany displaced the magistrates of Edinburgh, who owed their choice to the recommendation of that notorious anarch (*b*). Henry VIII. added the distresses of foreign to the turmoils of civil war, when the truce expired, in February 1522. He sent a small squadron into the Forth, where they seized some ships and ravaged some towns on either shore; but, being resolutely opposed, this hostile squadron retired without doing much damage or gaining any fame. The parliament which assembled at Edinburgh, on the 18th of July 1522, seems to have partaken of the general imbecility of the state. At the desire of the queen and regent, the Estates authorized the removal of the king, who was advanced into his eleventh year, from Edinburgh castle to Stirling, under the sole governance of Lord Erskine; but they seem to have been unable to reform the profligacy of manners, or to strengthen the weakness of the laws.

In September 1523, arrived Albany at Edinburgh from his second visit to France. He brought with him arms and warlike stores for defending the border from the unprincipled devastation of Henry VIII. He collected a vast army on the moor of Edinburgh, with which he marched through the Lothians to Northumberland; but he returned without effecting any object which was worthy of such a force or of such expense. He met the parliament at Edinburgh, in November 1523, for the last time; and on the 20th of May 1524, he departed for ever from Holyroodhouse to France, leaving the Scottish government open to be seized by whatever pretender to rule.

In July 1524, the queen brought her son from Stirling to Edinburgh, where they were received with loud acclaims, and conducted, by a numerous procession, to Holyroodhouse; and a proclamation was now made that the king, being in his thirteenth year, had assumed the government, though a different destination had been made by the Three Estates. Several lords, spiritual as well as temporal, and other persons, entered into an association to support

(*a*) Maitland, 17. (*b*) Holinshed, 307.

the king's administration, which he thus, under his mother's influence, prematurely assumed (*c*). The queen made but an indifferent use of the power which she thus assumed. At the instigation of Wolsey, she committed the chancellor James Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrews and Dunbar, the bishop of Aberdeen to Edinburgh castle, on the frivolous pretence that they were friends of Albany and enemies of England (*d*). This capricious princess seems not to have known that steadiness and moderation are the two pillars of legitimate government.

She called a parliament at Edinburgh in November 1524. James Preston the provost, was one of the commissioners who opened the meeting of the Estates (*e*). As a representative of burghs, Preston was appointed one of the lords of the articles (*f*). While the parliament was thus sitting, the Earl of Angus, with other chiefs and four hundred armed followers, broke into Edinburgh; at the cross, they proclaimed themselves to be good subjects; and as a proof of their avowal, they went to the council of state, and required that the queen might be deprived of the guardianship of the infant king. The castle fired upon the town in order to expel the insurgents, and killed some innocent persons. Several nobles assembled a body of hackbutters, in order to assault Angus and his insurgents; but upon receiving the king's order, that unscrupulous noble with his followers, withdrew to Dalkeith (*g*). The queen continued for some time in Edinburgh castle with her son, repenting, perhaps, her own imprudence, and fearing the violence of Angus (*h*).

From this safe retreat, the queen issued a proclamation in January 1524-5, against her husband, Angus Beaton, the chancellor, who had now coalesced, and

(*c*) The magistrates of Edinburgh entered into that association, which was signed by Francis Bothwell, the provost; James Preston, baillie; Edward Litil, the dean of guild; and Alexander Nenthorn, the treasurer. The bond of the associators is in Calig. vi. 378. Bothwell, the provost, resigned his office at the king's desire, under a protest that his resignation should not be drawn into precedent. Lord Maxwell was chosen in his room. The king and the queen mother occupied the castle for their residence. Lesley, 12-13,

(*d*) They were liberated at the end of two months' imprisonment. Several other persons of less note were also confined in that state prison.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 543. (*f*) Ib. 544.

(*g*) Magnus's Letter to Wolsey, of the 26th November. Calig. b. i. 121.

(*h*) Magnus's Letter to Ratcliffe. Calig. B. i. 121. In 1524, on the day of All Saints, there happened a tremendous storm, which overthrew several houses in the town, and damaged the castle, blowing down the pinnacle of *David's tower*, and firing the queen's lodging. Lesley, 414, intimates, that the bishop of Candida Casa's chamber was spared, while other buildings were overthrown.

other nobles who had convened at St. Andrews, in order to concert measures for depriving her of her rule and the custody of her son. In their turn, at the end of twenty days' deliberation and intrigue, they issued a declaration, setting forth with factious exaggeration, that the king was kept in Edinburgh castle, an unhealthy place, exposed to the moist air of the Nor-Loch, and threatened with the fury of storms; and observing the danger of tumults in the capital, which themselves had raised, they ordained a convention to meet at Stirling on the 6th of the subsequent February. About that time, the magistrates and people of Edinburgh invited Angus and Lennox into their town. The two nobles immediately repaired thither, attended by seven hundred men and followed by their partizans, who had resolved to hold their convention at Edinburgh, which adopted their designs, and offered protection to their sitting. Nor did the castle fire upon them, as their fears had apprehended, and misrepresentation had led them to expect. The queen now found it necessary to conciliate, and she entered into an agreement with Angus and the chancellor, by which she shared with them her patronage, and relinquished to them some of her power. By this reconcilement, which was settled by corruption, the infant king was to be removed from the castle to Holyrood-house, and to remain under the care of a council of nobles, which was to be appointed by parliament, and of which she was to be president. Two days after, on the 23rd of February 1524-5, the parliament assembled in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, to which the king went in person; having the crown borne before him by Angus, the sceptre by Arran, and the sword by Argyle. When the lords of the articles were chosen, Lord Maxwell, the provost of Edinburgh, and its commissary to the estates, was appointed one of that committee of legislation. This is an example of the many anomalies which degraded the Scottish parliament, that a noble having a seat by birth, could sit as a commissioner by choice. The Estates now ratified the late agreement for the partition of patronage, and the division of power (*i*), and they ordained that the captain of the castle should not presume to fire, upon any occasion, without the authority of the council; and that no gunners should enter it without the consent of the same council, which thus acquired the command of the citadel (*k*).

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 547.

(*k*) Ib. 548. We may judge of the value of houses in the Scottish metropolis, at that epoch, by what Magnus, the English envoy, wrote to Wolsey in April 1525. "He had offered 20 marks Sterling of yearly rent for his house in Edinburgh." Calig. b. vii. 61.

Whatever may have been the influence of Edinburgh on the governments of James II. and James III., it became during the minority of James V. a constant scene of bloody tumult. We have already seen the contests of the Hamiltons, with Arran at their head, and the Douglases, who were conducted to violence by Angus. In 1525, the ascendency of this ambitious person was such, as to dictate to the metropolis and kingdom. At the election of that year, he caused his uncle Archibald Douglas to be chosen provost. Meantime, in July 1525, the artifice of Angus assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, for the purpose chiefly of ratifying the treaty with England. To this parliament, the queen mother, who was president of the council of regency, declined to come; alleging her fear of her husband Angus; but he tried to satisfy her scruples, by offering security, that she might pass and repass through Edinburgh with her household during the sitting of parliament, and three days after its prorogation (*l*). From such traits of manners, we may perceive the barbarousness of the age and the fury of faction. Under the same domination, the parliament again assembled at Edinburgh on the 13th of June 1526 (*m*). Herein appeared Archibald Douglas, the provost of the town, who, from this circumstance, was chosen one of the lords of the articles, and promoted the designs of his chief (*n*). Under this influence the Estates abolished the regency, by declaring the king's minority at an end when he became fourteen years of age (*o*); and they incidentally delivered the king and nation to the arbitrary rule of Angus (*p*). Under that influence, Archibald Douglas was chosen provost of Edinburgh, and its representative in the Estates; and he was again, from that circumstance, chosen one of the committee of articles, which had so great an influence in the proposing of laws. When the delegates of the burghs brought the matter of *the staple* before the estates, Archibald

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 551. (*m*) Ib. 557.

(*n*) Archibald Douglas was appointed principal searcher of the port of Leith, and in every other port within the kingdom. Ib. 562. He was also Treasurer of the *Customarie* of Edinburgh. Ib. 605. And he was treasurer to the king.

(*o*) Ib. 558. There was a grant to John Chesholm of 40l. yearly pension out of the great customs of Edinburgh, ratified by that parliament. Ib. 565.

(*p*) Soon after, Patrick Blackader, the archdeacon of Dunblane, who came to Edinburgh under a safe conduct from Angus, was slain at the gates of the metropolis by the Homes and Douglases. Thomas Maclellan of Bombie was assassinated on the 11th July 1526, at the door of St. Giles's Church, by Sir James Gordon of Lochenvar, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and seven-and-thirty followers. The principal assassins walked the streets of Edinburgh during the sitting of that parliament, under the protection of the Douglases. Christ. Dacre's Letter to Lord Dacre, dated 2d December. Calig. b. vi. 420; Crawf. Peer, 238.

Douglas, the provost of Edinburgh was appointed to produce the contract thereupon, *in the bishop of Aberdeen's lodgings* (*q*). In November 1526, the queen, owing to her son's desire, returned to Edinburgh. The king, the nobles, and other persons rode out to meet her at Corstorphine ; and the whole cavalcade proceeded through the town to the palace of Holyrood (*r*).

The queen greatly resembled her brother Henry VIII. in some of his most striking features. She was amorous ; she was capricious ; and in March 1527, she retired in disgust from Edinburgh, because Lady Avondale, her husband's mother, was not received at Court (*s*). In the subsequent September, she seems to have returned, when she resumed her influence over her youthful and affectionate son. They spent their Christmas together in Holyroodhouse. But she could not be long quiet. On some difference with Angus, she withdrew with her husband Henry Stewart, and his brother, to the refuge of Edinburgh castle. But Angus was not a man to be dismayed or disappointed, and he besieged this strength on the 27th of March 1528 ; and even brought the king to sanction the attack upon his mother. She now opened the gates, and throwing herself upon her knees before the king, she begged his protection for her husband and brother. Yet, Angus committed them prisoners to the castle ; whence they were released after a while by the king's order and his mother's solicitation (*t*).

James V. bore the domination of the Douglases with extreme impatience. He freed himself by his own enterprise, after the attempts of his friends had failed. Residing at Falkland, under a slight superintendence he rode a fleet horse, accompanied only by a groom, to Stirling castle, where he found a secure retreat. The nobles crowded around him, a circumstance which evinces their hatred of the Douglases. Angus was then in Lothian ; Archibald Douglas,

(*q*) Parl. Rec. 566. It was owing perhaps to the influence of the provost, that, on account of the great resort to Edinburgh, all persons were empowered to sell *bread* and *flesh* on the appointed market days of Edinburgh. Ib. 570.

(*r*) The queen, said Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre, on the 2d December 1526. lyes in the chamber where the duke lay [the deceased Duke of Ross, her youngest son.] The king lyes in the chamber above her all in a lodging. The king is amynded not to lye far from her ; nor will he never be far from her except he be either hunting or sporting. It is thought and spoken, during all this parliament time, that if the king do remain with the queen, the court will have a turn, for the king has no affection to the Earl of Angus or the Earl of Arran. Calig. b. vi. 420 ; Pink. Hist. ii. 478-9.

(*s*) Magnus to Wolsey, on the 26th of March 1527. Calig. b. iii. 301.

(*t*) Lesley, 427-8.

the provost of Edinburgh, was then at Dundee; the other Douglases, who had guarded the king, soon gave notice of his flight; and they all repaired to the metropolis, the seat of their influence. Angus was disappointed, but not dismayed. He summoned his retainers to repair to his standard at Edinburgh, during the last week of June 1528, to confront the king and his friends at Stirling. But he soon found that the unfortunate have few friends. Yet, had he partizans in the royal councils, who betrayed the king's designs to his enemies (*u*). In the beginning of July, Angus and his followers marched from Edinburgh towards Stirling, to regain possession of the king's person. Nor, must be forgotten the parliamentary declaration on the 14th of June 1526, that the king's minority had terminated, and his own administration begun (*x*). On the road, Angus was met by a herald bearing the king's proclamation, which prohibited any of the Douglases or their followers from coming within six miles of the court. This denunciation, with the intelligence of the king's force at Stirling, disheartened the insurgents, who retreated to Linlithgow (*y*). The king was thus induced to advance upon their steps, and on the 6th of July 1528, attended by many bishops, nobles, and their armed followers, he marched forward to Edinburgh. The king, for some days, remained in *the lodging* of the archbishop of St. Andrews. On the 9th of July he issued a proclamation, forbidding any of his subjects to hold any intercourse with Angus, his two brothers, or uncle; and that none of their followers should remain within the capital, on pain of death (*z*). On the 11th and 13th of July, the king assembled his council "in the *upper chamber of the Tolbooth*;" and determined to call the parliament on the 2nd of September 1528. Lord Maxwell was chosen the provost of Edinburgh in the room of Archibald Douglas, who was summoned to appear in parliament on a charge of treason (*a*). The king now retired to Stirling, where he was more safe from surprise than at Edinburgh (*b*). Nor was this circumspection unfounded. Archibald Douglas, the uncle, and George Douglas, the brother of Angus, approached Edinburgh with some force and attempted to seize it; but Lord Maxwell, the provost,

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 580-1, which represents those matters very differently from the common accounts, which suppose that the Douglases followed the king from Falkland palace to Stirling castle.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 558. (*y*) Pitscottie, 258.

(*z*) Dacre's Letter to Wolsey. Calig. b. i. 17. (*a*) Parl. Rec. 580.

(*b*) Dacre to Wolsey. Calig. b. i. 17. From that time to the meeting of parliament, the Douglases wasted Mid-Lothian, carrying the torch and sword through the estates of Cousland and Cranston, even to the walls of Edinburgh. Holinshed, 316; Drummond, 295.

surprised and defeated them (*c*). The object of this rebellious expedition was to prevent the meeting of parliament; a traitorous motive, which was very familiar to Scottish factions.

The parliament assembled, however, at Edinburgh, in respectable numbers, on the 2nd of September 1528, the appointed day. Lord Maxwell took his place, both as a lord of parliament, and as the commissioner of Edinburgh; when he was chosen one of the committee of articles for concerting measures (*d*). The Earl of Angus, his brother George, his uncle Archibald, and some of their guilty followers, were forfeited as traitors (*e*). Preparations were immediately made to carry this forfeiture into full effect. Under the authority of parliament, the king summoned the whole fighting men of the southern shires, to attend him in arms at Edinburgh on the 7th of September, to march to Haddington (*f*). Meantime, Angus sent some cavalry, who burnt two villages in Lothian on the king's route; saying, in the savage language of the times, that *they would light him on his way* (*g*).

When such a spirit prevailed, we ought not to wonder that such traitors should aim their odious daggers at the king's life. On the 2nd of February 1528-9, the Douglases held a meeting at St. Leonard's chapel near Edinburgh, to concert the assassination of their sovereign, and it was agreed by them to enter the king's bed-chamber, and close the scene by a mortal blow (*h*). But, such secrets, which are entrusted to many can never be kept; and such a plot, when once discovered, could not be easily executed. They were all forfeited, but could not be executed, and Archibald Douglas, when he secretly returned to Edinburgh and threw himself at the king's feet, was only exiled to France (*i*).

The discovery of that plot, and the vigorous measures which were pursued against the men on the borders, seem to have given unusual quiet to Scotland,

(*c*) Lassel's Letter to the Earl of Northumberland, 29th August. Calig. b. iii. 289; Drummond. 294.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 577-8. (*e*) Ib. 580-1. (*f*) Ib. 578.

(*g*) Lassel's Letter to the Earl of Northumberland, on the 11th of September 1528. Calig. b. vii. 14.

(*h*) The assassins who met on that traitorous design were Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, James Douglas of Parkhead, Robert Leslie and Sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the Earl of Arran, and of late the king's favourite. They were to enter the palace by a window at the bedhead, which was pointed out by Sir James Hamilton, who used to share the king's bed. This plan was communicated to Angus and his brother by James Douglas at Tantallon castle, when it was finally fixed. Parl. Rec. 624-657; Dacre's Letter to Wolsey; Calig. b. i. 17.

(*i*) Lesley, 226; Hume of Godscroft.

and freed the metropolis from intrigue. Adam Otterburn, the king's advocate, was chosen provost of Edinburgh in 1531, and one of the commissioners, who held a court of parliament in May and June 1531 (*k*). May 1532 is the epoch of the greatest event in the annals of the Scottish metropolis. After various establishments for the administration of right had been essayed, the College of Justice was, at that epoch, settled (*l*). The town became now a place of more resort; and on the 18th of June 1532, the magistrates contracted with two French paviours to make a causey (*m*). On the 19th of September, in the same year, the council of Edinburgh voluntarily offered to the king three hundred men, completely armed, for the royal array, when he should require them to take the field against their ancient adversaries (*n*). But such distracting warfare did not long continue to vex the king, or to distress the people, on either side of the conterminous borders.

In addition to other causes of perturbation, the reformers now began to create disturbance, without much inconvenience to any one but themselves. The 28th of February 1528-9, is the epoch of the first punishment which was inflicted for religious opinions. Patrick Hamilton thus suffered for heresy, after a trial, by ecclesiastical authority, in 1529, even before the reformers were as yet known by the name of *Protestants* at the diet of Spiers (*o*). In August 1534, Norman Gourlay and David Stratan, were also tried and condemned

(*k*) Parl. Rec. 588. In the parliaments of 1533 and 1534. James Lawson, the provost, was also one of the commissioners who held a similar court. Ib. 592-3.

(*l*) Ib. 589; Black Acts, fo. cxiv., cxv., cxvi.. which were ratified by the king at Stirling, on the 10th of June 1532. Ib. fo. cxvii.

(*m*) Maitland. 12. In 1535, a grant was made to the abbot of Holyrood of a duty of one penny on every *loaded* cart, and a half-penny for every *empty* cart, for repairing and maintaining his *causey* of the Canon-gate. Scotstarvit's Calendar.

(*n*) Maitland, 12; Arnot, 15. Hostilities were then about to break out, and mutual inroads took place. But none of those hostile invasions reached Edinburgh, or even the limits of Lothian.

(*o*) Keith's Hist. 8. There is, happily, preserved the very first reforming treatise, which was probably written in Scotland, upon the principles of Luther, before Calvin was known to fame. It is entitled, "The richt way to the kingdome of hevine is techit heir in the x commandis of God: and in the Creid | and pater noster | In the quhilk al Christine men sal find al thing that is needful and requirit to onderstand to the salvation of the soul." It was written by Jhone Gau, after the execution of Hamilton, which he feelingly deplores; and it was printed at Malmoe by Jhone Hochstraten, the xvi day of October 1533. Malmoe stands in Sweden, opposite to Copenhagen. This is an elegant book. Had all been like this! As Chepman and Myllar had ceased to print before 1530, I doubt whether there were a printing ptess at that epoch in Scotland.

for heresy at Holyroodhouse, and were executed at the Greenside (*p*). When we see Calvin condemn Servetus to the stake; when we perceive the Reformed Church of Scotland, adopting the persecuting principles of Calvin, and carrying his odious practices into full effect; when we see the Convention of 1689 ordain a coronation oath, which required the king "to be careful to root "out *all heretics*, that shall be convicted by the true kirk of God, within "Scotland;" and which King William refused to swear; we may be forgiven if we forbear to lament over the fate of men, who came out to propagate their doctrines in the face of the law, and were content to fall for them under the axe of the law.

Very different scenes were soon exhibited in the same neighbourhood. James V. arrived from France with Magdalene, his first consort, at Leith, on the 13th of May 1537. She kissed the earth, thanked God for her happy voyage, and prayed for the prosperity of Scotland. She now passed to the palace of Holyrood, where she remained till preparations were made for her triumphant entry into Edinburgh (*q*). She soon after was conducted through the capital, attended by magnificent processions and joyous acclaims. But such joys were of short duration. Forty days saw her carried amid mournful lamentations to Holyrood Abbey (*r*). In July 1538, Mary of Guise, the second queen of James V., after solemnizing their marriage at St. Andrews, and visiting several towns, entered Edinburgh, where she was welcomed with rich presents, great triumphs, and "with farces and plays" (*s*).

Meantime Edinburgh, in the midst of all those joyous entertainments, was a town disgustful to the eye, and repulsive to the understanding (*t*). The

(*p*) Keith, 8-9. In the same year, Calvin fled from France to Bâle, where he wrote his *Institutions*. In February 1558-9, there was a meeting of bishops at Edinburgh, who condemned various persons to be burnt for heresy, on the castle hill. Ib. 9. In that year, Calvin was driven away from Geneva: he was received back in triumph; and caused Servetus to be burnt for heresy.

(*q*) Pitscottie, 291; Lesley, 445.

(*r*) Sir David Lyndsay gives a poetical account of those events in his Deploration for the death of Queen Magdalene. (*s*) Pitscottie, 295.

(*t*) Dunbar, the greatest of the Scottish poets, who flourished under James IV., in his *Satire on Edinburgh*, cried out *schame* upon the magistracy:

"May nane pass throu your principal gaittis,
For stink of haddockis and of scattis,
For cryis of carlingis and debaittis,
For fensive flyttingis of defame;
Think ye not schame?
Befoir strangeris of all Estaittis,
That sic dishonour hurt your name."

parliament which met at Edinburgh in March 1540-1, endeavoured, with honest diligence, "to mend those deformities," by passing an Act "touching "the reparations within the town of Edinburgh" (*u*). On the same day, another act was passed, requiring the meal-market to be removed from the High-street to "some honest place," where the king's people may convene for buying and selling, thereafter, such victuals (*x*).

From domestic reforms the king's attention was soon drawn to foreign treaty. But as the negotiation ended in hostilities, he was induced to summon an army in October 1541, on the burgh-moor of Edinburgh; and he thence marched, with thirty thousand men under corrupt leaders, to repel the invaders of his kingdom on the south (*y*). A similar event, but still more disastrous, at Solway moss on the western border, where the Scottish army either surrendered or fled, converted the king's indignation into despair. From Caerlaverock he retired to Edinburgh, and thence to Falkland, where he died on the 14th of December 1542 (*z*); and he was buried in the south-east vault of the abbey church of Holyrood, by the side of his first wife, Magdalene of France.

The unhappy king James V., was succeeded by his daughter, Mary Stewart, an infant of a week old. Henry VIII. instantly resolved to obtain possession of the person of the Scottish queen, either by force or artifice; and for this end he entered into various intrigues, and a formal treaty (*a*). But he was

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 634. The ruinous houses and wastes on the west side of Leith Wynd, were now directed to be built within a year and day, or the magistrates were required to cause the tenements to be appraised and sold; and if no one should be found to buy and rebuild them, the magistrates were authorized to pull down the ruinous tenements, and with the materials to build a substantial wall from the Nether-Bow port to the Trinity college. As the east side of Leith Wynd belonged to the abbot and convent of Holyrood, the bailies of the Canongate were ordained to cause the same reparations to be done upon it; and on account of the filth that arose by slaughtering of beasts on the east side, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the Canongate, were required to forbid the same in future, under pain of confiscation of the flesh slain.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 635. There were enacted, at the same time, two laws, for enabling all persons to sell bread and fish in Edinburgh on three market days in every weeek. Ib. 637-8.

(*y*) Lesley, 457. Pitscottie, 316, says, that the king marched from the burgh moor through Lothian to Falaw, and thence to Barlawhaugh, near the kirk of Lauder, an ominous place, where the king held a council, when the peers refused to advance into England, intelligence having reached them that the English army, under Norfolk, had retreated from the Scottish territory. The king indignantly retired and dismissed his army. Lesley, 457.

(*z*) Keith, x.; Lesley, 459; Pitscottie, 276; and the monumental inscription in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, ii. 5.

(*a*) Sir Ralph Sadler's Negociations, throughout.

too impatient to wait the slow fulfilment of his own stipulations for effecting his favourite object. Of his impatience more able men took their advantage. Owing to his breach of faith, the governor and council at Edinburgh, on the 23rd of September 1543, declared the treaty itself to be void (*b*). Henry was not a prince to bear such a disappointment without revenge, and on the 3rd of May 1544, the Earl of Hertford arrived in the Forth, with a numerous fleet and a large army. He landed at Royston, and took Leith (*c*). Edinburgh, the Abbey of Holyrood, and the palace adjoining, were burnt. After destroying the pier of Leith and carrying off the ships, the English army set out on their return, by land, leaving "neither pyle, village, town, nor house in their way homewards, unburnt (*d*)." As there seems to have been no resistance, it was easy to deliver to devastation the country and the towns. In May 1545, a reinforcement arrived at Leith from France, under the command of Lorge Montgomery. A general council assembled at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June, when an army of fifteen thousand men were ordered to assemble on Roslin moor, and soon after marched to the borders, with their French auxiliaries (*e*), but without performing any exploit worthy of their ancient fame. In May and July, 1547, there were two several arrays of the fighting men

(*b*) Keith, 32. Meantime, a civil war arose within the Scottish metropolis. The election of the magistrates had long been confined to the merchants, an exclusion which roused the jealousy of the tradesmen. Violent contests naturally ensued. On the 11th of August 1543, the magistrates having passed an ordinance, which seemed to infringe the privileges of the craftsmen, were opposed in the town-house by their deacons, who drew their swords, with an avowed purpose to defend their liberties. An armed force rescued the magistrates, and the deacons were imprisoned. The craftsmen arrayed themselves in defence of their deacons. The Regent Arran was obliged to interpose; and after various commitments, this troublesome collision of urban irascibility seems to have ended by some compromise.

(*c*) Keith, 46 ; Arnot's Edin. 18-19.

(*d*) The contemporary accounts in Dalziel's Fragments, 9. That ancient author has left a very useful detail of the prodigious mischief which was done in Edinburghshire during the Earl of Hertford's campaign of 1544. The town of Edinburgh, with the Abbey of Holyrood, and the king's palace adjoining, were burnt. The town of Leith was burnt and the haven destroyed. The castle and village of Craigmillar were burnt. The Abbey of Newbotle was burnt. Part of Musselburgh, with the chapel of Loret, were burnt. Roslin castle was burnt. Laureston, with the grange, near Edinburgh, were burnt. Inverleith, with the pile and town, were burnt. Broughton, near Edinburgh, was destroyed. Cramond, Dudiston, The Ficket, Stonhouse, Chesterhall, Drylaw, and Wester-Crag, were all destroyed. Ib. 11-12.

(*e*) Keith, 47-8. Cardinal Beaton called a provincial council of the clergy to meet at Edinburgh, in the Blackfriars church, on the 13th of January 1545-6, to reform the principles and practice of the clergy. Ib. 41.

of the southern shires assembled at Edinburgh (*f*); yet, the protector Somerset entered Scotland in September 1547. And he soon after defeated the Scottish powers, with such superiority of advantage, as seemed to deliver the country into his hands without further resistance (*g*). The invading foe now attempted Edinburgh, destroyed Leith, took Dalkeith, and retired homeward, carrying fire and sword through a wretched land.

In May 1548, Desse brought from France a reinforcement of six thousand men to a feeble government and a distracted people. After a while he marched from Edinburgh, with the allied troops, to fight their old enemies on Pinkiefield; but the English army retired before superior numbers to Haddington, where they were unsuccessfully besieged, in autumn 1848. Yet the English, by driving the young queen to France, lost the great object of the war, which was as absurd in its principle as it was wasteful in its practice. Meantime, Desse threw up some works at Inveresk, as an advanced post for Leith and Edinburgh (*h*). But he withdrew his army into the metropolis during the winter, when such bloody tumults ensued between the soldiers and the townsmen, as obliged him to withdraw towards Haddington, which he in vain attempted to surprise. The French general now fortified Leith, in order to keep up a necessary communication with France. The fortification, however, did not prevent the English fleet from approaching Leith, in June 1549, from seizing some ships, and from fortifying Inch-Keith, which was garrisoned by the English; and soon after taken by the French (*i*). Those inefficient, yet wasteful struggles, during a war of revenge rather than of policy, were closed by a peace, which was concluded between the belligerent parties, on the 24th of

(*f*) Keith, 52. (*g*) Patten's Account, 54—70.

(*h*) On the 10th of January 1548-9, the privy council ordered *a fort* to be built at *Inveresk*. The town of Edinburgh was directed to furnish 300 workmen, with proper tools, for six days. The same council ordained that every plough of eight oxen, between Linlithgow and Haddington, should furnish a man, properly provided with entrenching tools, during the same time of six days: and every *potch plough* [a plough laboured in common by several people] to furnish two men, under pain of forty shillings, for every such plough. MS. Extracts from the Privy Council Rec. Keith's App. 57. In the governor and council's answer, on the 22d of April 1550, to the French Memorial, they intimated that, to save charges, the fort of Inveresk would be kept by the abbot of Dunfermline upon caution, and that the king of France would put garrisons into Dunbar, Blackness, Broughty Castle, and Inch-Keith, for commanding the entrance into the principal rivers. Keith's Hist. 63.

(*i*) On the 29th of June 1549, the Inch [island] between Leith and Kingorne, was wonne from the Englishmen by the Frenchmen. Birrel's Diary.

March 1549-50; and which was soon after proclaimed at Edinburgh (*k*). The French troops immediately returned to France, except the garrisons of Inch-Keith and Dumbarton; and in September 1550, the queen Dowager, with many of the Scottish nobles, followed them in the fleet which Strozzi conducted to Leith for that purpose (*l*). In December 1551, the dowager queen returned through England to Edinburgh, where she was received by the governor and nobles with distinguished honours (*m*).

At Edinburgh, on the 26th of January 1551-2, was assembled a provincial council of the clergy, which ordained that a *catechism* should be published in the English tongue, for explaining the great duties of Christianity, as they are contained in the *commandments*, the belief, and the common prayer (*n*).

The object of the queen dowager's voyage to France soon began to appear by the effects of her intrigues. The Duke of Chatelherault agreed to resign to her ambition the regency of her daughter's kingdom. To effectuate this consequential object, the parliament was assembled at Edinburgh on the 10th of April 1554 (*o*). Two days thereafter, the Estates ratified the previous agreement of the regent and queen, when the insignia of power were delivered into her fairer and feebler hands (*p*); and the castle of Edinburgh was now committed to the doubtful charge of Lord Erskine (*q*). Under this female administration plays were acted at Edinburgh, much of the expense being paid by the magistrates (*r*); and the streets were ordered by the town council to be lighted, in order to prevent robberies (*s*).

Very different scenes were acted soon after at Edinburgh, where John Knox arrived in October 1555. He preached and taught secretly. Among

(*k*) Rym. xv. 255; Lesley, 507.

(*l*) Keith, 56; Lesley, 508.

(*m*) Keith, 57; Lesley, 521.

(*n*) Spottiswoode, 92; Keith, 63. Such a catechism was printed at St. Andrews by the command and at the expense of Archbishop Hamilton, on the 29th of August 1552. As this elegant and useful book was thus printed by the advice of the bishops and other prelates of the Scottish church, at the expense of the archbishop, it was sold at the low price of *two pence*, for the purpose of general circulation; and it was sarcastically called by vulgar malignity, *the two penny faith*.

(*o*) Keith, 59; Lesley, 521.

(*p*) Queen Mary, says Birrel, received the government from the Duke of Hamilton. Diary, 12th April 1554.

(*q*) Lesley, 518; Keith, 59.

(*r*) Council Reg. 12th October 1554. The play, which was made by William Lawder, was acted before the queen regent in December 1554. Id.

(*s*) Maitland's Edin. 14.

other persons who resorted to his private preachings, was Maitland, the younger of Lethington, who, endeavouring to argue with Knox on the lawfulness of the mass, was converted by him (*t*). Knox's success was at length noticed by the government; and in May 1556 he was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical judicatory in the Blackfriars church at Edinburgh. A concourse of people assembled at the same time and place to protect the preacher. Owing to some informality the summons was quashed. His preachings were now much more frequented; and in July 1556, accepting an invitation from the English congregation at Geneva, he departed from Edinburgh. He was again summoned, and failing to appear, he was condemned as a heretic, and was adjudged to be burnt in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh (*u*). The people were rather irritated than frightened, and they entered St. Giles' Church and demolished the statues. The regent queen, hearing of this outrage, wrote to the magistrates complaining of certain *balades* and *rhymes* that *had been set forth* by some persons within their town, who had also contemptuously broken the images; and she ordered them to discover the offenders and communicate their names to the archbishop (*x*). But such mandates were issued in vain. Meantime, the queen regent assembled a parliament at Edinburgh in May 1556 (*y*), in order to establish the feeble measures of a female sovereign. She proposed to have the whole lands within the kingdom registered, with the odious purpose of raising money for maintaining a standing force to defend the realm from the common enemy. This proposal was rejected with indignation; and three hundred of the lesser barons assembled at Edinburgh, and sent two delegates with a remonstrance against measures so new and destructive of their interests. The queen relinquished measures that were thus opposed and could not be effected (*z*). While the queen regent was in this manner disappointed, the town council augmented the provost's allowance to £100 Scots for *clothing and spicery*, with two hogsheads of wine; and ordered the servants of the inhabitants to attend him with torches from vespers to his residence (*a*).

The year 1557 opened with the arrival of other reformers, Harlow and Willock, who preached their doctrine with great zeal and some success at Edinburgh and in Leith (*u*). The 3d of December 1557 is the epoch of the first covenant, which was signed by a few nobles at Edinburgh, and which formed

(*t*) Knox, 99-100; Spottiswoode, 93.
(*u*) Spottiswoode, 93-4; Keith, 64.
(*x*) Maitland, 14; Keith, App. 84.
(*y*) Parl. Rec. 744-6.
(*z*) Lesley, 525-6; Keith, 70.
(*a*) Maitland, 14, on the 4th of December 1556.
(*b*) Keith, 64.

the origin of *the congregation* (*c*). On the 14th of the same month, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, which appointed commissioners for repairing to Paris to affiance their Queen with the Dauphin of France (*d*); and Mary was accordingly married to Francis, at Paris, on the 24th of April 1558 (*e*). On that agreeable occasion, the Magistrates of Edinburgh made adequate triumphs by giving the people *a play* for their amusement (*f*).

Very different scenes soon ensued. To other causes of discontent, the querulous court of England now added the marriage of Mary with Francis. An invasion from England being apprehended in June 1558, the burgesses of Edinburgh voluntarily agreed to maintain upwards of seven hundred men with complete appointments. The craftsmen equally resolved to raise nearly the same number for the defence of their town (*g*). In the midst of those threats and preparations, a *synod* met at Edinburgh in July 1558 (*h*). Several persons were now summoned for heresy, and as they did not readily meet this polemical summons, they were ordained to make a public recantation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 1st of September, the day of St. Giles, the patron of the metropolis; but the populace no longer worshipped the saint of their idolatry of old, and when the statue of St. Giles was brought out on his usual festival, amid the recantations of heresy, which provoked them, a great tumult ensued (*i*). The clergy now called a *convocation* to Edinburgh, in November then next (*k*); but the chiefs of the reformers, under the name of *the congregation*, in the meantime assembled, and directed Sir James Sandilands to present a petition to the queen regent, craving a reform as well in the church as in the state (*l*). The queen regent, who was thus called upon to answer one of the most difficult questions, appeared to have enjoyed the confidence of the town council of Edinburgh in a high degree (*m*).

(*c*) Keith, 66-9.

(*d*) Their commission was signed by the provosts of Stirling, Dundee, and Linlithgow, and by Guthrie, *the scribe* of Edinburgh, and by Elder, *the scribe* of Perth. Parl. Rec., 738-9.

(*e*) On the 28th of November 1558, a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh, who ratified the queen's marriage articles, who agreed to give her husband the crown matrimonial, and who appointed commissioners to carry that ratification and agreement into France. Parl. Rec., 729-43.

(*f*) Dalzell's Cursory Remarks, from the Town Records.

(*g*) Maitland's Hist. Edin., 15. (*h*) Keith, 68.

(*i*) Maitland, 15; Arnot, 20-1; Keith, 68; Spottiswoode, 118. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Keith, 78-80.

(*m*) The magistrates, on the 15th of December 1558, presented the queen, with whatever purpose, with three tuns of the best wine and twenty pounds of wax. Maitland, 15, from the Council Register.

While thus pressed by difficulties, the regent queen convened at Edinburgh the most learned and judicious of the clergy in March 1559, to devise means for allaying the ferments of reform. This synod sat upwards of a month, while the parliaments generally sat less than a week. The reformers presented to the queen their articles of amendment which they desired to be adopted (*n*) ; but she naturally determined to support the synod, whose advice she had required (*o*). John Knox soon after arrived from Geneva at Edinburgh, and immediately began to preach seditiously in various towns. Violent perturbations thereupon ensued, particularly in Perth, where the populace either pulled down or plundered the churches and monasteries. The regent thanked the magistrates of Edinburgh for preserving quiet, and supporting the provost, with an allusion to the tumults of Perth. The town council of Edinburgh, dreading the entrance of the reformed congregation for destroying their churches, ordered their gates to be shut, except two, to which they appointed guards (*p*). The reformers had now appealed to violence for effecting their amendment of church and state, in defiance of law. They proceeded from Perth to Stirling, where they demolished the churches, the regent retiring before them. From Stirling the reformers advanced to Linlithgow, where they destroyed the churches, and thence threatened the metropolis, whence the regent retired to Dunbar, being informed by the provost that the town was somewhat infected with the rage of reform ; yet the town council sent commissioners to meet the reformers at Linlithgow, with earnest entreaties to spare the religious houses ; and in the meantime, the magistrates placed a guard of sixty men for protecting St. Giles's Church (*q*). As soon as the reformers entered Edinburgh, they seized the mint, with the instruments and materials for coining. The regent queen now thought it necessary to issue a requisition, that they

(*n*) Lesley, 545-6-7 ; Keith, 81-2.

(*o*) Id. Meantime, a sort of civil war existed in Edinburgh between the magistrates and the provost, Lord Seton, who seems to have acted arbitrarily. Maitland, 15.

(*p*) Maitland, 16.

(*q*) Knox, 196 ; Keith, 94 ; Maitland, 16. Lord Seton, the provost, placed guards in the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, in one of which he lay every night ; but on the approach of the reformers from Linlithgow, he retired, when the populace destroyed those magnificent monuments of ancient piety ; so that when the reformers entered the capital on the 29th of June 1559, they found only bare walls, whereby, said Knox, with his usual perversion of matter and manner, "we were the less troubled in putting order to such places." Knox's Hist., 156. They spoiled the abbey and palace of Holyrood, and even demolished the prebendal houses of Trinity College. Lesley, 551.

should evacuate Edinburgh and the palace of Holyrood (*r*). Nothing is so vain as such requisitions when the laws themselves are set at nought. The reformers, who had virtually assumed the government, made answer to the charge of robbing the mint, that the people being hurt by bad money, the nobles, as counsellors by birth, had a right to stop the coining of money; and that they had delivered what coins they had found to the master of the mint (*s*). We thus perceive, in those recriminations, the claims and assumptions of the reformers in arms.

They now tried by a deputation to gain the town council of Edinburgh and the legal government of the state (*t*). Their commissioners met the regent queen at Preston, in East-Lothian; and here specious terms were offered on both sides, but there was not any agreement (*u*). The regent now learning that the lower orders of the reformers began to return to their several dwellings, while their chiefs meant to remain at Edinburgh, advanced from Dunbar with such force as she could muster, on Sunday evening the 23rd of July, and arrived near Edinburgh at sunrise. The insurgent chiefs, learning her intention, summoned their adherents from Lothian and Fife. They promptly marched from Edinburgh to Leith, to circumvent the regent; but she had already obtained, by her vigour, possession of this important post. They now endeavoured to regain Edinburgh, but when the governor of the castle threatened to fire upon them, they were glad to obtain their safety by a treaty (*x*). The regent queen now repossessed the palace of Holyrood; while the insurgents retired to Stirling, where they made a *third covenant*, which evinced their purpose of perseverance (*y*).

Neither party seems to have perceived that such treaties are seldom performed. When the regent applied to the town council of Edinburgh for the

(*r*) Knox, 158; Keith, 95.

(*s*) Knox, 158; Keith, 95; Spottiswoode, 127.

(*t*) Keith's App., 85; Maitland, 16.

(*u*) Keith, 97. That meeting was on the 12th of July 1559.

(*x*) On the 25th of July 1559, it was agreed that the insurgents should evacuate Edinburgh and resign the mint, with the instruments of coinage, to the master; to quit the palace of Holyrood; to allow the people of Edinburgh to practice any religion they might think proper till the 10th of the subsequent January; and the insurgent reformers engaged to be obedient subjects respecting the laws, and neither to molest the clergy nor pull down the churches and religious houses; and it was mutually stated that no soldiers, either French or Scots, should garrison Edinburgh. Lesley, 553; Spottiswoode, 128-9; Keith, 98-9, wherein there are some differences of representation. Keith, App., 86-7; Maitland, 17; and Arnot, 22, corrects some misrepresentations of Robertson.

(*y*) Keith, 100.

use of St. Giles' church, that the religion of the State might be continued, and that the reformed clergy might preach in some other place, the magistrates refused to allow the mass to be in any manner performed within their church; and the French officers and soldiers now treated the reformed preachers and congregations with contumely, even during their worship (*z*). In the abbey of Holyrood and in Leith, the French soldiers cut down the reformed pulpits and restored the mass (*a*). The queen issued a proclamation for quieting the minds of the reformed people (*b*).

At length, arrived at Leith, a reinforcement of a thousand French soldiers, with promises of additional numbers (*c*). There were sent soon after, the bishop of Amiens, as legate *a latere*, attended with some doctors of divinity, to execute the hard task of supporting absurdity against reason (*d*). It seems not to have been distinctly perceived that an appeal having been made to violence from argument, force could only be opposed by force.

A sort of civil conflict existed at the same time within Edinburgh. The magistrates were so decidedly for the reformers that Lord Seton, the provost, could not preserve their attachment to the regent. The queen now supported the pretensions of the deacons of the craftsmen to a vote in the town councils, which had long been denied them by the guild brethren. She had already restored the deacons to a vote in the annual election of magistracy. She, in the end, by a special ordinance, directed that the deacons of the crafts in future should be allowed to vote in the choosing of the council and officers. But the town council refused obedience to this ordinance, as inconsistent with the act of James I. in 1426 (*e*). Against this refusal the deacons protested, and even avowed their future disobedience (*f*). The regent endeavoured in vain to support her party at the ensuing elections. Her strenuous friend, Lord Seton, was ejected, and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie was, in his place, chosen provost (*g*).

(*z*) Spottiswoode, 129. The magistrates saying, we will practise a religion which was yesterday introduced by violence, but we will not allow a religion to be used which had been practised five centuries under the law, naturally provoked the ridicule of soldiers.

(*a*) Spottiswoode, 129; Knox, 70.

(*b*) Knox, 172-3. It was dated on the 28th of August 1559. (*c*) Keith, 101-2.

(*d*) Lesley, 559. The legate and doctors arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th of September 1559.

(*e*) That order was presented on the 22nd of September 1559. The Act of Parliament, which was quoted by the Town Council, is in the Black Acts, ch. 87, and the Parl. Rec., 18; but it does not bear out the magistrates in their pretensions.

(*f*) Maitland, 18. (*g*) Id.

The insurgent congregation assembled at Hamilton on the 29th of September 1559, when the late regent, the second person in the kingdom and presumptive heir of the crown, for the first time joined them (*h*). By the union of such a personage, the insurgents acquired much addition to their confidence. They wrote to the regent, complaining that she had fortified Leith and garrisoned it with French (*i*). They tried to gain Lord Erskine, the governor of Edinburgh castle, by threatening vengeance if he should continue to oppose them (*k*). The regent, in her turn, endeavoured to draw away the duke from his associates, but without success. The insurgents now summoned their adherents to Stirling, in order that they might march to Edinburgh and prevent the fortifying of Leith (*l*). When the regent heard of those designs, she charged the insurgents, by her proclamation, with violating their treaty of the 25th of July, by which they had promised not to seek the support of England against their own government, and with taking Broughty castle in order to admit foreign aid into the Tay. She avowed the fortification of Leith as a measure of necessity for her own refuge, and the protection of her friends; and she charged the Scottish people to preserve their allegiance to their sovereign, and to refuse their support to the duke and his associates (*m*). The insurgents issued a counter proclamation, which is remarkable for gross misrepresentation and coarse invective (*n*).

(*h*) Knox, 180-1; Spottiswoode, 131. The Duke of Hamilton had been converted by his son, the Earl of Arran, whose wrongheadedness ended in confirmed insanity. The weakness of the duke did not allow him to perceive that he hazarded his greatness, and his pretensions to the crown itself, by lending his support to insurgents, who acted in avowed opposition to the laws whence he derived his rights.

(*i*) Knox, 180-1; Spottiswoode, 131. The complaint of introducing *French* soldiers may have been popular, but it was groundless in law; for by the marriage of the queen with the dauphin, and the statutes which followed thereon, Scotland and France were identified; Scotsmen having in France the rights of Frenchmen, and Frenchmen having in Scotland the rights of Scotsmen. And the two nations had a right to make such a marriage, and such laws. England may have thereby sustained some inconvenience; but being an *inconvenience* without an *injury*, Queen Elizabeth had scarcely any right of reclamation, on account of the introduction of the French troops; and the insurgents had no right to complain of such a measure, particularly as their actions were against law.

(*k*) Ib. (*l*) Ib., 182. (*m*) Ib., 185.

(*n*) Ib., 186-90. They ask, in answer to the regent's representations, if Leith had been fortified of old, without the consent of the nobility and Estates. Ib., 187. The established law on this head was: The king could fortify any place without the consent of the nobles; but a noble could not fortify his castle without the license of the king. And this doctrine was recognised often by the Estates, on prosecutions for treason, as we know from the Parliamentary Record. The magistrates

The insurgents marched, on the 18th of October 1559, from Stirling to Edinburgh. On their approach, the regent removed from Holyroodhouse to Leith, attended by the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Seton, and others (*o*). On the morrow, they sent a written requisition to the regent demanding the strangers and soldiers to be removed, and the fortifications to be demolished (*p*). In answer to such a demand, from such men, the regent sent Foreman, the lion herald, to intimate to them that they had no right to their assumptions, and commanded them to evacuate Edinburgh (*q*). They detained the herald, and on the morrow, the insurgent chiefs, with the provosts of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, and Aberdeen, held a convention in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, over which Lord Ruthven presided (*r*). He opened the business of the convention by a speech, which he concluded, by moving, whether the regent, having refused their request, ought to be suffered to domineer over such freemen. Some there were who thought this motion, without moderation, and without precedent. The judgment of the preachers was now required upon Ruthven's motion, and Willock and Knox both proved from scripture that rebels may remove their rulers when-

could not fortify a town without the consent of the king; and Edinburgh received a licence from James II., when it was fortified, long after it had become a corporate body. Leith, which was not a corporation, had been fortified in 1549 by Desse, under the authority of the same duke when regent. Knox, indeed, acknowledges "that the queen's papers gained most credit with the common people." The regent's papers contained law and sense; the insurgent papers were composed of assumption and impertinence.

(*o*) Spottiswoode, 135.

(*p*) Id.; Knox, 193. A rumour being spread that the duke meant to usurp the government, "he made his purgation, with sound of trumpet, at the cross of Edinburgh." His proclamation is in Knox, 193-4. He did not, however, make his purgation of not being a rebel against law. He did not make his purgation of being a simpleton, for risking so great an inheritance without any adequate interest. The *purgation* did not satisfy the people; for, as we know from Knox, 192-3, many of the brethren began to murmur and fly off, as the chiefs seemed to seek some other thing than religion.

(*q*) Knox, 194-5; Keith, 103.

(*r*) This was Patrick, Lord Ruthven, who was very active for the Reformation, which, according to Crawford, was very praiseworthy; "but what lies heaviest on this lord's memory, says he, is the hand he had in the murder of David Rizzio, a deed so odious that none will take upon them to justify it." Peerage, 165. He died in exile, on the 13th of June 1566. His son William was executed for *his* treasons on the 28th of April 1584; and his son John was slain during his treasonous attempt on King James, in August 1600; and he and his brother Alexander, being attainted by parliament, their heads were adjudged to be placed on the common gaol, "till the wind should blow them off." Ib., 166.

ever profligate preachers may think proper (*a*). This insurgent convention, thus sanctioned by such authority, proceeded to deprive the regent of the authority which she had received from the Estates. This deprivation was declared by sound of trumpet at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and also at the common cross of every burgh; and they now sent back the lion herald with this suspension, and a demand for the evacuation of Leith (*t*). The insurgents were so ridiculous as to demand the evacuation of Leith, in the name of their sovereign lord and lady, and of the council then at Edinburgh; but as it was not surrendered to such a summons, the insurgents resolved to take it by force. The town council of Edinburgh supplied them with two thousand marks for this enterprize (*u*). Some skirmishes ensued; but when they attempted to take the town by escalade they failed (*x*). Disorder and distrust among the insurgents now ensued. Several leaders went over to the regent. Their designs were at length disclosed. The duke hesitated. Their hired soldiers being, for the most part, as Knox informs us, "men without God or honesty," mutinied for want of pay. They attempted to raise a fund by voluntary contribution; but when they carried their silver to the mint they found that the officers had deserted. In this extremity of want, their chiefs applied to Queen Elizabeth's officers at Berwick, Sadler and Crofts, who delivered 4,000 crowns to Cockburn of Ormiston for their use. But he was intercepted by James, Earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of Lothian, who acted under the regent's orders. The leaders now turned their hostility against Bothwell. They beset his castle of Crichton; but hearing of their design he retired with his prey; and as the castle was not defended, it soon surrendered (*y*).

On the same day, the provost of Dundee, with his townsmen and some mutinous soldiers and cannon, marched from Edinburgh with the resolute purpose of assaulting Leith; but they were instantly repulsed. They hastily fled towards Edinburgh; they were even slaughtered in the Canongate; and

(*s*) Knox, 195-6; Spottiswoode, 136, who gravely censures that opinion as unsound.

(*t*) Knox, 199; Spottiswoode, 137-8; and Keith, 105, has given a copy of the Act of Suspension, from the Cotton Library, dated the 23rd of October 1559.

(*u*) Maitland, 19.

(*x*) We are told by Knox, 200, that they could not succeed, as the scaling ladders had been constructed in St. Giles' Church.

(*y*) Knox, 201-3, informs us "his castle was spoiled, but in it there was nothing of any great importance except *his evidences* and certain clothing."

the pursuers retreated in their turn when they perceived by a shot from the castle that the governor was not their friend (*z*).

From that disastrous day, the insurgent forces could scarcely be retained in Edinburgh; some of the leaders determined to abandon the enterprize; many stole away, and those who still remained were distracted in their councils and irregular in their conduct (*a*).

In the midst of this despondency, on the 6th of November 1559, the regent's troops early sallied from Leith, to intercept a convoy of provisions which was coming to the insurgents. The Earl of Arran, and James Stewart the prior of St. Andrews, led out the insurgent forces to meet them; but so backward were the soldiers that, according to Knox, "they could scarcely be driven forth of the town." The two leaders showed more courage than conduct; so that their retreat would have been cut off had not Kirkcaldy with a body of horse, by a furious charge, checked the advance of the regent's troops. The insurgents were driven back into Edinburgh with some loss and great disorder (*b*). This second defeat, arising from the superiority of regular troops over any militia, quite depressed the insurgent spirit. Several persons secretly left Edinburgh on the same day; some of the chief leaders declared that they would not remain; Arran and the prior said they would continue if any reasonable number would remain with them; and Lord Erskine, the governor of the castle, refused to favour them, avowing his design to side with the prevailing party. In despair, the insurgent reformers resolved to depart from Edinburgh at midnight. On their retreat, says Knox, "the despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics; every one provoked others to throw stones at us (*c*)." This avowal of Knox seems to prove that, whatever the magistrates may have been, the populace of Edinburgh were not sincerely attached to the reformers. They marched to Stirling, where they held a council, wherein it was resolved, by sending Secretary

(*z*) Lesley, 165-7; Knox, 202-3. Lord Erskine, the governor, is said by Knox "to have soon repented of well-doing." Those events happened on the 31st of October 1559.

(*a*) There is a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts at Berwick, to Secretary Cecil, dated the 5th of November 1559, which says: "Touching your desire to know what "*Scots* be with the queen dowager, and how many *Frenchmen*, as far as we can learn there be "no Scots of any name with her in Leith, but the Lord Seton and Lord Borthwick with the "inhabitants of the town. For the rest, as the Earl of Bothwell who is on her side and such "others as seem to favour her party, do remain at home by her consent untill she require their aid, "it is said that there be in Leith about 3,000 *Scots*, and Frenchmen in *wage*. Keith's App. 31.

(*b*) Knox, 204-5; Spottiswoode, 139. (*c*) Ib., 205.

Lethington to London, to crave Elizabeth's aid. On the morrow, the regent entered Edinburgh, and tried, without success, to obtain the castle from the doubtful charge of Lord Erskine (*d*). The Roman Catholic services were now restored in the Edinburgh churches; and the pope's legate, with the pragmaticalness of his office, purged St. Giles' church by a reconsecration (*e*). The Earl of Bothwell, perhaps as sheriff of Lothian, proclaimed the Earl of Arran a traitor, recollecting probably, the late attack of this zealot on Crichton castle. The regent sent for reinforcements to France. The insurgents learned on the 20th of December 1559, that Elizabeth had agreed to afford them effectual assistance; and both parties prepared at the end of this busy year to renew the civil war in the next with more vigour and inveteracy.

The regent, who probably knew Elizabeth's intentions, resolved to suppress the insurgents in Fife before the English succours should arrive. Early in January 1560, she detached a body of men from Leith by Stirling to Fife; but before they could effect her purpose, the English fleet arrived in the frith and took two ships, carrying provisions to the regent's army in Fifeshire. The Scottish army immediately returned to Leith, and busied themselves in strengthening the fortifications of this town and of the Isle of Inch-Keith. Winter, the English admiral, no sooner cast anchor in Leith roads, than the regent demanded the cause of his coming into the frith. He readily said that he came in quest of pirates; but he seems not to have discharged the two ships that he had detained (*f*). The whole evince the unneighbourly insidiousness of Elizabeth's government. The regent instructed the French ambassador to require of Elizabeth the cause of Winter's conduct, and that no English aid should be given to the Scottish insurgents. Her evasive answer, and subsequent practice, merely evince what is sufficiently known, that trick and disingenuousness were, in that age, the common artifices of Elizabeth's ministers (*g*). She went some steps further. She reinforced her fleet in the Forth, and she sent the Duke of Norfolk to make a treaty with the Duke of Chatelherault, the second person in Scotland, who was then in rebellion against his

(*d*) Knox, 213. (*e*) Lesley, 516; Spottiswoode, 139.

(*f*) Lesley, 521. From the representation of Strype, in his Annals of Elizabeth, he seems to have seen Admiral Winter's instructions, which empowered him to avow any purpose except the real one. Keith, 116, App. 45. I have seen the draft of his instructions in the Paper Office, which correspond with the account of Strype.

(*g*) Lesley, 521; Keith, 116. The Scottish Government had not given her any cause of offence, and therefore, her attack on the Scottish Government was indefensible on any known principle of law existing between nations.

sovereign (*h*). Francis and Mary equally sent reinforcements to Leith, though not in sufficient numbers. The insurgents now summoned all their adherents to co-operate with the English army, which entered Scotland on the 2nd of April 1560. Two days afterward, the insurgents met their English colleagues at Preston, in East-Lothian. At the same time, the regent, with her attendants, retired from Leith into Edinburgh castle, under the protection of Lord Erskine, the governor. Various applications were now made to the regent, both by the chiefs of the insurgents and the English general, desiring that the French troops might be sent to France. She evaded a request, the granting of which, she knew, would deliver her into the hands of the insurgents. Various skirmishes now ensued, which were only preparatory to the siege of Leith. During two months this town resisted every attack that could be made upon it with great skill and bravery (*i*). Negotiations were meantime carried on, but they ended in no result, as no treaty, on such an occasion, could be made with the regent queen, which would not have delivered the existing government to the insurgents, and the sovereignty of the kingdom to a foreign power. At length the regent died, within Edinburgh castle, on the 10th of June 1560, of a dropsical complaint (*k*). She was, at the end of some months, sent for burial in the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, of which René, her sister, was then abbess (*l*).

The associated Scots and English were disappointed by the length and difficulty of the siege of Leith, owing to the skill and discipline of the besieged. Elizabeth and Cecil became impatient from the uncertainty and expense of the enterprize; and the queen and her minister began to think of obtaining by treaty, what appeared so difficult by force. She resolved, as early as the middle of May 1560, to send Cecil and Wotton, two of her ablest negotiators, into the north, to meet the bishop of Valence and Randan, the envoys of Francis and Mary. The rumour of a treaty disquieted the chiefs of the insurrection. After some preliminary negotiations at Newcastle and Berwick, the

(*h*) Rym., xv., 569; Keith, 117-19, 120. The preamble of this treaty is a wretched recital of falsehood and misrepresentation.

(*i*) The English generals gave it as their deliberate opinion, on the 28th of May 1560, of the siege of Leith, "that batteri prevaileth not, but that the only way to winn it is either by the sapp or famine." Haynes, 347. Leith, however, was much battered, and it was set on fire.

(*k*) Lesley, 525; Keith, 128. Knox insulted the deceased queen with the scurrilous language which seems to be peculiar to his natural savageness.

(*l*) Keith, 130.

envoys arrived at Edinburgh on the 17th of June. The English envoys found their business full of difficulties, owing to the crooked points of the matter, the dealing between a prince and his subjects, the ability of their opponents, though the Scottish council could be easily managed (*m*). The only point of difficulty between the English and Scottish sovereigns was the late treaty of Berwick between Elizabeth and the insurgent lords (*n*); and Cecil and Wotton doubted whether they could obtain any clause in the treaty wherein the Scottish nobles should be mentioned (*o*). Yet by great efforts of perseverance and address, two treaties were agreed to; the one for the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the removal of the French troops, dated the 5th of July; and the other, for the settlement of peace between England and France, dated the 6th of July 1560, which did mention some concessions to the prayers of the Scottish nobles (*p*). Those treaties proceeded avowedly on the regular powers of Francis and Mary, dated the 2nd of May, and of Elizabeth, executed on the 25th of May 1560 (*q*). On such powers was the peace of Scotland restored, was Leith demolished, were the English and French troops sent out of Scotland, and above all, were some stipulations obtained for the disavowing of the use of the title and arms of England, by Francis and Mary. Elizabeth was so weak as to expect that her envoys could obtain five hundred thousand crowns, and the cession of Calais, as positive compensations for the assumption of such title and arms, though the same Elizabeth continued to call herself queen of France (*r*); and it required all the address of Cecil and Wotton, who could not obtain a single line of treaty from Monluc and Randan, without a violent struggle, to divert their queen from such idle expectations (*s*).

(*m*) Haynes, 327. (*n*) Ib. 329. (*o*) Ib., 330.

(*p*) The first treaty is printed in Rymer, xv., 591: the second, or principal treaty, is published by Rymer, xv., 593.

(*q*) Ib., 581. The full power of Francis and Mary, dated as above, at Chenonceau, merely takes notice of "the *rebellion* of their subjects in Scotland, which had brought together troops upon the frontiers." And it goes on to empower the specified envoys to treat with Elizabeth's envoys for the re-establishment of peace: but there is no power given to grant so much as a pardon to any one of the *said rebels*, nor to notice in any way the Scottish insurgents, more than the recital of their rebellion, as above. This was printed from the Autograph. Elizabeth's full power to Cecil and Wotton is printed in Rymer, xv., 596, from the Autograph, but says not a word about *the rebels* of Scotland. Such were the powers!

(*r*) Haynes, 342.

(*s*) Haynes, throughout. This treaty is fully and fairly printed in Rymer, xv., 593, from the Autograph; yet is there a manifest defect in it, for it contains a clause, stating that, on the

Secretary Cecil, however, afterward obtained a detail of those concessions, with the power under which they are said to have been made. We have just seen that neither this power nor those concessions, which ought to have formed a separate article of the treaty of Edinburgh, were deposited with it in the Public Archives. They were placed, by whatever hands, in the Cotton Library; and they have been thence copied, translated, and published by Keith and other writers, without any suspicion of spuriousness, as criticism and history are seldom allied. Cecil seems not to have brought a copy of these concessions and that power from Scotland with him. A copy appears to have been afterward sent him by the insurgent chiefs; and this copy still remains in the Cotton Libray, marked by Cecil's hand, certified to be a true copy from *the original*, by James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland, the late secretary of the regent queen. But the original, which was thus referred to, has been never seen by the most curious eyes. The supposed original appears to have been signed only by the French ambassadors; but to have made a complete original, it ought to have been countersigned by the French envoys; and such an original ought to have been annexed to the treaty of Edinburgh, as a separate article of that important pacification; and forming thus an essential part of the treaty of Edinburgh, the supposed original belonged more to England than to Scotland;

prayer of the nobles and people of Scotland, certain concessions had been granted to them, at the request of Elizabeth; and there was an agreement between the contracting parties, that Francis and Mary should fulfil those concessions; the nobles and people of Scotland fulfilling their agreements. We have seen above that the envoys of Francis and Mary had no power to make such concessions. But, as they were made, the several negotiators of this treaty ought to have signed and sealed them, as *a separate article* of this treaty, and ought, thus authenticated, to have been filed, as an essential part thereof, in the archives of England; for Elizabeth was a party, and was, in fact, the guarantee of those concessions, and, of course, had a right of reclamation, if Francis and Mary should depart from them. But without the record of the agreement, authenticated by the envoys, Elizabeth had no evidence of her right of reclamation; and Francis and Mary might, without such authentication, have denied that they had ever made such concessions. We now see the imperfection of the treaty of Edinburgh, as it was filed by Cecil, in the archives of England. It will be found perhaps that to vindicate the envoy's *head*, it will be necessary to impeach his *heart*. There is a copy of this treaty in Leonard's *Recueil*, 1693, Tome ii., 567, without the full power; but there is in this collection no copy of those supposed concessions. In the Brit. Mus. Bibl. Harl., No. 1244, there is a very full, curious, and useful collection of treaties and other instruments between Scotland and France, from early till late times; yet does it not contain those supposed concessions, though it comprehends the treaty of Edinburgh of the 6th July, 1560. The silence of this collector and of Leonard gives rise to some suspicion!

and of course Cecil ought to have granted a certified copy to the Scottish chiefs rather than the Scottish chiefs transmit a copy to Cecil. The whole transaction then, if it were real, was quite informal; and again, to save the celebrated secretary of Elizabeth from the imputation of unskilfulness, he must be supposed to have acted knavishly (*t*).

The copy of the Scottish concessions, which remains in the Cotton Library, is entitled by the hand of Cecil, "The acord betwixt the French king and queen of Scots, and the nobility of Scotland, 3d July 1560;" and consists of *the power* of the *sovereigns of Scotland*, with the concessions that were supposed to be founded thereon by their envoys (*u*).

The first writer probably, who questioned the genuineness of those concessions and that full power, was Whitaker (*x*). They certainly appear in a very questionable shape, as we have already seen (*y*). The powers under which the treaty of Edinburgh was made were produced and verified in due form; and by the authority of those a clause was inserted in that treaty in favour of the insurgents, at the request of Elizabeth (*z*). After all, did Francis

(*t*) Elizabeth, on the 2nd of September 1560, ratified the treaty of Edinburgh and *every thing contained in it.* Rym., xv., 602. From these last expressions we may perceive that there was not any separate article annexed, and that Elizabeth did not recognise the Scottish part of that treaty whatever it was, and of course relinquished her right of reclamation.

(*u*) Calig., b. ix., 129; Keith, 137. That copy is, probably, in the hand of Lethington, the indorsements are in the hand of Cecil, and the signatures of James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland, are genuine. Such, then, is the fact as it appeared when the document in the Cotton Library was inspected by antiquarian eyes, for the useful purpose of ascertaining the real truth. It is clear, from a dispatch by Cecil and Wotton, dated the 5th of July 1560, that *the accord* between the French and Scots was not then settled. Haynes, 349. The date then of the 3rd of July, as above, was wrong. It contained another anachronism of great importance as to the queen's reign.

(*x*) Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots, iii., 41, App. No. xiv.

(*y*) The envoys of Francis and Mary would surely carry a copy of their concessions to Paris, and the power under which they acted must have remained in the chancery of France; and yet the collectors of French *Diplomas* seem not to have found them where they ought to have been seen. Castelnau talks, indeed, of what was *given out* by agreement; what was rumoured at Paris. Mem., Eng. Edit., 74.

(*z*) When the French envoys, who were nominated, in the power of Francis and Mary came to London they said to Elizabeth "that they were sent to her, *and not unto the subjects of Scotland*, for it was not meet that the king should send to his own subjects (as they were by the marriage of their queen) to require peace or to condition with them for agreement." Holinshed, 374; Camden concurs in this fact. "The king and queen of France thought it too mean a condescension for princes," says he, "to debate things on a level with their subjects, and

and Mary grant a full power to the same envoys, dated on the 2d of June 1560, a month later to treat with the Scottish insurgents? The insurgents themselves say they did, however improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the acknowledged authority of the 2d of May. The power of the 2d of June was not necessary to the end, as every thing could be done under the power of the 2d of May, which could be performed under that of the 2d of June. To send such a document from France after the envoys to Scotland was not a reasonable act. Being unreasonable and therefore absurd, it is not to be believed that such a full power was ever granted by Francis and Mary, or received by their envoys; and, there thus appears to be abundant reason to believe that the supposed full power of the 2d of June 1560 had never any existence, except in the obvious fabrication of the insurgent chiefs (*a*).

Murray made such proposals as, in Cecil's opinion, were neither fit for princes to grant nor subjects to ask." Camden, in Kennet, 282. This was copied by Camden from Cecil's letter of the 21st of June. Caligula as above. And in the full power of Francis and Mary to treat with Elizabeth, the insurgents of Scotland are expressly called *rebels.*

(*a*) There is a translated copy of that paper in Keith, 143, from the Cotton Library. It appears to be chiefly a repetition of the real full power of the previous 2nd of May, empowering the envoys of Francis and Mary to treat only with the envoys of Elizabeth for the restoration of tranquility; and in addition to the real full power goes on thus: "And in like manner "to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland that notwithstanding they have of "late committed so grevious a crime as to forget their duty towards us, if nevertheless they shall "repent and return to the obedience which they owe to us, we are willing to receive them into "favour, because we are desirous of nothing more than to see them living under obedience to "us, and in peace, union, and tranquility, together." And then follows a clause of deputation, for which the whole paper seems to have been fabricated: "And generally to do in the premises "the *circumstances* and *dependencies* thereof all and sundry things which we ourselves would or "could do if we were personally present, even although something should fall out which might "appear to require a more special instruction than is contained in these presents." This last clause was merely copied from the power of the 2nd of May preceding. Rym., xv., 581. But in diplomacy such *general* expressions must be limited by the previous *premises*, otherwise an envoy might carry out his authority without bounds; and in this supposed commission the premises were *the restoring of tranquility to Scotland*, and the means were, of course, universal pardon and particular favour. The very conception of this second power, dated the 2nd of June, seems to have arisen in the minds of Murray, [James Stewart], Lethington, and Cecil, *after* the 21st of June 1560, the date of Cecil's very remarkable letter to Elizabeth from Edinburgh, suggesting the impossibility of obtaining certain points for the insurgents. This letter is in the Cotton Library. Calig., b. 10, and Keith, App., 49. This power appears to have been now hastily fabricated, for there is a gross anachronism in the date of the commission, being the 16th year of Mary's reign instead of the 18th. Keith, 144. The whole matter might be thus put to Cecil. The English envoys negotiated the whole treaty of Edinburgh as they were empowered; in this case the whole

When the heart and hand of forgery is busy, in any age, it is not easy to ascertain falsehood from truth. We may see in Haynes the successive intimations of Cecil, while his artful mind was busily employed at Edinburgh in carrying on a *double negotiation* with whatever view of gratifying his passion for intrigue or benefiting his fastidious mistress without her knowledge. Owing to the artifices of this able minister it thus becomes very difficult to distinguish what was the true result of the treaty of Edinburgh with regard to Scotland. From Castelnau we may learn, indeed, what were *given out by agreement* as its stipulations for putting an end to the war of Scotland (*b*). The writers of the same age, as they all differ in their notices, are not much more instructive than Castelnau. What was given by the insurgent chiefs to Cecil, and by him, after a while, or by his direction, was deposited in the Cotton Library, and has long been published (*c*). And whether what has thus been obtruded on the world as genuine, and has been reprobated as spurious, needs not be elaborately investigated, as the envoys had no power to negotiate with the insurgents, as they had no power to make such a treaty by agreeing to such concessions, and as Francis and Mary never ratified a treaty which subverted the constitution of the State, which transferred their

stipulations ought to have been executed by the signatures and seals of the envoys of the contracting powers, and thus ought to have been deposited in the Archives of England. Or, as the fact seems to be, that the envoys of Francis and Mary negotiated a distinct treaty with the insurgent chiefs; but in this case there was no power given to hold such a treaty, as the fabricated power required the treaty to be with the envoys of Elizabeth; and these intimations lead to the conclusion that Cecil basely colleagued with the insurgent chiefs to impose a fabrication and falsehood upon England and Scotland, and upon the sovereigns of both; upon Elizabeth as well as upon Mary. The memory of Cecil is chargeable also with an additional offence of aggravated baseness. By filling the Archives of England with forgeries he has contaminated the fountain-head of history.

(*b*) Castelnau, p. 91, of the English edition. This intelligent memoir-writer, though he had not the treaty before him, perceived clearly "from the event, that France had lost and the English had got Scotland by the war."

(*c*) See those *concessions* in Keith's Hist. 137, and there would be little doubt about their general tenor, if Murray, Ruthven and Lethington, who at the same time certified the truth of the annexed full power, which is a palpable forgery, could be believed. They set out in the preamble with a falsehood, and the articles of this treaty are so extraordinary in themselves, that we might presume the envoys of Francis and Mary, who are praised by Cecil for their acuteness and energy, did not understand the extent of their sovereign's powers, nor the meaning of their own stipulations. I have seen in the Paper Office, P. 20, T. No. 20, a memorial in Cecil's hand, dated at Newcastle, on the 10th June 1560, of "things to be demanded by the Scots *only*." Here, then, is the conception of Cecil, what ought to have been asked by the Scots; and what was granted was so different, that we are thus furnished with an additional proof of the forgery.

undoubted sovereignty to their insurgent subjects, and which laid the independency of Scotland, which had cost so many struggles, at the feet of Elizabeth (*d*).

With regard to this treaty, which had so little authority for its basis, the opinions of men were various. When we hear so judicious a writer as Camden saying that it established the *liberty*, and such an author as Burnet that it removed *the tyranny* of Scotland, we are left to lament that history so often sacrifices sense to sound. This truth will appear by a slight examination of the first article of the Edinburgh treaty. It proceeds upon the complaint of the insurgents of the number of soldiers which had been kept up in times of peace, and it goes on to stipulate that neither French nor any foreign troops shall thereafter be introduced by the king and queen without the advice of *the Estates*. This article was beneficial to England but not to Scotland, which might be over-run before such advice could be obtained; it gave superiority to insurgency over law, and by limiting the legal authority of the sovereign the just power of the State was enfeebled. The marriage of Francis and Mary identified them as one person. In confirmation of that union *the Estates* of Scotland, only two years before, had identified the two kingdoms of Mary and Francis; and under the authority of *the Estates*, Francis and Mary had a better right to send troops from Paris to Edinburgh, than Elizabeth's title to send troops from London to Dublin. The necessary result, then, of this clause of the treaty of Edinburgh was to repeal what *the Estates* had enacted and to weaken the existing system of law, to exalt insurrection over authority, and to leave the whole people enthralled by triumphant faction, to subdue the mind to intolerance, and to elevate fanaticism over reason. We now perceive, in the practice of Camden and Burnet, how history can write without meaning, and even venture to substitute mis-statement for truth. It were equally easy to show that this whole treaty was a continued sacrifice of the constitution of the State to the innovations of insurgency, and a surrender of legal rights to the usurpations of the most daring violences.

The treaty of Edinburgh, which thus gave temporary quiet to Scotland, was proclaimed on the 5th of July 1560 (*e*). On the 15th of the same month Leith was dismantled, on the morrow the troops embarked, and on the

(*d*) Haynes, 354-57.

(*e*) Haynes, 353. The Lord James Stewart and Lethington, seem to have been the appropriate negotiators on the part of the insurgent chiefs under the management of Cecil. Ib. 333. Two commissioners from Edinburgh town appear to have been appointed, but they were not much attended to.

subsequent day, the English envoys departed for their own country (*f*). By the assumed authority of the reformed preachers, a thanksgiving was held on the 19th of July, in St. Giles's church, the ancient kirk of Edinburgh, for such a treaty as left them free to domineer over every mind throughout an enthralled kingdom. Under an authority equally assumed by some of the nobles, barons, and burghs, a sort of ecclesiastical establishment was made, which gave to Lothian John Spottiswoode for its superintendent, and to Edinburgh, John Knox for its minister (*g*).

By the demise of the regent queen, and by the treaty of Edinburgh, Scotland was left, in July 1560, without any legitimate government; and the Lord James Stewart, Lethington, and other insurgent chiefs, naturally continued the authority which they possessed from assumption, under Cecil's influence as *the council.*

As early as the 28th of the preceding month of May, the insurgents had resolved to call a parliament after they had displaced the regent queen (*h*). They now fixed the day of meeting on the 10th of July, when every one, having any right to sit, was summoned to attend. A very numerous convention actually met at Edinburgh on the 1st of August 1560. As there was no representative of the king and queen present, the accustomed formalities of carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword, the emblems of authority were dispensed with (*i*). As the object was to collect a numerous, rather than a legal assembly, there seems to have been no verification of the title of any one to sit in such a convention. Eight days were, however, spent in active debate about *the legality of the parliament;* many insisting that no parliament could convene without the presence of the sovereign, either personally or by representation. But others alleged what seemed to be the prevailing sentiment, that the treaty of Edinburgh allowed a parliament to sit without the authority

(*f*) There is a curious paragraph, in the dispatch of Cecil and Wotton, of the 6th of July, from the camp before Leith: "We mean, this afternoon, to proclaim it, after a little ceremony done, to "understand the contentation of the town; as though the peace were not concluded, for respect of "their two commissioners, lest the counsellors of the town should, upon bravery (not mete for their "estate), allege that they had no need of this peace, as, if they should perceive the peace con-"cluded without them, they would do." Ib., 353. On the 22nd of July 1566, the insurgent council issued a command to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to demolish the south part of the town of Leith. Maitland, 19.

(*g*) Keith, 145.

(*h*) Pitscottie, 386, has recorded that important fact.

(*i*) Spottiswoode, 149.

of the king and queen (*k*). This treaty, which was made, as we have seen, without authority, was now acted upon without *ratification.* The persons convened at length proceeded to legislate, as if their sitting had been sanctioned by the practice of a thousand years. They set aside the whole church establishment, which had been confirmed by so many laws. They settled a confession of faith, which anathematized every one who presumed to entertain a different faith, thereby introducing the same persecution in principle and in practice under which so many reformers had been sent to the stake. The convention, after legalizing their sitting by a reference to a stipulation of the Edinburgh treaty, thus proceeded to reprobate the old, and to settle a new church establishment, though the same treaty had expressly stipulated that nothing should be done under it, in matters of religion, till they were represented to the king and queen, and by them approved (*l*). It is unnecessary to follow such legislators much further in their proceedings, which were as illegal in their principle as they were absurd in their detail (*m*). They sent Sir James Sandilands, with *their acts,* to France, in order to obtain the confirmation of the king and queen, and by him they transmitted a list of counsellors for the government of Scotland, such as the Edinburgh treaty had required, for the royal assent (*n*). But both the treaty and the proceedings, which were transacted under its shadow, were received by the king and queen with disdain, rather than approbation; as they were aware of the imposition that had been practised, both in the making of the treaty and in the proceeding of the pretended parliament.

From that epoch Scotland became a dependency of England in fact, though not in law; and the leading men of that convention, Murray and Morton, Lethington and Lindsay, and other reformed nobles, became the infamous instruments of the corrupt ministers and violent measures of Elizabeth.

But domestic quiet was not restored to Edinburgh, where rigour, more than moderation, bore sway. Puritanism was the dictator of its legislation (*o*). The

(*k*) Spottiswoode, 149: That motion, says he, was carried by voices. The treaty required that the parliament should be called, *according to custom;* but this was not called, *according to custom,* by *the king's writ,* nor legalized by the king's authority.

(*l*) Keith, 142-3.

(*m*) Keith, 151-2, has recorded from a copy in the Scots College at Paris, "the heads of the acts made in the pretended parliament in August 1560."

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) On the 12th of June 1560 the council of Edinburgh ordered all idolaters (papists), whoremongers, and harlots to be banished the town; on pain of exposure, at the Cross; of cart-

market days were changed from Sunday, on which the markets were wont to be kept, to Saturdays and Mondays; and women were prohibited, in future, from keeping taverns. Such laws, though made by assumption rather than authority, were rigorously enforced. Sanderson, the deacon of the butchers was carted through the town for adultery (*p*). A tumult ensued. The tradesmen rose, broke the cart, and set the deacon at large. The magistrates now applied to the ruling powers for support. The craftsmen were at length committed to the castle; and the magistrates were, in the end, obliged to apply for their discharge, declaring them innocent of the riot (*q*). Such will always be the insurgent state of a community, which is governed by dictation, contrary to the principles of the people. In the midst of that anarchy, an event occurred, which was followed by important consequences. Francis II. of France, died on the 5th of December 1560 (*r*), leaving Mary Stewart, his widowed queen.

The first assembly of the reformed kirk, consisting of ministers and laymen, under the name of elders, met at Edinburgh, on the 20th of December 1560 (*s*). This assembly, which was convened without any authority, at once assumed all power, legislative and executive (*t*); and the magistrates of Edinburgh appear, by their actions, to have then acted as willing instruments of their unauthorized assumption (*u*).

As soon as the demise of Francis was known in Scotland, the insurgent chiefs called a meeting of their partizans at Edinburgh, on the 15th of January 1560-1; and the members of this convention appointed James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, to repair to his sister, the queen, to request her

ing through the streets, of burning in the check, and of death. Maitland, 19, from the Council Register. Such was the odious legislation of Edinburgh, reformed, as it was, into fanaticism and folly!

(*p*) Knox acknowledges that Sanderson had been divorced according to the papistical form. Hist., 289. What anarchy of thought, and of action! His divorce was legal.

(*q*) Maitland, 20.

(*r*) Historians have differed as to the real date of that event; but the accurate author of the *Antiquités Nationales*, i. 70, places the date on the 5th of December 1560, and the sepulchral pillar, with the urn, which contains the mild heart of Francis II., facing p. 65.

(*s*) Keith, 498.

(*t*) The meeting of that assembly was directly contrary to one of the articles of the Edinburgh treaty; but laws, as well as treaties, were regarded only as they promoted the selfish purposes of the ruling faction.

(*u*) Maitland, 20-1.

immediate return to her native kingdom. A book of church discipline, which Knox had formed, was presented to this convention, but it was refused by the majority; yet did he prevail, by his usual vehemence, to obtain subscriptions to his compilation in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*x*). This convention, as if its right had been confirmed by the usage of a thousand years, now directed that the Estates should assemble at Edinburgh, on the 20th of May, then next (*y*).

Meantime the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded the papists, both people and priests, to attend the protestant church. The papists complied; but being suspected, from their facility, of endeavouring to seduce the disciples of the reformed ministers, the magistrates, who now exercised the tyranny of Procrustes, ordered all papists, fornicators, and adulterers, to quit the city (*z*). They enforced this command by a more rigorous order (*a*); being willing to show their subservience to the minister's prejudice, more than to the people's feelings.

In the beginning of May, saith Knox, "the rascal multitude were stirred up to make a *Robin Hood*, which enormity was long left off, and condemned by parliament (*b*)." We may easily suppose that a legislative prohibition of such popular sports was not rigorously executed. But as *sports* and *enormities* were now deemed the same, the magistrates of Edinburgh tried to enforce the rigours of Knox. When the people proceeded with their *May games*, the town bailies seized their swords and ensigns. A mutiny broke out on the same night. The people took possession of the city gates; and being a little pacified by the restoration of their sportive ensigns, they proceeded with their *May games*. But the magistrates were not to be so easily pacified; having arrested on the 11th of May, one Balon, a shoemaker, they condemned him to death for his participation in such tumults; erected a gibbet under the cross with design to execute him. A more outrageous tumult now ensued. The prisoner was set free, the gibbet was destroyed, and the magistrates were besieged in the town-house; the craftsmen refusing to relieve them, they were constrained to capitulate by giving obligations not to prosecute any one for being implicated in such tumults, and quiet was restored. But the absurdity of the magistrates was now assumed by the folly of the clergy. The preachers excommunicated the

(*x*) Knox, 276; Spottiswoode, 152-174; Keith, 491-6. (*y*) Keith, 157.

(*z*) Maitland, 20, from the town council register of the 24th of March 1560-1.

(*a*) Ib., 21.

(*b*) In June 1555, an Act passed, forbidding the choice of Robert Hude, or Little John, or Abbot of Unreason, or Queen of May. Black Acts, fo. 168.

whole multitude till they should submit to the magistrates (*c*); and we may thus perceive the domination of anarchy in the absence of government.

As the intended meeting of a convention at Edinburgh was now at hand, all parties prepared to attend with adequate force in the absence of legal protection. The magistrates of Edinburgh, with the pretence of keeping the peace, on the 21st of May 1561, directed the raising of sixty hackbutters; they commanded the citizens to be prepared with arms in case of a tumult; and they employed the duke's horse guard at the rate of five shillings Scots a day (*d*). In this state of perturbation, the second assembly of the reformed kirk, convened at Edinburgh on the 26th of May. The members seem to have entertained no notion of the illegality of their meeting, or of the unreasonableness of their conduct. They resolved to supplicate the *secret* council of the insurgent chiefs, for various measures, that were intended to eradicate the old religion and to support the new (*e*). The first measure which they proposed for that end to the *secret council*, was the suppression of *idolatry* throughout the realm (*f*). In pursuance of this application, the secret council passed an act for demolishing all the abbeys and churches of the monks and friars; and for suppressing all other monuments of idolatry. The execution of this violent and illegal act was committed to the Earls of Arran, Argyle and Glencairn, in the west; and to the Lord James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews and other zealots, in the middle and northern districts (*g*). It seems not easy to trace the proceedings of the convention of May 1561; and the

(*c*) Knox, 289-91: He accuses the crafts of fomenting those tumults, giving as a reason that several of the deacons had applied to him, for his interposition with the magistrates, in favour of Belon, as otherwise a tumult would ensue; but Knox was not of a temper to yield to such considerations. Maitland relates, confusedly, the above tumults on the 11th of April. Hist. Edin., 21.

(*d*) Maitland, 21, from the town council register. Knox boasts, in his history, 291, that "*the brethren* assembled in such companes, that the bishops, with their bands, forsook the street."

(*e*) Keith, 501.

(*f*) Keith, 501: The idolaters were the papists; and they were to be punished, for their worship, as idolatrous; though their religious practice was legal, while the proceedings of their persecutors were against law.

(*g*) Keith, 503; Spottiswoode, 174-5: Archbishop Spottiswoode was thus induced to cry out; what devastation of churches and church buildings; every ornament was defaced or plundered; the materials of the churches were sold and appropriated; the sepulchres of the dead were violated; and the books and registers of every kind were committed to the flames: He goes on to charge Knox and the reformed preachers with inciting by their sermons the zealous nobles to execute that unchristian act with persevering violence. Id.

kirk assembly and the secret council are alone entitled to the glory or the shame of those unhallowed measures.

All this time, the queen was daily expected in her native kingdom, according to the desire of her people, and to the dictates of her own interest. At Leith she arrived, on the 19th of August 1561, at nine o'clock in the morning, with a great retinue of kinsmen and nobles (*h*). She was joyfully received. The nobles crowded to the shore to offer their gratulations on her safe arrival from the violence of the sea, and the vigilance of Elizabeth's fleet (*i*). The craftsmen of Edinburgh, headed by their deacons, met her with honest acclaims on her way from Leith to Holyroodhouse, where she arrived in the evening of the same joyous day. Musicians gave their salutations at her chamber window. This melody she liked well, and willed that it might be continued some nights after (*k*). Good humour and sincere joy continued till the Sunday after her arrival, when rejoicing was changed to tumult. While preparations were making for the queen's prayers in her private chapel, a crowd who were brought together by whatever means, threatened violence to those who were to officiate. The son of Lord Lindsay, with other inhabitants of Fife, entered the court of the palace of Holyrood; crying out, "that the idolatrous priests should die the death according to God's law." The Lord James Stewart, the most influential man in Scotland, who was intended for the queen's minister, undertook to keep the chapel door, on pretence of preventing any Scottishmen from witnessing the mass. Yet, this disguise did not prevent Knox from seeing that the object was to protect the queen's worship, and the safety of her priests; and this sentiment seems to have been communicated to the multitude, who the same evening surrounded the palace; avowing their purpose not to suffer the queen's religion, even in her private chapel. Now, all this time, the religion of the sovereign was the religion of the state, while the religion of Knox and his disciples was hitherto unwarranted by any

(*h*) The contrariety among the Scottish historians as to the day of her arrival is settled by the Privy Seal Record, as quoted in Keith's Preface. And Brantome who was present says that she arrived on *Tuesday* morning, which was the 19th of August.

(*i*) "Happy were he, or she, saith Knox, who could first have presence of the queen; the Protestants were not the slowest." This violent ecclesiastic, we may remember, reprobated the *regiment of women* as unlawful. In deference to Elizabeth, however, he acknowledged that she might be lawfully obeyed, as she was specially chosen by God as his instrument. He treated Mary on most occasions as coming within the limit of his reprobation.

(*k*) Knox, 306; Keith, 180.

law (*l*). On the morrow, the privy council issued a proclamation stating the queen's intention to assemble the Estates, to deliberate on religious differences, and requiring her subjects to preserve tranquility without offending others of whatever religion or country (*m*). On the following Sunday, Knox, by a violent sermon, endeavoured to inflame the people against idolatry, saying, "that one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand enemies were landed for suppressing his religion." The protestant leaders became ashamed, as well they might, of the preachers who inculcated such intolerance, who incited the people to attack the palace, wherein the queen performed her devotions, and who inveighed against her protestant counsellors for their insidious moderation (*n*). Even Randolph, the corrupt envoy of Elizabeth at Edinburgh, who did not sufficiently advert that Knox was an instrument of Cecil, complained to this statesman of the ignorance, obstinacy, and turbulence of Knox (*o*).

(*l*) In saying that Knox's religion was unwarranted, I disregard altogether the proceedings of the convention of 1560, which was illegal in its meeting and conclusion, and was yet unconfirmed by any constitutional authority.

(*m*) Keith, 504-5; Knox, 307-8, admits, that the above proclamation "was framed, by such as before professed Christ Jesus; for in the council then had papists neither power nor voice." In words of less cant, the fact is, that the leaders of the Protestants framed and issued that proclamation. There was a proclamation of Elizabeth, dated the 17th of December 1558, "to forbid preaching, and allowing only the reading of the Epistles and Gospels in English in churches. . . . until consultation might be had by parliament, by her majesty, and her three Estates." Strype's An. i. App. No. iii. The measure of Scotland seems to have been adopted from the measure of England. When the Scottish proclamation was made at *the Cross* of Edinburgh by the Lion Herald, the Earl of Arran protested against it; avowing that the proclamation should not protect any of the Queen's domestics from the punishment due to idolaters. Knox, 308-9; Keith, 505. If the Earl of Arran had done this, at Paul's Cross, against Elizabeth's proclamation, his head would have been in danger. Against this frantic noble no steps were taken for his outrageous conduct. Knox, 309.

(*n*) Knox, 309.

(*o*) Honest Strype has dedicated ch. ix. of his Annals, vol. i., to the investigation of Knox's principles from his practices: "The Reformation," saith Strype, "was now carrying on (1559) in the "neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, as well as here; and, May 2nd, John Knox, the Scotsman, being "fifty-four years of age, arrived at Edinburgh from France. From whence, anno 1557, he had "earnestly wrote to the Scottish nobility, who had taken upon them the public *reformation;* telling "them, that he had the judgment of the most godly and learned in Europe (meaning, no doubt, the "ministers of Geneva, where he sojourned), to *warrant his and their consciences for their present* "*enterprise.* The position maintained by them was this, that if kings refuse to reform religion, the "inferior magistrates and people, being directed and instructed in the truth before by their preachers, "might lawfully reform, within their own bounds, themselves; and if all, or the far greater part, be

In the meantime, great preparations were made by the magistrates for the queen's public entry into Edinburgh, and they resolved at the same time to entertain her relations, the French princes, on Sunday, the 31st of August 1561 (*p*). Splendid dresses were prepared, and the public streets were ornamented (*q*). At length she made her entry; she dined in the castle, and, as she left it, a boy came from a cloud, as if from heaven, who delivered her a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle gates, and presented her with some verses, and "with terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters." They intended to have had a priest burnt at the altar, if the Earl of Huntly, who that day bore the sword, had not stayed that pageant (*r*). One might infer from the fact, that Knox had reformed the magistrates of Edinburgh out of their common sense. They invited their queen to a public entertainment, and they offered her a deliberate insult.

The queen seems to have arranged her government at Holyroodhouse on the 6th of September 1561, as she then appointed her privy council, and placed Lord James Stewart, her bastard brother, at the head of her administration (*s*). She had been courted, before her departure from France, by the two parties which then divided Scotland—the Protestant and the Papist,—and she had privately determined to put her affairs into Protestant hands, knowing that she could not have ruled, by means of the Roman Catholics, without an insurrection, with Elizabeth for its patron. The Lord James Stewart had returned to Scotland with assurances of being her minister, and we see him attempting to protect her palace from insult during her private devotions, on the first Sunday after her arrival (*t*). Under this minister, the chief of the insurgents were

"enlightened they might make a public reformation." Stryppe goes on to an investigation of Knox's publications to show his *principles*, which we know to be what are now called *presbyterial*, being hostile to everything established by law.

(*p*) Keith, 186. (*q*) Maitland, 21.

(*r*) St Eudolph wrote to Cecil on the 7th of September 1561. Knox says, 310, that "on the day "appointed the queen was received in the castle; whereat preparations were made for her entry into "the town, in farces, in masking, and other prodigalities. Pain would our fools have counterfeited "France."

(*s*) Keith, 187.

(*t*) The Lord James, as he was born in 1500, the putative son of James V., was now in his two-and-thirtieth year: and was of course twelve years older than the queen, who was born in 1542. In 1552 he received sums of money from the English Government, as the wages of treason. [Privy Council Register of the 4th of July and the 9th of December, 1552.] We have seen him acting, under Secretary Cecil, at the treaty of Edinburgh. "We find a great commodity, saith Cecil to Petre on the 23rd of June 1560, in the *Lord James* and the Lord Lidyngton who be well content *to follow our opinions in any thing*. Surely the Lord James is a gentleman of great worthiness."

now appointed the officers of State under Mary, while they were more dependant on the English queen than attached to their native sovereign. And Knox, the dictator of the kirk, was also the instrument of Cecil the English secretary (*u*). We thus see the Scottish queen, who was sincerely attached to the religion of Rome, obliged to place her affairs in the corrupt hands of a Protestant faction, who were without morals or moderation or attachment to her, in preference to her rival (*x*).

The queen, a few days after she had thus settled her government, set out from Edinburgh to visit her principal towns. On the 2nd of October 1561, the magistrates of Edinburgh thought fit to renew their proclamation, commanding all monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and other such filthy persons to remove from this town, under the pains of carting, of burning on the cheek, and banishment (*y*). The queen now commanded the magistrates to meet in their town-house, to remove the provost and bailies from their offices, and to choose other qualified persons in their room. The magistrates receiving this command by a mace-bearer, in writing, the council and *deacons* assembled on the 8th of October, and in obedience to the queen's command, dismissed their provost and bailies and chose other officers who were more worthy of trust (*z*). A protest was, however, entered on their record that this deprivation and election should not prejudice the city's rights.

Haynes, 333. When the Lord James went to France, after the demise of Francis II., he acted full as much for Elizabeth as for Mary, and on his return, he is supposed to have given suggestions to Elizabeth which brought into hazard Mary's person. That the Lord James was a miscreant, we may learn from his management at the treaty of Edinburgh, when he went the full length of forgery to gain his nefarious purpose.

(*u*) Haynes, 372 ; and the Privy Council Register of the 2nd of February 1552-3.

(*x*) The state papers of England are crowded with the secret correspondence between the Scottish statesmen and Elizabeth's ministers.

(*y*) Keith, 192, from the Town Council Register. The queen, hearing of this insult on her person and her government, wrote to the town council complaining of this measure, which was equally without her knowledge, and against her command. It appears, from the Town Register, that the queen had formerly written to the magistrates on this subject, and had forbidden what was so offensive to her. Maitland, 202 ; Arnot, 25-6, who gives a very inaccurate account of this essential affair.

(*z*) *The deacons* of the crafts had been now admitted as constituent members of the town council. They seem to have first voted on the 26th of August preceding, after a long struggle for a participation in the city counsels. After the election, a ticket from Secretary Lethington was produced ; offering some different persons to their approbation. Keith, 192-3, who has given, from the Town Register, the minutes of this whole transaction, in order to confute Buchanan and Knox's

The privileges of the town and the powers of the Government were not in that age probably well defined. The town-house having become ruinous, was by the queen and her council ordered in February 1561-2, to be taken down, and apartments for the Lords of Session to be provided. A new edifice was accordingly erected at the west end of St. Giles' Church, and was called the *high council house* (*a*). But the requisite accommodation not being provided in time enough, the Lords of Session intimated to the town council their purpose of removing the court to the city of St. Andrews if a convenient house were not soon made ready for their present use. This remonstrance seems to have had the wished effect; and the Court of Session sat in the meantime in the Haly-blood aisle of St. Giles' Church (*b*).

The zeal against what was called idolatry was now as extreme as was the zeal against popery. The town council ordained in June 1562, the figure of St. Giles in the banner of the city to be cut out and a *thistle* to be inserted in its stead. The constituted authorities went a step further which, probably, was attended with greater consequences; they ordained that no one should be eligible to any office in the city but such as were of the reformed faith (*c*). In the meantime the city, with all its reforms, was not quiet. On the 27th of June 1562, an affray happened in the street between Lord Ogilvie and Sir John Gordon, a son of the Earl of Huntly, on a private quarrel about family rights, which was followed by consequences though it was of little importance in itself. As Lord Ogilvie was sore wounded, Gordon was committed to prison. The magistrates applied to the queen, who signified that nothing should protect the guilty from justice. This matter of police was adopted by the queen's ministers as an affair of State, with design to implicate Huntly in a breach of the peace and even in a conspiracy against the queen. Sir John Gordon, at the end of a month, made his escape from prison (*d*). The Lord James, the queen's minister, had now obtained from his sister a grant of the Earldom of Murray which of right belonged to Huntly, and this hasty quarrel of the guilty son was converted by studious artifice into matter of crimination against the innocent father, in order to cover the minister's design of effectuating his

misrepresentations. Knox misreported that the queen committed the magistrates to the castle, and issued a counter proclamation, allowing all criminals to resort to Edinburgh. Buchanan only insists, with equal falsehood, that the queen committed the magistrates to Edinburgh castle; but to rectify the falsehoods of Buchanan, and to explain the misreports of Knox, is a task of which there is no end, and of little use.

(*a*) Maitland, 21. (*b*) Id.
(*c*) Maitland, 23. (*d*) Ib. 22.

corrupt purpose. The queen was induced by her brother to travel with her court into the rugged north during the autumn of 1562, in order to promote her minister's measures. The Lord James was, by those means, put into possession of the Earldom of Murray; and Huntly was pushed into rebellion, which ended in the loss of his life and the ruin of his family (*a*). Such were the fatal consequences, which were thus drawn, by consummate villainy, from a personal encounter on Edinburgh streets, owing to private considerations!

The queen returned from her northern tour to Edinburgh in November 1562. The preachers, saith Knox, inveighed vehemently against the vices of the court, the immoderate dancing, and the vast whoredom that thereof ensued. The reformed leaders, Murray and Morton, Lethington and Macgill, who now guided the queen's affairs, were highly offended, he adds, with the vehemence of the preachers, which was stigmatized by them as calumnious railing (*b*); and he acknowledges "that this vehemency of the preachers provoked not only the hatred of the protestant courtiers, but also of others (*c*)." The *protestant preachers* and the *protestant courtiers* now stood opposed to each other. It reflects great disgrace on Murray's administration, that he had raised a spirit which he could not allay; wanting either inclination or address to turn the *vehemence* of the preachers to topics more congenial with the gospel and more consistent with society (*d*).

The parliament at length assembled at Edinburgh on the 26th of May, 1563 (*e*). The queen came to the Estates, dressed in her robes and wearing her crown. The emblems of royalty were carried by the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earl of Argyle and the Earl of Murray. The queen made them a speech, which Knox, in his usual spirit of calumnious railing, calls a *painted oration*: and

(*a*) The Earl of Huntly was slain at the battle of Corrachie; his son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner, tried for treason, and executed at Aberdeen.

(*b*) Knox. Hist. 348.

(*c*) Ib. 348-9. Randolph, in his dispatch to Cecil of the 16th of December 1562, in the Paper Office, gives a similar account of Knox and *his vehemency*. Randolph, in his letter to Cecil of 28th of February 1562-3, tells him: "Our preachers pray daylie that God will keep us from "bondage of strangers; and for the queen, as much in effect, as *that God will either turn her heart* "or *send her a short life*. Of what charity, he adds, this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed unto the "great divines."

(*d*) The same ministers, who, according to Randolph, wanted charity, were guilty of the impurities which they railed at in others. Randolph's dispatch of the 22nd of January 1562-3, and Knox, 350. Paul Methven, one of those preachers, was convicted of adultery by the General Assembly of December 1562. Ib. 349-51; Keith, 522.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 772-77.

she was present as supreme justiciary at the condemnation of the dead Earl of Huntly, and the living Earl of Sutherland, for their late rebellion against Murray's fraudulence (*f*). But the great measure of the parliament of 1563 was the *act of oblivion*, which was to cover the lords of the late congregation, who were the chiefs of the present government, with the mantle of law (*g*); and which expunged a thousand treasons that had been committed by the insurgent chiefs, from the 6th of March 1558 to the 1st of September 1561, when the queen settled a legal government with those chiefs for her ministers (*h*). But, in return for oblivion, the queen's ministers did not offer to parliament any law for protecting her person and opinions from the daily outrage of audacious preachers, who thought themselves above legal restraint. Among some laws of domestic economy, there were several acts passed for giving protection to glebes and manses, for punishing witchcrafts and adultery, and for upholding parish kirks. But, as the parliament did not persecute, the preachers became outrageous. Knox gave vent to his vehemence against the queen and parliament, against the queen's ministers, his late companions in reform, and against the most respectable persons, because they would not act as outrageously as his own practice (*i*).

Scotland, owing to her own folly, now felt all the misery which arises when the law is unknown or uncertain. In May 1563, the archbishop of St. Andrews and the prior of Whithorn were tried before the justiciary court at Edinburgh, wherein sat the Earl of Argyle as justice-general, for saying mass at Easter. It appears not that any lawyer was brought into court to show that this practice was lawful under the ancient system, which had never been repealed; and the archbishop and prior were imprisoned in Edinburgh

(*f*) Lady Huntly was not discouraged, by the misfortunes of her family, from entering a protest against the trial of her deceased husband, and desired the aid of a man of law. Knox, 357. The forfeitures, on that occasion, of the Earls of Huntly and Sutherland, and seven gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were reversed in the parliament of April 1567. Parl. Rec. 772-84.

(*g*) Black Acts of that Session, ch. i.

(*h*) The pretended parliament of August 1560, passed an act of oblivion, in pursuance of the supposititious treaty of Edinburgh; but as the queen refused her confirmation, both of the act and the treaty, those lords felt their conduct to be undefended by any law. They now introduced another act of oblivion, founded on that reprobated treaty; but the queen had the firmness to refuse her assent to such an act, so founded on a treaty that she would not recognize: "Wherefore, it was "advised, saith Spottiswoode, that the lords in the parliament should, upon their knees, entreat the "passing of such an act, which was accordingly done; but without any respect to the said treaty." Hist. 188.

(*i*) Knox Hist. 357-8-9.

castle (*i*). The justice-general either did not know the law, or sacrificed his duty to his prejudices. One Carvet, a priest, in the subsequent year, was prosecuted before the magistrates of Edinburgh, for saying mass contrary to a supposed act of parliament (*k*); and for this pretended offence he was twice set upon the pillory. The queen, considering this illegal conduct as an insult to her religion, and an assumption of her power, summoned a great force to Edinburgh to punish the guilty magistrates (*l*); but though Spens, the queen's advocate, was sent to make remonstrances; he appears not to have explained to them that they acted against law, and without authority (*m*). Knox and his disciples proceeded one step further, in the assumption of all power, in their function of preachers. By a circular letter, in October 1563, they summoned the queen's subjects to give their attendance at Edinburgh, in support of their brethren, who were prosecuted for an act of treason, by invading the queen's palace. The queen's ministers endeavoured to convince Knox that he acted unlawfully in convoking the queen's subjects, though the doing of this belonged alone to the queen's authority. But he could easily quote perverted Scripture to warrant his assumption; to justify the violence of overawing a court of justice by armed multitudes, and to empower the preachers to execute supposed law upon a whole people for fancied crimes. The assembly of the kirk, which merely acted on assumed authority, justified Knox in convoking the people against law, and in punishing any one without

(*i*) Knox, 355; Keith, 521; Spottiswoode, 187.

(*k*) The supposed act on which Carvet was prosecuted, was No. 3 of the acts made in the pretended parliament of August 1560. Keith, 151. The saying of mass was then made punishable, for the first offence, by the loss of goods; for the second, by an arbitrary punishment at the will of the magistrate; and for the third, by the loss of life; but the proceedings of this convention had never been recognized as legal, and they had been passed over by the parliament of 1563, when an act of oblivion was passed without the least notice. Nor were the acts of that unwarrantable convention ever admitted into the Statute Book. Yet under such disputable authority were the greatest persons in the state, as well as the least, now punished in a manner which left no rights in the subject, and no power in the sovereign. This is the very definition of tyranny in the odious form of reformed anarchy.

(*l*) Maitland, 25.

(*m*) Spens was a reformed lawyer, and of course could not see, with prejudiced eyes, anything unlawful in punishing the subject against law. With Knox, he probably thought that a text of misconceived Scripture, though applicable to a different people, and to a dissimilar occasion, was quite sufficient to overrule the most ancient establishments. Again, we have here tyranny in the despicable shape of perverted Scripture!

warrant (*n*); and in this assumption of Knox, which was avowed by the church judicatories, we again see tyranny stalking through the land in the horrible guise of reformed practices. Knox, as he had now baffled the queen's ministers, seemed to be the dictator of the people; and it is easy to perceive how much the whole power of the state was assumed, under such principles and practices, by conventions and persons, which were unrecognized by law. Edinburgh, with Knox for its minister, at length became the principal seat of reformed illegality, and of reformed violence; and here sat the parliament as its appropriate place; and here met the assembly of the kirk, which arrogated still greater power (*o*).

The time was now come when the marriage of the Queen of Scots with Lord Darnley was to give a different current to affairs, as they related to the kingdom and its metropolis (*p*). Murray, as the instrument of Elizabeth more than the minister of Mary; and the Duke of Chatelherault, the heir-apparent of the crown, and the slave of his own follies, opposed the queen's marriage with Darnley, which was approved by the nobles and the people. The assembly of the kirk, from a desire of intermeddling, and the town of Edinburgh, from an ambition of factiousness, opposed the spousals of their sovereign (*q*); yet was Darnley proclaimed king at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 28th of July 1565; and, on the morrow, was he married to the queen within the chapel of Holyroodhouse, at five o'clock in the morning (*r*).

(*n*) The convocation of the king's lieges had been specially prohibited, by act of parliament, James II., Parl. 14, No. 78; and indeed by other laws. Balfour's Pract., 533-4.

(*o*) Knox, 477-96.

(*p*) As early as the 7th of March 1560-1, it was foreseen by Elizabeth and Cecil, that *the marriage* of such a queen was an affair that might be so managed as to mortify Mary and gratify Elizabeth; so Randolph, the corrupt envoy to Scotland, was instructed to make the people of Scotland understand how inconvenient it would be if their queen should again marry with a stranger. Haynes, 367. And the ministers of Mary, from the epoch of her return, were gained by Elizabeth, as we know from the same State Papers. We may easily perceive what a source of perplexity would be found in such a measure. In February 1565, Darnley arrived from England, and immediately waited on the queen at Wemyss Castle, in Fife. In the first week of July 1565, the queen, while at Perth, hearing of a plot by Murray and Argyle to seize her and Darnley, hastened to Callender. In the meantime, the town of Edinburgh, incited by Knox and Murray, broke out into insurrection against the queen's marriage. The insurgents armed themselves, and disarmed others; and St. Leonard's Craig was the guilty scene of this insurrection. Spottiswoode, 199; Knox, 410; Randolph's letter to Cecil of the 4th July 1565.

(*q*) Holinshed, 381. (*r*) Id.; Birrel's Diary, 5.

This ceremony was the signal for the rebellion of Murray, Chatelherault, Argyle, and of others, with the towns of St. Andrews, Dundee, and Perth, which acted under Murray's influence. The king and queen thereupon assembled their power (*s*). The insurgents coming to Edinburgh were repulsed by the fire of the castle, and they now retreated upon Dumfries in order to be near the confines of Elizabeth's kingdom, which they knew would protect them from pursuit (*t*); yet were they coldly received according to Elizabeth's usual artifice. Chatelherault and others were pardoned and banished to France (*u*), Murray and his adherents remained in England, openly discountenanced, but secretly protected.

A Parliament was now called to meet at Edinburgh in March 1566, and to it were summoned Murray and his adherents to answer accusations of treason for obvious rebellion. To prevent the meeting of *the Estates*, which was to forfeit Murray for his treason and also to punish him for the baseness of his motive and the scandal of his ingratitude, was the great object of his many partizans; at the head of all these were Morton, the chancellor, and Maitland, the secretary. By various intrigues which all operated on the weakness, the jealousy, the folly of Darnley, they induced this puerile prince to put himself at the head of Murray's faction, who were to commit a deliberate assassination on Rizzio, the queen's private secretary, for distracting her court (*x*). The Estates accordingly assembled in Edinburgh on the 7th of March 1566, when the queen met them in form, and the lords of the committee of articles were about to pass the act of forfeiture against Murray and his partizans, when the concerted murder was executed with every aggravating circumstance (*y*). On Saturday, the 9th of March 1565-6, in the evening the king, Morton, the chancellor, Maitland, the secretary, the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, entered the queen's supper apartment in Holyrood-

(*s*) Maitland's Edin., 26 : The Town Council of Edinburgh voted two hundred men to be raised, which levy was commuted for money. The queen, wanting supplies, to oppose that rebellion, borrowed of Edinburgh 10,000 marks Scots, for which the superiority of Leith was received, as a security. Ib., 27. The peace of the town, and the care of the queen's palace, were committed to the Town Council, while unprovoked insurgency was thus busy.

(*t*) Holinshed, 381-2. (*u*) Id.

(*x*) Holinshed, 382 ; Camden, in Kennet, ii. 404.

(*y*) The indictment of Henry Yair, for being one of Rizzio's assassins, charges the fact to have been committed, on the 9th of March, under silence of night, at eight o'clock, "it being the time of parliament current." Arnot's Crim. Trials, 380. This fact supports Holinshed. See Keith, 331, for the proceedings of parliament.

house, and in her presence gave Rizzio a thousand mortal stabs (*z*). The queen remained a prisoner in the hands of the assassins (*a*). On the morrow the Estates were discharged from their attendance by Darnley's direction (*b*); and, in the meantime, Murray and his treasonous adherents returned from the insidious border to Edinburgh, where they offered themselves to trial after the court had been dismissed (*c*). The queen soon after induced the deluded Darnley to retire with her from this guilty scene to Dunbar. Here she immediately found herself strong enough to return to Edinburgh, whence she expelled the late assassins and where she pardoned the former traitors; Morton and his associates in villany now found the same protection from Elizabeth's insidiousness that Murray and his partizans had recently relinquished (*d*). This odious transaction proves, with full conviction, to what baseness the Protestant chiefs could stoop for obtaining their unwarrantable ends. Darnley disavowed, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, any connection with those chiefs in the murder of Rizzio, whereby he incurred the derision of the populace and the detestation of the conspirators.

After a short sojourn in the Bishop of Dunkeld's house at Edinburgh, the queen retired into the castle to wait the time of her delivery; and on the 19th of June 1566, was she accordingly delivered of her son, James, who was doomed to be the instrument of party in soon depriving his mother of her crown (*e*). The nobles gave thanks to God in St. Giles' Church for the birth of such a son, and the townsmen displayed their joy by their illuminations (*f*). The queen remained in Edinburgh Castle till the subsequent July,

(*z*) Holinshed, 382; Birrel's Diary, 5.

(*a*) During eight-and-forty hours, saith Yair's indictment, guarded by the citizens of Edinburgh.

(*b*) Keith, App., 126. (*c*) Holinshed, 383.

(*d*) Yair's indictment states that there were five hundred persons who were assisting in the seizure of the queen's palace when that murder was committed. There were only four persons tried for that aggravated crime, and two of them burgesses of Edinburgh. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 377. Yet, were there four persons of the community of Edinburgh who assisted the conspirators in that terrible crime. Keith, 352. The queen applied to the provost in vain for help during her utmost need. Melvil's Mem., 8°, 130. There were only two mean persons, Yair and Scot, executed for Rizzio's murder. Keith, 334. The noble assassins, by the influence of Elizabeth and the power of their faction, were all pardoned by the injured queen.

(*e*) Holinshed, 383; Birrel, 5.

(*f*) Holinshed, 383. The queen, not long after, conferred on the town, which she wished to please and to govern, the whole estates that had belonged to the Black and Grey friars of Edinburgh. Maitland's Edin., 29.

when she went along the Forth to Alloa-house, for the benefit of air and the advantage of amusement.

The queen, meanwhile, tried to reconcile the nobles to each other, and Darnley to himself. But among chiefs who were as turbulent as they were corrupt, amity could not long continue. The faction of Murray had set Darnley against the queen, when he headed the conspiracy that ended in the murder of Rizzio (*g*). The same faction endeavoured to incite the queen against Darnley, by laying before her an insidious proposal for divorcing her from her unworthy husband. This transaction occurred while the queen lay at Craigmillar, in December 1566, before the baptism of her son. The queen refused her assent to that proposal, but from this transaction the same faction, artful and unscrupulous as it was, conceived a plot against the life of Darnley, who had given the chiefs mortal offence; and they now incited Bothwell's ambition to look up to the marriage of the queen, when her hated spouse should be removed by Bothwell's guilty means (*h*). Every event was now converted by the same faction as a means for effecting that odious end. At Christmas 1566, the court then being at Stirling, the assassins of Rizzio were pardoned, and Morton their chief immediately returned from England to his usual pursuits of interest and ambition. At that epoch Darnley went to visit his father at Glasgow, where he had taken ill with the small-pox; and the queen, after making, meantime, some excursions of amusement, returned with her son to Edinburgh. She soon after followed her physician to Glasgow to visit her husband, whom she brought to Edinburgh on the 31st of January 1566-7 (*i*); and ten days after, Darnley, then lying in a convalescent state in the retired house of *Kirkafield*, was murdered by Bothwell and his associates; the same faction, who consisted of privy councillors, and ought to have revealed this plot, assenting. Their odious objects were now obtained. The husband of Mary was thus taken off without her knowledge, and against her interest; Murray was revenged by his fall and her injury; and Bothwell, whom the same faction hated, was thus involved in terrible guilt. Amidst such disgraceful scenes were Edinburgh and Scotland equally contaminated, by the crimes of its ignominious chiefs.

(*g*) Camden, in Kennet, ii., 404.

(*h*) Ib., 403-4. Ormiston, who was executed for the murder of Darnley, confessed that Bothwell, in order to induce him to give his assistance, assured him "that the whole lords who were with the queen at Craigmillar had concluded the same [had agreed upon the matter]; and none durst find fault with it when it shall be done." Arnot's Crim. Trials, 384.

(*i*) Birrel's Diary, 6.

Yet, Bothwell, who was soon suspected, as his guilt was whispered by those who knew the secret, was still to be acquitted by his country (*k*). The same faction who had pushed him on his crime, now contrived to acquit him by a collusive trial before Argyle, the justice general, at Edinburgh (*l*). He was arraigned and acquitted, under Morton's management, saith Camden (*m*). But in this collusion the unhappy queen had no concern, as she had a very different interest; and the whole offices of government were in the hands of that guilty faction (*n*).

The parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the 14th of April 1567, rose on the 19th of the same month. The transactions of the Estates during their six days sitting are very memorable, though they appear not in the statute book (*o*). The act concerning *religion* would alone have conferred celebrity on any legislature (*p*). It recites that the queen since her arrival from France, had attempted nothing contrary to the state of religion which she found publicly and universally *standing*, that is, in fact, existing; and being willing to continue this forbearance for the happiness of her people, the queen, with the

(*k*) The great concern of the conspirators now was, saith Camden, to get Bothwell cleared of the guilt of the king's murder, as their whole object was not accomplished till Bothwell had defiled, dishonoured, and married the queen. Kennet, ii., 404. We now perceive what a strong interest the queen had in the life of her husband, as she could not have been thus dishonoured, and married, while Darnley lived.

(*l*) The Earl of Argyle, who with Murray had attempted to seize Mary Stewart and Darnley, and with him afterward went into rebellion, for which they were both pardoned.

(*m*) Id. The mode of constituting the court and the whole circumstances clearly evince collusion. The Earl of Rothes, who was a leading person of the jury, was an associate of Murray in his late rebellion, and a partaker of his various crimes. The whole jury was of a similar complexion. The mode of conducting this trial, which was held on the 12th of April 1567, was altogether collusive, and by the faction which acquitted him, Bothwell was a while reserved as an useful instrument of future mischief.

(*n*) Elizabeth seems to have written Mary, requesting longer time for the trial of Bothwell, but this, too, was collusive, if she made such an application, as she must have known the real purpose of Murray's faction, who conducted the whole business. Anderson's Col., i., lx.; Tytler, ii., 96.

(*o*) The very *Statute Book* of Scotland was vitiated by the same faction. The *Black Acts* of November 1566 were castrated by that faction. The acts of the parliament of April 1567 were, by the artifices of the same faction, completely left unprinted in the Statute Book, and owing to the influences of the same faction, the proceedings of that parliament have been egregiously misrepresented even during our own times. Some of the proceedings of the parliament of April 1567 remain, however, in the Parliamentary Record, mutilated as it is. The *presence* remains, comprehending the provost of Edinburgh and the names of the lords of the committee of articles, a circumstance which is important.

(*p*) Ib., 752.

advice of the three Estates repealed all former acts, which imposed any penalty on the religion thus existing within her realm; and with the advice of the three Estates, the queen declared herself the head and protector of the church, in opposition *to all foreign authority*, power, and jurisdiction, whether ecclesiastical or temporal (*q*). In this manner, then, do the Roman Catholic Mary Stewart and the parliament of April 1567, enjoy the unrivalled honour of being the earliest legislators within the British islands, who passed *an act of toleration* upon the purest principles of indulgence to conscience and regard to freedom (*r*). When compared with this act of toleration, other proceedings of that parliament appear to be uninteresting, though private rights were legally secured.

On the morrow after the rising of parliament, being Sunday the 20th of April, another transaction occurred at Edinburgh, which has stained the metropolis and the kingdom with ignominy. The leading characters of the state, with Argyle the justiciary, and Morton the chancellor, at their head, entered into a bond of association *to defend Bothwell from future challenge for Darnley's murder*, and *to recommend Bothwell* as the *fittest husband for Mary Stewart* (*s*).

(*q*) Parl. Rec. 752; Keith, 379, declared this act to be full and explicit for the settlement of the new religion, and Robertson, 1. 352, concurred with Keith; but the late Lord Hailes wrote a whole chapter [ix] of his Remarks to controvert both, and to declare his persuasion that Buchanan had given a just representation of what was then done for religion by the queen and parliament, when he said, with his usual falsehood, that the queen had refused to let any law be passed in favour of religion. Lord Hailes runs out into the most egregious misrepresentation when he is in quest of his accustomed sneers to vilify Mary Stewart. The two historians, Keith and Robertson, were not quite right, but Lord Hailes was quite wrong. The truth is, the reformed religion had stood opposed to the laws of the land from its commencement in 1558, to April 1567. The act above mentioned first legalized the reformed religion, and by repealing the penalties of opposing statutes, it gave security to the reformers. By withdrawing the whole Scottish church from any *foreign jurisdiction*, the pope's authority was renounced. But *toleration* was no part of the creed of the reformers, and they were dissatisfied with the act of April 1567, as it did not establish them in predominance that they might persecute, and as it established *the queen's supremacy*. Lord Hailes was so absurd as to suppose the act of the insurgent convention of 1560 to be an act of Parliament, and to say that the act of the *three Estates* in April 1567, was *an ordinance issued by the queen*. Remarks on the Hist. Scot. 164.

(*r*) The list of the lords of the committee of articles who were chosen by the parliament of April 1567, is happily preserved in the Record, and it shows, incidentally, who were the persons that had the merit of drawing that early act of wise toleration. On the committee of articles among others, were the Archbishop of St. Andrews, four bishops, four abbots, six earls, the chiefs of the reformers, two barons, the provosts of Edinburgh and of other burghs, with the officers of State. Anderson's Col. i. 114; Parl. Rec. 750.

(*s*) Anderson's Col. i. 107-12. In the same Collection 111, there is a paper which contains the queen's assent to that bond, the night before her marriage, on the 14th of May; but it is plainly a forgery, for the purpose of crimination.

This was obviously an additional step, in the progress of the plot, which was designed to ruin Bothwell and dethrone the queen (*t*). Thus strengthened by a subdolous association, the ambition of that odious noble was carried up to "audacious wickedness;" and on the 24th of April, he seized the queen on her return, from visiting her son at Stirling, carried her forcibly to Dunbar castle, and there enjoyed her person against her will (*u*). He now obtained a divorce from his wife, and she from him, by a double process. The queen could not now but marry him, saith Melvil, seeing he had ravished her, and on the 15th of May 1567, this ill-omened marriage was solemnized in Holyroodhouse, by Adam Bothwell, the abbot of Holyrood and bishop of Orkney (*x*). Craig, one of the reformed ministers of Edinburgh, had obtained celebrity by refusing to publish in his church the banns of marriage between the queen and Bothwell. Little did he know that he only endeavoured to prevent the consummation of a marriage, which had been projected by the most unscrupulous faction of the state, for the queen's disgrace and the ruin of Bothwell.

A few days of feverish disquiet disclosed the most hidden purposes of that subtle faction. As early as the 1st of June 1567, the same faction who had entered into a bond to support Bothwell, and to recommend him to the queen as the fittest husband, began to levy forces against both, and their own bond. Such a gross contradiction of motives only evinces the insidiousness of their conduct. The zeal, which was now avowed and propagated for bringing to justice Bothwell as the murderer of Darnley, by the very statesman who procured his acquittal when before the justiciary court, and who had associated to defend him, is a moral demonstration of their profligate purposes. The assasination of Darnley, the nominal king, detestable as it was undoubtedly, was not so heinous a crime as the murder of Rizzio by the ministers of state, in the palace, in the queen's closet, in the presence of the pregnant queen, with the obvious design of destroying her issue and herself by abortion; and yet,

(*t*) The signature of such a bond by Argyle and Morton, is alone sufficient evidence of the insidiousness of that vile transaction, without taking into the account the subsequent conduct of both, in pursuing Bothwell for the murder, after he had accomplished the traitorous purpose of ruining the queen.

(*u*) Birrel's Diary, 8-9; Melvil's Memoirs, fol. ed. 80.

(*x*) Birrel says, p. 9, that they were married in *the chapel royal* of Holyrood. Melvil, 80, states on the contrary, that the marriage was made in the palace of Holyrood, after sermon, by Adam Bothwell, the bishop of Orkney, in the great hall where the council used to sit, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel at the mass as was the king's marriage. They were both contemporary with the event, and ought to have known the fact.

the chief murderers of Rizzio were pardoned with general concurrence, by the queen, whose life was aimed at; and the same murderers associated in arms, to pursue the assassins of Darnley, whom they had themselves determined to destroy, because they hated the prince, who had publicly discovered them, after the murder of Rizzio. The same murderers pushed on Bothwell to commit the assassination of Darnley, and after they had procured his acquittal by a public trial, and when they had associated by a joint bond to protect him, they equally associate, by another writing, to obtain his death; he having effected their whole design by Darnley's death and by the queen's marriage. The unhappy queen was now taken in the toils which had been laid for her, by the tergiversation of so many statesmen, and the commission of so many crimes, and from which she could not escape, being degraded by an actual rape, and entangled by the matrimonial tie.

The queen and Bothwell, getting intelligence of an intention to seize them, on the 6th of June 1567, fled from Holyrood House to Borthwick Castle, as they distrusted Balfour the doubtful keeper of Edinburgh Castle. They were pursued by eight hundred horsemen, and they soon departed from Borthwick Castle to the safer retreat of Dunbar. On the 11th of June the associated insurgents amounting to three thousand men came to Edinburgh, which they easily entered, though the gates had been shut against them by unsteady hands. On the same day, when they had only entered the Canongate, they issued a proclamation commanding all persons, particularly the citizens of Edinburgh, to assist them *in relieving the queen* and preserving the prince (*y*). The

(*y*) Anderson's Col., i., 128: On the morrow the insurgents published another proclamation, at the Cross of Edinburgh, commanding all persons to be ready to pass with them "to deliver the queen, and take revenge on Bothwell, for ravishing and detaining her majesty." Keith, 399; Birrel, 9. The people did not readily join. Knox, 445. We thus perceive that the insurgent faction artfully kept up their practice of duplicity. They avow their purposes to *relieve the queen*, and to *take revenge on Bothwell;* but the moment that she separated herself from Bothwell on Carberry Hill, they seized her as a prey, and allowed him to make his escape. The Town Council was also chargeable with the same duplicity. They paid a musician, who played through the town at the incoming of the associated lords on the 10th of June. Keith, 399. The magistrates at the same time sent to Mary three of their number to excuse the town for allowing the insurgent lords to enter it. Id. The Town Council are said to have supplied the insurgents with 200 harquebusiers. Ib., 400. Edinburgh Castle appears, during unscrupulous times, to have been placed in doubtful hands. Lord Erskine was appointed governor by the dowager queen, and, during the civil war under her regency, professed to act with the strongest party. On the 19th of March 1567, Queen Mary gave him an honourable discharge, which was ratified by the parliament of April 1567. Parl. Rec., 751. On the 21st of March 1566-7 the castle was rendered to Cockburn of Skirling, at the queen's command, saith Birrel.

queen endeavoured to raise her people in support of her authority, but the principle which the insurgents avowed as the cause of their rising in arms of rescuing the queen and punishing Bothwell enfeebled her efforts. On the 14th of June she came forward from Dunbar Castle to Carberry hill to meet the insurgents in conflict, but observing the unsteadiness of her army, in the evening she joined the insurgent chiefs, and she was conducted through the streets of Edinburgh to the house of Sir Simon Preston, the provost, amid popular insults (*z*). The craftsmen on the morrow, feeling for her fallen state, threatened to rescue her, but they were pacified by the associated nobles, who assured them that it was their real object to restore her to her palace and her power (*a*); and on the same day, under an order of those insidious chiefs, she was removed from Holyrood House to the fortalice of Loch Leven as a prisoner for life. The queen complained of this treachery, and Kirkcaldy, the gallant officer to whom she had surrendered on certain terms, remonstrated against the injury done to him by thus departing from the agreement which had been made with him; yet they easily pacified this soldier by pretending that the queen had written to Bothwell since her surrender by agreement, and that their lands and lives could not be safe while she continued free (*b*); and while the associated chiefs were thus inventing pretences which they did not feel, they forgot that one of the avowed objects of their insurrection was the rescuing of the queen from the domination of Bothwell; but of the base artifices of such unprincipled nobles there was no end. They, however, caused Edinburgh to be searched for persons who were suspected of Darnley's murder, when they found Sebastian, a Frenchman, and Blackadder, a Scotsman (*c*). They now proceeded to seize the queen's valuables within Holyrood House, and they ordered her plate to be coined for supporting their rebellion. The Earl of Glencairn, one of the most ferocious of the reformed nobles, demolished

Diary, 7. Soon after Mary's marriage with Bothwell in May 1567, Sir James Balfour was appointed to the government of the castle. Goodal's Life, iii. Sir James, as he was soon gained by the adverse party, was unworthy of any trust at the epoch of the insurrection, in June 1567. Melvil's Mem., 81-90. And he continued in this important trust till the accession of the Regent Murray, who appointed Kirkcaldy of Grange. Id.

(*z*) Birrel's Diary, 10; Keith, 401; Melvil's Mem., 162.

(*a*) Keith, 402-3; Pennycuik's Hist. of the Blue Blanket, 58.

(*b*) Melvil's Mem., 163; Keith, 403.

(*c*) On the 24th of June, 1567, saith Birrel, Captain William Blackadder was drawn from the Tolbooth to the Cross of Edinburgh, and there was hanged and quartered for being on the king's murder. Diary, 10. The chiefs of the insurgents again forgot that they were themselves the principal contrivers of the death of Darnley.

the chapel within the palace of Holyrood, with its furniture and ornaments. But his associates were not much pleased with this voluntary act of sacrilegious savageness, as he had not acted by their authority, and with their participation (*d*). The chiefs of the insurgents now took upon themselves to act as the council of state, and with their accustomed inconsistency, arising from their treasonous motives, they governed the kingdom in the name of their imprisoned sovereign.

But a rival power at length came upon this seditious stage. The assembly of the kirk, which had often met since the year 1560 without any warrant of law, convened at Edinburgh on the 25th of June 1567. On the morrow the assembly resolved to call a convention of clergy and nobles, to meet at Edinburgh on the 20th of July then next, for carrying forward such things as should on that occasion be proposed (*e*); and the assembly, as if the members meant to sanction crime and hallow insurrection, ordered a public fast in the town of Edinburgh alone, upon the two Sundays falling on the 13th and 20th of July, as appropriate preparations for an illegal convention (*f*). This convocation which accordingly met at Edinburgh, was artfully designed to draw away the nobles, who had associated at Hamilton. But it failed of the intended effect as its artifices were discovered. Argyle and others sent excuses, and desired that no further innovations might be attempted (*g*). But such a convention was not to be obstructed in its predetermined measures. Whatever the preachers desired was granted. It legalized the parliament of August 1560, which certainly wanted legalization, giving the acts concerning religion, which were then made the force of acts of the *three Estates;* and this convention stipulated that the parliament of 1560 should be ratified in the first meeting of the Estates which might be held (*h*). It was reserved for this convention of clergy and nobles to suppose, in their reasoning, that illegality could authorize unlawfulness, and insurrection legalize mob.

In the meantime, the Earls of Morton and Athol convened the magistrates of Edinburgh, before whom they laid the insurgent association of the 16th of June. The magistrates adopted this unwarrantable document, and ordered Preston,

(*d*) Keith, 407; Spottiswoode, 208.

(*e*) Keith, 573, and in Knox, 448, may be seen the *political* reasons for that convention in July 1567.

(*f*) Keith, 576. (*g*) Ib., 577. (*h*) Keith, 577-84.

the Provost, to sign it, as their act for recordation on their council books (*a*). The same document was ordered to be entered on the register of the privy council. After thus adopting the false pretexts and base practices of the insurgents, the magistrates made every preparation for the vigorous defence of their town (*b*). They went, in their zeal, one step further. They entered on the 23rd of July into *a league* with Sir James Balfour, the captain of Edinburgh Castle, for mutual support, fearing danger from the divisions of the nobles, and still pointing their preparations against the queen's friends, in favour of Morton's faction (*c*).

But those contradictions of being at once for and against the queen, of using her name against her authority, of pretending to release her whilst they imprisoned her, were soon discontinued. Morton's faction, after so many base artifices, resolved to avow their hostile designs (*d*). On the 24th of July 1567, *the secret council*, as the insurgent chiefs called themselves, sent Patrick, Lord Lindsay, from Edinburgh, the seat of usurpation, to Lochleven Castle, to oblige Mary to resign her sceptre and her sword. Meantime the clergy, sitting in convention within that guilty town, clamoured for the blood of the same sovereign who had relieved them from the severe penalties of so many

(*a*) Keith, 409. Even on the 2nd of July 1567, when that document was laid by Morton and Athol before the town, it was made to avow that the objects of their insurrection were, in their duty to their sovereign, to punish the murderers of the king; to procure the dissolution of the marriage between her highness and Earl Bothwell; and to relieve their sovereign from the thraldom, ignominy, and shame which she had sustained by the said Earl. Ib. App. All this they professed, even after they had degraded, dethroned, and imprisoned the unhappy queen. Beyond the assurance of Morton and Athol, impudence could not carry shameless men. Keith, 409, and App. 148, shows by collation that the copy of that association, which was certified by Guthrie, the town clerk, for insertion in the books of Privy Council, was grossly interpolated. This Guthrie went out into rebellion with Murray, in 1565; was present, after being pardoned by the queen. at Rizzio's murder, for which he was obliged to flee, and, in addition to treason and murder, he now added the baseness of forgery.

(*b*) Maitland, 29. Those preparations were obviously made to resist the associated nobles at Hamilton. If these nobles were for the queen, then the magistrates were acting against their own act. The queen had voluntarily separated herself from Bothwell as soon as she could, and to run into civil war on such gross pretexts was delusion in the extreme, if the magistrates of Edinburgh meant well.

(*c*) Keith, 410: As soon as Murray became regent, he entered into a negotiation with Balfour for the amicable surrender of the castle, and on the 5th of September 1567, the castle was surrendered, when Sir William Kirkcaldy was appointed the governor. Keith, 455, states the bargain which was then made for that surrender; and Birrel's Diary, 12, shows the day on which the castle was put into abler hands.

(*d*) Keith, 430.

statutes (*e*). Lord Lindsay carried with him to Lochleven three instruments, one containing the queen's resignation of the crown to her infant son; another constituting provisional regents for her son's government; and a third, empowering Murray, her bastard brother, to act as regent during her son's infancy (*f*). To such instruments, that odious messenger could not obtain the imprisoned queen's voluntary signature; "and haggard Lindsay's iron eye could see fair Mary weep in vain." He returned with those instruments, formally executed, on the subsequent day to Edinburgh. The secret council immediately convened, and there was now laid before it one of those instruments, containing the queen's resignation of her sovereignty to her son (*g*). The insurgent chiefs immediately entered into a second association for carrying those measures into effect; avowing as their motive the queen's wishes to see her son govern his native kingdom during her own life-time (*h*). It is curious to remark how readily those chiefs, with Morton at their head, and Maitland as their secretary, could supply themselves with some pretence or falsehood, or forgery, as their occasions required. They now determined to crown the infant James; and the magistrates of Edinburgh appointed three of their number as commissioners to represent the City at the coronation, though it was not customary for the burghs to attend such ceremonies (*i*). On the 29th of July 1567, the prince was crowned king of Scotland in the kirk of Stirling, the lords producing the queen's commission and consent under her own hand and seal (*k*). All those great measures were executed under those three instruments which the queen executed under solitary confinement, and the threats of a ruffian, without any other presence than Lindsay, who was capable of any villany, as well as any violence. In this manner, then, was accomplished the conspiracy for dethroning Mary Stewart, and for placing her ambitious brother in her seat, as

(*e*) Keith, 420-21.

(*f*) See those instruments in Keith, 430-3; and in the Parliamentary Acts of December 1567.

(*g*) Keith, 434. The members present at that scandalous transaction were: The Earl of Morton, the great director of those violent measures, the Earl of Athol, the Earl of Home, Lord Sanquhar and Lord Ruthven. The queen's resignation and commission for the government were proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 25th of July 1567. Spottiswoode, 211.

(*h*) See that *second bond* in Keith, 434. (*i*) Keith, 435-6; Maitland, 31.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 11; Keith, 437. On the 2nd of August, the prince was proclaimed king at the cross of Edinburgh. Birrel's Diary, 11. On the 11th of the same month, Murray, who was perfectly informed of all those measures, arrived at Edinburgh from France, where he had waited those preconcerted events. Id.; Spottiswoode, 211. On the 22nd of August, Murray was solemnly proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, regent, during the prince's infancy. Id.: Keith, 454.

her son's regent, which had required so many pretences, so many falsehoods, and so many crimes to obtain; while the government of her son and brother was founded not on the resolve of a national convention, or the votes of the three Estates, but on the presumption of insurgency and the dictates of cabal. In pursuit of those nefarious measures, the magistrates of Edinburgh partook of the intrigue, and shared in the disgrace.

The regent immediately displayed the vigour and harshness of his nature. He obtained, as we have seen, from Sir James Balfour, at whatever price, the command of Edinburgh Castle (*l*). He issued precepts to various persons in Mid-Lothian, who were supposed to be attached to the queen, commanding them to surrender themselves and their strengths (*m*). A proclamation was issued on the 1st of September 1567, requiring all persons to meet the regent at Edinburgh, in four days, furnished for the warlike purpose of accompanying him to the siege of Dunbar (*n*). Another proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of guns, pistols, or other firearms, on pain of death (*o*). This proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, was followed by another, which required amity, and prohibited the causes of discord (*p*).

Those various proclamations seem to have been intended, to prepare people's minds for the proposed meeting of parliament. The three estates assembled at Edinburgh, in the town hall, on the 15th of December 1567, when the sceptre was carried by Argyle, the sword by Huntly, and the crown by Angus, a boy of scarcely fourteen (*q*). The first act of this busy session was intended to legalize Mary's resignation of the crown, which was declared to have been voluntary, and to be legal. By it, also, the coronation of her infant son was recognised as constitutional. By a second act the authority of the regent was legalized. Another act was proposed by the chiefs of the insurgents, and adopted by the parliament, without any apparent inquiry with regard to *the retention of the queen's person.* The justification of those chiefs was now put upon

(*l*) Keith, 455; Spottiswood, 213; Birrel's Diary of the 5th of September 1567.

(*m*) Keith, 459. Among others who were thus summoned was Sinclair of Roslin, who was commanded to deliver his castle in twenty-four hours. Id. On the 17th of January 1568-9, the Laird of Roslin and his servants won his castle from the Laird of Lochinvar's servants. Birrel's Diary.

(*n*) Keith, 461; Birrel's Diary.

(*o*) Id. On the 24th of November 1567, three days before, the Laird of Airth and the Laird of Wemyss, with their followers, meeting on the street of Edinburgh, had fought a bloody skirmish with shot of pistol. Birrel's Diary.

(*p*) Keith, 466. (*q*) Birrel's Diary of that date; the Black Acts of that Session.

the default of the queen herself (*r*). But they failed, as we have just seen, in making out *that default.* They have another *default* behind. They charged the queen,

(*r*) Black Acts of that session: The queen's default was proved by "her *privy letters, written whollie with her own hand,* and *sent by her to James Earl Bothwell,*" and by her pretended marriage with him, and by the assertion that she was privy to the actual murder of her husband. Now, 1st, it has already appeared, from the dying declaration of Morton himself, who was at the head of those chiefs and chancellor, that the Earl of Bothwell, on the 10th of February 1567, the morning of Darnley's murder, had not any privy letters or other writings of the queen within his power. 2ndly, The story told by the same Morton, that he had found a box of letters on Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, returning from Edinburgh Castle, where he had received the same from Sir James Balfour, on the 20th of June 1567, cannot possibly be believed; for Bothwell, with Mary, fled from Edinburgh on the 6th of the same month, not choosing to seek safety in Edinburgh Castle, as they could not trust Balfour. On the 15th of the same month, Bothwell retired from Carberry Hill to Dunbar, where the queen surrendered herself to the insurgents; on the morrow the queen was sent a prisoner to Lochleven. And yet it is said by Morton, who was capable of deliberate falsehood, that he had seized a box of privy letters, which Dalgleish was carrying from Balfour, in Edinburgh Castle, on the 20th of the same month of June; the same Balfour being a person who perfectly knew the true value of such privy letters, and who was already gained by the insurgents and distrusted by Bothwell. On the 26th of the same month of June, Dalgleish was examined upon oath, by the Privy Council, with the same Morton at the head of it; yet he said not one word about such letters, or such a transaction. Anders. Col. ii., 173. Nor, was Sir James Balfour ever examined about the delivery of such a box with letters, although he might have been easily sent for. This discovery of such letters rests, of course, on the assertion of Morton, who had an interest to deceive and was capable of deception. That *any writing* of the queen had been discovered by the insurgents was first intimated by Throgmorton, Queen Elizabeth's envoy, at Edinburgh on the 24th of July, subsequent to the same 20th of June, when Morton said he had seized them. Keith, 424-7. 3rdly, The supposed letters were first produced in the Privy Council on the 4th of December 1567, where sat Murray the regent, Morton the chancellor, and the same Sir James Balfour, when those letters are described "*as written* and *subscribed* with her *own hand.*" Whitaker's App., No. 1. 4thly, When those letters were laid before the parliament on the 15th of the same month, they are described "as *wholly* written with *her own hand,* but not subscribed." Black Acts of that Session. Here then are *four* points, in addition to the queen's denial, that she ever wrote such letters, which form a moral demonstration of *the forgery* of those *supposed letters:* 1st, Bothwell had no such letters on the 10th of February 1567, the day of the murder; 2nd, It is untrue that Morton or any other man ever found such letters on Dalgleish; 3rd, The letters which were laid before the Privy Council were said to be *written* and *subscribed* by *the queen;* 4th, The letters which were laid before the parliament a few days afterward, are said to have been *written* by the queen, but *not subscribed,* by her. When we have thus obtained *moral demonstration* of the forgery of those letters, it were idle to go further in quest of additional evidence to establish their positive spuriousness. The regent Murray, the chancellor Morton, the secretary Maitland, and the whole officers of state, impeached the queen in parliament of being accessory to the murder of her husband; and when their proofs are examined, they are found to be forgeries. This conduct is sufficiently wicked; but when we consider that they impeached an *innocent wife* of the crime which themselves had procured to be committed by Bothwell, their turpitude admits of infinite aggravation.

who had sent Bothwell to be tried by his country, of holding back the knowledge of the truth; and by coloured means, to have obtained a delusive acquittal of the guilty person, and this is charged by Morton, the chancellor, and his colleagues, who obtained, by collusive measures, the acquittal of Bothwell; and who afterward entered into a written association to defend his conduct, as innocent, and his acquittal as just (*s*). The same Morton and his colleagues, charged the queen, also, with inordinate love for Bothwell, and with a settled purpose of making the prince, her son, taste of the same cup as had been administered to his father. This is charged by the same Morton, and other nobles, who, by a written association, had recommended Bothwell, after his collusive acquittal, as the properest husband for the queen; and who, by such recommendation, encouraged that unprincipled noble to ravish the queen; and thereby made it necessary to marry him, as she had no other resource for her tarnished honour. The charge of a design on the life of her son is, merely, the revival of an absurd calumny, which was propagated by the insurgent chiefs, to raise popular indignation, in order to obtain, by false pretences, for themselves, popular favour. The parliament of December 1567, by adopting without examination such calumnies, and countenancing such charges, involved itself in the ignominy of its chiefs, who instituted an impeachment which they could not prove without the aid of forgery; and asserted fictions which they knew to be untrue. The legislators of this session, however, abolished expressly the Pope's authority, which had been already abolished by law in April 1567, as we have seen. They established, by positive statute, "the jurisdiction of the kirk;" abolishing every other form of religion, and requiring the king, by his coronation oath, to withstand, and put down all false religions, contrary to "the one perfect religion." They confirmed the acts of the doubtful parliament of August 1560. They enacted a confession of faith. They recognized the queen's act of toleration; thinking perhaps that it might do some good, while it could not do much mischief. In this manner, then, was the reformed religion, for the first time, established by law in exclusion of every other, which the government was now bound by law to suppress. Some laws of domestic economy were also passed, and preparations were made, by the appointment of commissioners, to enact many more in some future session (*t*). No one doubted

(*s*) See their bond for those ends dated the 20th of April 1567. Anders. Col. i. 107-12; Keith, 380. The true date is the 20th, not the 19th of April.

(*t*) See the Black Acts of this Session, as printed by Lekprevick on the 6th of April 1568. On the last day of the session, Bothwell and some of his associates were *forfalted* for the *king's murder.* Birrel's Diary of the 29th December 1567. The act of attainder for that end is in the Paper Office.

the legality of those parliamentary proceedings, on whatever authority the Estates were assembled, or suspected the fitness of changing a queen who had talents, for a boy who had none, though the real object of so many measures which cannot be defended, became sufficiently plain when Murray was appointed regent.

But an event was at hand which meanwhile gave a new turn to affairs. On the 2nd of May 1568, the queen made her escape from Loch Leven Castle in Fife, to Hamilton in Lanarkshire. The regent prepared to meet her in conflict (*u*). The magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the city to be put in the best possible state of defence, and directed a guard to watch over its safety day and night (*x*). On the 13th of the same month the queen was discomfited at Langside Hill, and was obliged to seek for refuge in England. Queen Elizabeth had often given shelter to the treasonous nobles of Scotland, but she now gave an unauthorized imprisonment of long endurance to her cousin, her neighbour, and her fellow queen.

The regent called a parliament for forfeiting those who had recently met him in battle. The magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the deacons to assemble their several trades in order to ascertain by their oaths to which side they were each attached during this time of national trouble (*y*). The practice of many a year had shown that the rulers of Edinburgh had but imperfect notions of civil freedom, and knew still less of the true art of wise government. The Parliament met at Edinburgh on the 16th of August 1568; it sat till the 24th, executing the prompt vengeance which a new, more than an ancient government, is so prone to inflict. The city of Edinburgh was meantime in arms for preserving the quiet of irascible men whose passions were inflamed by civil and religious collisions (*z*). The pestilence at the same time raged within the city, adding its grievous ravages to the turmoils of domestic perturbations (*a*).

Out of those disquietudes arose an event which was attended with great consequences. On the 21st of January 1569-70, the Regent Murray, at the age of

On the 18th of December 1567, a convention of churchmen and their coadjutors met at Edinburgh, and the kirk assembly convened at the same place on the 25th of the same month. Keith, 585-90; and those facts point to the authority whence several of the acts of parliament, which sat at the same time and in the same town, proceeded; and account for the delusion which could receive forgeries for facts and assertions for certainties.

(*u*) In the meantime there was proclaimed in Edinburgh a great fast for eight days' duration. Birrel's Diary, 15; and the preachers of the metropolis prayed that the Lord would turn her enterprise to nought. Keith, 591.

(*x*) Maitland's Edin. 31. (*y*) Id. (*z*) Birrel's Diary, 17.

(*a*) Birrel's Diary, 17; Maitland Edin. 31-2.

forty, was slain on Linlithgow street by the "vengeful ire" of Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh (*b*). This unexpected event threw Edinburgh into great confusion. The magistrates ordered a strong guard to be kept day and night. The senators of the college of justice formed a design to leave a city which mingled so much with civil contest. The magistrates applied to Morton, the chancellor, beseeching him to prevent that event, and promising to revenge the regent's murder, and to support the king's interest (*c*). The chiefs of the queen's party marched from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. Kirkcaldy, the governor of Edinburgh Castle and provost of the town, prevailed on the citizens to receive them within its walls. Kirkcaldy set at liberty the Duke of Chatelherault and Lord Herries who had, by the regent, been committed prisoners to the castle; with Kirkcaldy acceded to the queen's party the Earl of Athol and Secretary Maitland. A civil war now commenced whose miseries did not soon come to an end. They easily found a new regent in the Earl of Lennox, but repose was not so readily obtained or retained amid infuriate factions. In May 1571, two parliaments sat in the harassed metropolis; the king's parliament convened in the Canongate, and the queen's in the ancient place, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*d*). The several legislatures not only fulminated forfeitures at each other, but their partizans fought frequent skirmishes in the neighbourhood and in the streets. The castle was, meantime, kept for the queen with great superiority of advantage by Kirkcaldy, the best soldier of a warlike people, and Holyrood House was retained for the king by the Regent Lennox. At length Elizabeth interposed with her usual alacrity and vigour; she sent a small army under Drury from Berwick to Edinburgh; they besieged the castle, which surrendered on the 29th of May 1573 (*e*). The quick succession of four regents, who fell amidst the furies of civil war, did not tranquillize a wretched nation, nor restore Edinburgh to the quiet which it had lost by its own factious follies.

(*b*) The date of that consequential event has been left by the inaccuracy of the Scottish historians somewhat doubtful. Spottiswoode says he was slain on Saturday, which happened on the 21st of January. Cecil in his Journal places that event on the 22nd of January 1569-70. Murden, 769; and the 21st of January of that year was probably the true date.

(*c*) Maitl. Edin. 33.

(*d*) Birrel's Diary, 19-20.

(*e*) Birrel's Diary, 20-21. Kirkcaldy, the governor, though he surrendered on terms, was hanged at the cross of Edinburgh on the 3rd of August. He could not be forgiven by Morton, whose castle of Dalkeith Kirkcaldy had destroyed on the same day that Morton had wasted his estate in Fife. Such were the blows which were mutually given and received by an infatuated people.

At length the king himself came upon the unsettled stage, on the 10th of March 1577-8, when Morton was driven from the regency by the indignation of the nobles, and sixteen counsellors were chosen to sit with that boyish ruler within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*a*). These events were received by the offended people with loud acclaims. Morton was required to surrender Edinburgh Castle, which, however, he prepared to defend; but the enraged citizens attacked his followers with such success, that he was glad to relinquish what he could not retain (*b*). Nor was that hated statesman to be easily driven from his prey. On the 26th of April 1578, Morton, with the aid of Mar, surprised the Castle of Stirling, where the king resided with unsuspicious guard. Morton now resumed the charge of the king's person and the direction of his spirit (*c*). In the contest between Morton and his opponents, whether the parliament should sit at Edinburgh or Stirling, the magistrates of Edinburgh refused to interfere (*d*). During the year 1578, Edinburgh was crowded with the followers of the cabal, who opposed the Earl of Morton, and who were never thoroughly reconciled to that hated noble (*e*).

The king, having summoned a parliament at Edinburgh in October 1579, resolved to remove from Stirling. The citizens of Edinburgh now exerted themselves to give him a splendid reception (*f*). The king came to Edinburgh on the 17th of October, when he was magnificently received, and passed through to the palace of Holyrood with a calvacade of two thousand horse (*g*). On the 23d of October 1579, the king held a parliament in the Tolbooth of

(*a*) Birrel, 21; Maitland's Edin., 34-5. (*b*) Id. Moyse's Mem., 6-7.

(*c*) Morton would not permit the king to hold his parliament at Edinburgh on the 25th of July 1578, as he himself was obnoxious to the people of the metropolis. Mait. Edin., 36.

(*d*) Id. Morton wrote in the king's name to the magistrates of Edinburgh, requiring them to choose specified persons, as the town council, at Michaelmas 1578, but they declined; and, receiving another letter to the same effect, they took the opinion of the citizens, who confirmed their refusal. On the day of election a letter from the king was produced, requiring their compliance; but they adhered to their resolution of choosing their own counsellors. Mait. Edin., 36-7. This historian is so weak as to run out against the king for the act of Morton. Maitland perseveres in repeating this folly while the king was a prisoner to the elder Gowrie. Ib., 38.

(*e*) Moyse's Mem., 3-31.

(*f*) The citizens were ordered by the magistrates to appear in their richest dresses, and the streets to be decorated with tapestry and arraswork. Mait. Edin., 37. They presented the king with a rich service of plate. Id.

(*g*) Id. Crawford's Mem., 317; Moyse's Mem., 38-9. When the king came to the Landgate, the townsmen in arms, met him; the castle also shot vollies, and the people rejoiced much at his majesty's coming. Id.

Edinburgh, which sat till the 12th of November. In this session, the Hamiltons were forfeited, when their rich abbeys were given to more needy courtiers (*h*).

The ministers continued to reprehend the king from their pulpits, not for his prodigality, but his favouritism; from an ambition of calumny, rather than a desire of amendment (*i*). The king, animated by Arran, persevered in restraining the ministers from speaking evil of dignities, as caluminous intermeddling with state affairs.

The time was at length come when the Earl of Morton was to suffer for his many crimes. In December 1580, he was accused, before the privy council, of being an accessory to the murder of Darnley. He was at first warded in the palace of Holyrood; and soon after sent to Edinburgh castle. He was again removed under a strong guard to Dumbarton castle (*k*). Morton was afterward convicted of the imputed crime, and died on the block, confessing his guilty knowledge with his dying breath (*l*). During such perturbations, the king ordered a body of Edinburgh citizens, in arms, to guard the palace of Holyrood (*m*).

Such were the laxity of manners and the debility of law during that age, that the king could not visit any noble without danger of seizure for the most selfish purposes. In this manner was James detained at Ruthven by the elder

(*h*) Moyse's Mem., 40.

(*i*) Ib., 41. Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the rising of the assembly in 1580, was by the privy council committed to Edinburgh Castle for some public speeches; but he was soon liberated on the application of his fellow ministers, and his promise of forbearance. Spottiswoode, 311. This is the first check which was given to the calumny of preaching since the queen's return from France. Dury did not keep his promise, and he continued to declaim from his pulpit against the king and his favourites, Lennox and Arran. The king thereupon commanded Dury to be removed from Edinburgh and to cease from preaching in any other town. The magistrates were charged to cause him to be removed. The assembly which was then sitting in Edinburgh interposed on behalf of Dury; but the king would not give way, and obliged the magistrates to remove Dury. This seditious preacher was triumphantly restored when the king was seized by Gowrie. Spottiswoode, 321; and Calderwood.

(*k*) Moyse's Mem., 46. The town of Edinburgh furnished, on that occasion, two hundred hackbutters. Id. The king also required another hundred hackbutters to attend on his person within the palace of Holyrood. Maitland, 38.

(*l*) See his confession during his last moments in Bannatyne's Journal, 49-53; Crawford's Mem., 2nd edit., App. The person who had the merit of freeing the nation from that prodigious criminal was Stewart of Ochiltree, the king's favourite, who became Earl of Arran and Chancellor of Scotland.

(*m*) Mait. Edin., 39.

Gowrie (*n*). On that occasion the Duke of Lennox applied to the magistrates for protection (*o*). Gowrie and the other conspirators, who now had possession of the king, wrote to those magistrates in September 1582, desiring them to choose specified persons into the town council (*p*); but they declined to comply with a request which would have placed the rule of the city in the power of every succeeding faction. The conspirators soon after brought the king to Holyroodhouse, and they at length demanded of the magistrates a body of hackbutters to guard him in his palace (*q*). Other requisitions of a similar kind were made on the magistrates of Edinburgh, as the king was without a guard, and without a revenue to pay one (*r*).

A new scene of a different sort was now ready to open at Edinburgh. In January 1582-3, two ambassadors arrived there from France, in order to solicit the king's freedom. The preachers of Edinburgh railed against them from their pulpits. The ambassadors were mortified, but as they perceived the king's inability to prevent the calumny of the churchmen, or to protect the injured, they only hastened their departure. The king commanded the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the ambassadors before they proceeded on their return; but the preachers were not to be prevented from following up their insults on the ambassadors. They directed a *fast* to be kept on the day of the *feast*, and three of their number preached successively in St. Giles's church, so as to occupy the whole day with invectives against the magistrates and nobles, who, by the king's direction, accompanied the ambassadors. The

(*n*) On the 23rd of August 1582, the king's majesty, saith Birrel, being in the palace of Ruthven, was presumptuously held in the place by the lord thereof against his will, and caused his majesty to expel the Duke of Lennox. This, he adds, was a very great presumption in a subject to his prince. Diary, 22. We thus perceive that Birrel had not any conception that this was a *very great crime.*

(*o*) Mait. Edin., 39.

(*p*) Ib., 20: Maitland foolishly runs out against the imprisoned king, as if he could be answerable for the act of the traitors.

(*q*) Mait. Edin., 40, dates the above requisition on the 16th of October 1582. Spottiswoode, 321, says they brought the king to Holyroodhouse in the beginning of October, knowing that the people of Edinburgh did approve their enterprise, as appeared by the restoration of John Dury, the preacher, upon the news of the king's restraint, and the triumph they made, singing, as they went up the street, the 124th psalm. The Scottish church voted this *restraint* upon the *king's person* "to be a good and acceptable service to God, the king, and the country." Arnot's Crim. Trials, 35. The Earl of Gowrie, however, was executed for his treasons on the 4th of May 1584, at Stirling. Birrel's Diary, 23. And the parliament of May 1584 confirmed several proceedings against that guilty noble and his associate traitors. Unprinted Acts of that session.

(*r*) Mait. Edin., 40.

malignity of the churchmen did not stop here. After the departure of the ambassadors, they pursued the magistrates with the censures of the church, and with difficulty could be prevented from proceeding the length of excommunicating the objects of their scandal (*s*).

The king, on the 27th of June 1583, freed himself from the thraldom of Gowrie's faction, and he made preparations to emancipate himself from the domination of the clergy. For those ends the parliament was convened at Edinburgh on the 22nd of May 1584. With that design, various acts were accordingly passed (*t*), and there was also established other statutes with respect to domestic economy. A guard of forty gentlemen on horseback for attending on the king's person was now established, with two hundred pounds a-year for each horseman through life, and adequate provision was, in the same spirit, made for the governor of Edinburgh castle (*u*). The clergy heard of those parliamentary proceedings with great indignation. Some of the preachers of Edinburgh attempted to enter the parliament house to remonstrate against those decisive measures, but the doors were shut against them (*x*). They declaimed against them in their pulpits (*y*). When the acts of parliament were soon after proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, Pont and Balcanqual protested against them, and the preachers, pretending fear for their lives, retired to Berwick, whence they wrote letters to the magistrates, which they put into the hands of the king (*z*).

(*s*) Spottiswoode, 324; Calderwood, 138. The magistrates themselves carried their fanaticism up to folly. On the 19th of July 1583, they passed an Act against those burgesses' daughters who should not be reputed virgins on their day of marriage. Mait. Edin., 41.

(*t*) By one of those acts, the king's power over all estates and subjects was confirmed. By a second, the authority of the three Estates was declared, as it had been questioned. By a third, all jurisdictions and conventions without the king's licence were prohibited. By a fourth, the manner of the deprivation of ministers was appointed. By a fifth, the ministers were prohibited from being senators of the College of Justice, or being advocates, agents, or notaries. By a sixth, punishment was provided for the slanderers of the king, his progenitors, his estates, and realm. Skene's Statute Book.

(*u*) The Earl of Arran was both provost of the city and governor of the castle in the years 1584 and 1585. Birrel; Calderwood, 166. There was a large provision made by parliament for the keeping of Edinburgh Castle by the Act 9 Parl. James VI., No. 8. The town council of Edinburgh, in May 1584, for the honour of the city, ordered that their chief magistrate and representative in parliament should be attended during the session to and from the Tolbooth and Holyroodhouse by twenty of the principal citizens. Mait. Edin., 42.

(*x*) Calderwood, 155. (*y*) Ib., 156.

(*z*) Id. The king continued to meddle in the elections of Edinburgh long after his influence was contemned, owing to the improper use of unfit interposition. Mait. Edin. throughout.

After a grievous struggle through a wretched minority, James approached to the legal age of twenty-one. On an occasion so interesting a parliament was summoned to Edinburgh. But the king, supposing himself to possess in an eminent degree the powers of persuasion, resolved to perform an impossibility, by promoting the reconcilement of the irreconcileable nobles. On the 13th of May 1587, he made a royal banquet in Holyrood House, where, with puerile conceit, he made irascible men walk into the city hand in hand. The magistrates, entering into the same views, entertained the king and nobles at their market cross (*b*). The parliament accordingly assembled, after all those measures of preparation, at Edinburgh on the 29th of July 1587. The king's *perfect age* was now declared to be, after his completion of one-and-twenty years (*c*). The various acts of his minority, particularly those relating to religion, were now confirmed (*d*). The practice of persecution was confirmed and enforced (*e*). Punishments were provided for the sellers of erroneous books (*f*). The preachers were provided for (*g*). The *temporality* of benefices was annexed to the crown by an act of great comprehension (*h*). The power and sitting of parliaments were enforced and regulated (*i*). Provision was also made for the better administration of justice. The receivers of the king's rents were required to find security in Edinburgh. There were also made various acts of domestic economy during this session, the most important perhaps of any in the Statute Book (*k*).

During the subsequent year, the national attention was drawn to more warlike objects. When intelligence arrived, in August 1588, that the Spanish armada approached the shores of Scotland, preparations were made to receive it with adequate spirit, and the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded the citizens to provide themselves with arms to prevent a descent; directing at the same time three hundred men to be raised for the town's defence (*l*). It had now become the king's practice, arising from his penury, to direct the magistrates of Edinburgh to entertain ambassadors and other considerable persons coming to this metropolis, at a ruinous expense (*m*); which, however, did not conceal the wretchedness of a people, who, during thirty years of reform, had few means of acquiring wealth.

(*b*) Birrel's Diary; Maitl. Edin., 44. The king not only received such entertainments, but he seems to have exercised the power of requiring the citizens to entertain whomsoever he thought fit, both men and women. Ib., 43-5.

(*c*) Skene's Acts, p. 76. (*d*) Id. (*e*) Ib., 75. (*f*) Id. (*g*) Id.

(*h*) Ib., 76. (*i*) Ib., 86. (*k*) See the Acts in Skene and Glendook.

(*l*) Maitl. Edin., 45. (*m*) See Maitl. Edinburgh throughout.

The king's marriage created almost as much intrigue and disquiet as the spousals of his mother. Elizabeth, interposing with similar artifices, seems to have gained James's ministers; but as he suspected that his chancellor and counsellors obstructed his favourite nuptials with the daughter of Denmark, the king secretly incited the chiefs of the tradesmen of Edinburgh to mob his ministers (*n*). They were thus induced to dispatch the Earl Marshal and other envoys to Denmark, for settling that rich and honourable match. James meantime commanded, in his usual tone, the magistrates of his metropolis to prepare entertainments for the expected queen and her retinue, till Holyrood-house could be prepared for her reception; but they gave five thousand marks to be excused (*o*). "But, dire portents the purposed match withstand." A tempest forced back the fleet which bore the Danish bride to the Scottish shore; and the youthful king, with more enterprise than he was supposed to possess, set out himself in October 1589, to dissolve the charm which had raised the waves and unbound the winds (*p*). He even obliged the magistrates of Edinburgh to supply him with a ship for transporting from Denmark the dear object of all his "travail difficult (*q*)." The 1st of May 1590, saw the king and queen arrive safe at Leith, after so many obstructions and perils. They were received with the general and loud acclaims of real welcome (*r*); but the queen was still to be crowned, and it occurred to the censorious minds of the ministers of Edinburgh that the rite of unction could not be allowed. The king overcame their scruples by threatening to bring *a bishop* to perform this ceremony according to the ancient custom (*s*); and she was solemnly crowned on the 7th of May, with the accustomed rites, in the abbey church of Holyrood (*t*).

After all those marks of joy in the people and discontent of the clergy, the king had to sustain a long contest with the Earl of Bothwell, in the effects of which the metropolis was involved. On the 27th of December 1590, the turbulent noble broke into the palace at the hour of supper, when, meeting

(*n*) Melvil's Mem., 327. (*o*) Maitl. Edin., 45. (*p*) Spottiswoode, 377-9.

(*q*) Maitl. Edin., 45, states, with dissatisfaction, the expense of the corporation for that ship at £500 Scots a month.

(*r*) Id.; Calderwood, 255. (*s*) Spottiswoode, 381-2.

(*t*) She made her public entry into the metropolis on the 19th of May, when she seems to have been again married in St. Giles's kirk, and when she was presented with a rich jewel, which appears to have been pledged to the city by the king himself. Maitl. Edin., 45. The magistrates, by the royal command, had to entertain the Danish ambassadors. Id. Those feastings continued for a month, at the end of which the strangers departed with rich presents. Spottiswoode, 382.

with some obstruction, he attempted to fire the king's apartments. A body of armed citizens repaired to the palace, and Bothwell was now obliged to flee, killing some of the king's domestics as he retired. Eight of his followers were executed on the morrow, but the principal traitor lived to be forfeited by parliament on the 21st of July 1593 (*u*). Under other governments, the attainder of the traitor, by the supreme tribunal, is followed by punishment and quiet; but in Scotland, under such a prince as James VI., forfeiture of a noble was followed by pardon, by reiterated treasons, by judgments, by restorations and embarrassments. During several years Bothwell was raised up and cherished by that frivolous prince to disturb his own palace, and to disquiet his people's peace (*x*).

The king appears to have renewed, in September 1593, his practice of dictation to the city of Edinburgh, as to their annual choice of the town council, provost, and other officers. They seem to have resisted this assumption; and James issued a precept, containing the names of those whom he wished to be chosen, under pain of rebellion; and declaring his dispensation with such acts of parliament as stood opposed to his royal precept (*y*). The town council appear to have obeyed the king's precept, by choosing the persons of his appointment (*z*). The intermedling passion of James VI. carried him one step further. On the 27th of November 1593, he issued a proclamation directing that no person should repair to Edinburgh without his leave (*a*). The whole conduct of this feeble prince justifies the historical remark, that a weak government is always the most violent.

The queen was delivered of a prince, on the 19th of February 1594, who was baptized by the name of Henry Frederick. The town council of Edinburgh presented the king, for the christening of his son and heir, ten tuns of wine; and sent a hundred of the citizens, richly accoutred, to attend the ceremony (*b*). During

(*u*) Spottiswoode, 387.

(*x*) Spottiswoode, the Scottish historian, and Birrel's Diary, are filled with the reiterated treasons and final expulsion of Earl Bothwell, as we have seen. On the 21st of July 1593, however, passed an Act of Parliament, strengthening the authority of the magistrates of Edinburgh, in preserving the peace thereof and in executing legal process. 13 Par. James VI., c. 184.

(*y*) Maitl. Edin., 46, records that extraordinary document.

(*z*) Alexander Home of North Berwick, who certainly had the merit of rescuing the king from the hands of Bothwell at a critical moment, was of course chosen provost during the years 1593-96.

(*a*) The above proclamation, saith Birrel, grieved the town of Edinburgh, and especially the ministers, who were chiefly opposed by it. Diary, 31.

(*b*) Maitl. Edin., 46; Spottiswoode, 407.

Bothwell's treasonous tumults in 1595, the town council furnished the king with a guard of fifty citizens for his palace of Holyrood (*c*). The feebleness of James's government even induced, in September 1595, a rebellion of the boys in Edinburgh school, who shot one of the magistrates from the school-house (*d*). The principles of the age generally actuate the practice of the youth; and the stubbornness of those reformed times, we thus see, inspired the school-boys with their murderous practice.

In the subsequent year, on the 19th of August, the queen gave James a daughter, who was named Elizabeth, after the English queen, and to her christening, on the 1st of December, within Holyroodhouse, the king invited the magistrates of Edinburgh, who, feeling this honour, engaged to give this welcome princess 10,000 marks on her nuptial day (*e*). So easily are the people pleased by their princes when they are properly treated.

Meantime, the English ambassador complained to the king against David Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, for calumniating his mistress from the pulpit. He summoned the preacher before the privy council, for his speeches, which were as unscriptural as they were illegal; but Black, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, declined to appear before the privy council, as an incompetent authority (*f*); thus acting upon a principle which Knox had incorporated into the Scottish church, to prefer clerical dogmatism to the declarations of positive statute. Meantime, Andrew Melvil convened a number of barons at Cupar-Fife, where they entered into an association for raising an insurrection against the king's authority (*g*); avowing, according to their principles, that they only owed subordination and obedience *to the kingdom of Christ.* Now, what was this absurd pretence, but to set themselves above the parliament, the supreme power of the temporal state. The convention of Cupar, disregarding the late statute, on the 20th of October, adjourned themselves to Edinburgh, and by letters invited the several presbyteries to send

(*c*) Maitl. Edin., 46. (*d*) Birrel's Diary.

(*e*) Birrel's Diary, 38; Moyse's Mem., 245; and Cecil's Journal places that event on the 19th of August 1596. On the marriage of the princess, the magistrates actually paid the promised dowry, adding to their liberality 5,000 marks. Maitl. Edin., 47, from the Town Register. The marriage of Frederick, prince palatine, and the Lady Elizabeth, the sole daughter of King James, was solemnized on Shrove Sunday, the 14th of February 1612-13, in the chapel royal at Whitehall. Strype's Westminster, 579.

(*f*) Moyse's Mem., 245-7: The Act of Parliament was that of May 1584, in Skene's Stat., 58.

(*g*) That convention of the barons of Fife, under another Act of the same session, Skene, 586, was declared to be illegal, and subjected to the pains which were ordained by law against those who unlawfully convoke the king's subjects.

commissioners to Edinburgh, in order to form a *standing council* for carrying into effect their secret purposes. How contrary this conduct was to the recent statutes needs not be repeated. They went a step further in their progress of rebellion, and they recommended to every preacher, both by public doctrine and by private conference, to stir up the people to fear danger and to prepare for resistance (*i*). This standing council of the Scottish church met every day at Edinburgh, throughout November 1596. The king sent the president of the session, the secretary, and his advocate, to confer with that seditious meeting, and to know what would satisfy them; but we do not learn that those eminent lawyers informed the ministers that they were an illegal body; that they had already incurred the pains of treason; and would be prosecuted, if they did not depart in peace. But this language was unfashionable at that period, however familiar it is in more enlightened times. The standing council of ministers, unconstitutional as they were, sent a deputation to the king, with a remonstrance, and so ill educated was he, whatever he may have known of languages, that he received those deputies, having persuaded himself that he could out-reason ministers who were not under the influence of reason. It was an essential trait of this feeble prince that he was vain enough to suppose that he could govern fanatical men by his kingly persuasion, however unkingly were such conceits (*k*). The ministers treated him contemptuously, because he acted weakly; and they transmitted Black's declinature of the king's power in his council to every preacher in Scotland, in order to make a common cause against a wretched government. On the 26th of November 1596, Black was again summoned, at the cross of Edinburgh, to answer before the privy council. The government, on the same day, issued letters, charging the council of ministers to depart from Edinburgh, and to cease from holding unlawful assemblies, on pain of rebellion, but as they had seen no examples made, they did not fear any danger. The ministers continued to act, as a standing council, against law; and they instructed several preachers to assert, "that the spiritual jurisdiction "floweth immediately from Christ; and of course cannot proceed from the "king, or civil magistrate; that the power of convening is from Christ, and "his power cannot be prevented by any prince; and that their judicatories "ought not to be under the control of any christian prince (*l*)." Here was an avowal of their disobedience to the civil power, and, we may remember, that this was one of the dogmas which Knox had brought from Geneva, and had

(*i*) Calderwood, 333; Spottiswoode, 419.

(*k*) Calderwood, 334-5; Spottiswoode, 420.

(*l*) Calderwood, 342.

interwoven into the texture of his peculiar church. The members of the council at Edinburgh even went a step further; they sent a deputation to the king, "threatening him with the consequences of not yielding to their "purposes; and *protesting before God, that they were free of his majesty's* "*blood* (*m*)." The church was now at issue with the state. The clerical council ordered the presbytery of Edinburgh to call before them *such persons of the highest rank* as were inimical to Christ and his church (*n*). The king issued a declaration to correct the misrepresentation and falsehood of the clergy, and the clerical council of ministers were charged, by sound of trumpet, at the cross of Edinburgh, to pass from the town within eight-and-forty hours. After some deliberation, the ministers resolved to depart, protesting that they might *lawfully* disobey; and leaving to others, to take their places, for carrying forward the good work of establishing the church on the ruin of the state (*o*). The king now endeavoured, with unavailing eloquence, to conciliate the ministers of Edinburgh (*p*). They only inflamed their bigoted partizans with wilder passions (*q*). In order to prevent a tumult, on the 16th of November 1596, four-and-twenty of the most turbulent citizens were commanded to leave the capital. The ministers only preached more seditiously, while some of them read, in the midst of the infuriate people, appropriate passages from the scriptures; and crying out, with seditious gestures, *for the sword of Gideon.* Nor did the ministers and their partizans want leaders in arms. Lord Lindsay, the son of that savage who had compelled the imprisoned queen to resign her crown, now took the lead in bringing forward the insurgents to attack the king and his council, then sitting in consultation, within the town-house. Home, the provost, and the magistrates, now came upon the theatre of tumult, and, by skilful management, somewhat pacified the hideous uproar. A sort of treaty now ensued between the king and clergy. James acted with more firmness than was expected of him; and the ministers rose, in their pretensions, to complete independence of the constituted authorities of the reformed state (*r*).

On the morrow, the 18th of December 1596, the king and his council removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow. He now issued a proclamation, stating the principles and objects of the recent tumult within the capital; the unfitness of it for his residence or the safety of his judges; and requiring the

(*m*) Ib., 349; Spottiswoode, 424. (*n*) Calderwood, 358.

(*o*) Calderwood, 358; Spottiswoode, 427. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) Birch's Mem., ii., 250, says the more zealous citizens determined to defend their ministers by force of arms.

(*r*) Spottiswoode, 430; Moyse's Mem., 245-52.

Lords of Session, with every one connected with justice, to remove to a more appropriate place, and the nobles to depart to their several residences (*s*). The citizens of Edinburgh were now awakened to a sense of their own interest, and all considerate men at length perceived that there could be neither freedom, nor rights, nor quiet, where the clergy indulged in pretensions which admitted no earthly authority, and acknowledged no individual privileges. The town council deliberated on their situation, without being able to determine what was most salutary. The zealous clergy persisted in their seditious courses; but the town council declined to sign their association. The ministers thus wanting a head, offered that dangerous pre-eminence to Lord Hamilton; but he carried their seditious proposal to the king (*t*). Thus informed of the rebellious purpose of the clergy, James, on the 20th of December 1596, sent a charge to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to arrest the chiefs of the clergy, with several of their partizans, and commit them to Edinburgh castle (*u*). The ministers now fled into England, with the connivance, probably, of the town council; as they did not retreat till the third day after the date of the king's command. The privy council at length resolved, that the tumult at Edinburgh, on the 17th of the same month, was traitorous. The several judicatories were removed to Leith, and the Court of Session was directed to sit at Perth after the 1st of February 1597. These decisive measures alarmed the councils of Edinburgh, and they sent a deputation of citizens to Linlithgow with a supplication for pardon. It was intimated to them that *the Estates* would be convened at Edinburgh, where the offence was committed; and he would follow their advice, as well as to the inquisition as to the punishment (*x*). On the 1st of January 1597, James entered Edinburgh with great ceremony, the keys being delivered to him, and the ports placed in the hands of those nobles whom the king could trust (*y*). He met the convention in the town-house. After some general discussion on the recent tumult, James admitted the provost

(*s*) Spottiswoode, 431.

(*t*) Spottiswoode, 432.

(*u*) Calderwood, 367; Spottiswoode, 432. In the meantime, *money* and victual had been provided for the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh: twelve hundred marks, to be paid monthly out of the customs of Edinburgh, and the surplus of the thirds of benefices; and of victual, one-third of the income of the archbishop of St. Andrews and the abbey of Scone, and of other ecclesiastical revenues. Stat. 9 Parl. James VI., No. 8.

(*x*) Spottiswoode, 309. On the 27th of December 1597, the king issued a proclamation, charging all magistrates and others to interrupt the preachers when uttering false and traitorous speeches from their pulpits. Calderwood, 369.

(*y*) Birrel's Diary, 41.

and the magistrates to make their ample submission (*z*) After various proceedings as to the late tumult, in which Elizabeth interposed, the king pardoned Edinburgh, on the 22d of March 1597 (*a*). On the morrow, James went into the city, and drank with the provost and magistrates in token of reconcilement. There was great rejoicing; but they were ordered to pay a fine of thirty thousand marks Scots (*b*). In this manner, then, did the king, taking advantage of the misconduct of the magistrates, humble the capital of his kingdom; but whatever he may have then obtained of the reformed church, which had defied all earthly power, her original pretensions were occasionally brought forward, and her seditious practices were often renewed, till *the Union* with England laid her political perturbations for ever.

The remaining years of James's reign over Scotland did not produce many events in which the capital was much concerned. In 1598 and 1599, there were frequent conventions in Edinburgh, which a feeble prince deemed necessary for supporting his inefficient measures. In 1599, indeed, James was again obliged to enter into collision with the clergy. Some English players, coming to the metropolis, obtained the king's license to amuse the citizens. The ministers of Edinburgh presbytery opposed, with their usual violence, the acting of plays, as positively sinful; but they were now convened before the privy council for opposing the king's license, and were obliged to rescind the act of the presbytery. Thus, the people of Edinburgh were quietly amused, by the earliest players who had presumed to appear since the reformed clergy had decided that amusements and sins are the same (*c*). The convention of the Estates, which met at Edinburgh on the 10th of December 1599, ordained that the beginning of the year should be changed from the 25th of March to the 1st of January 1600 (*d*).

The year 1600 is not only remarkable for that diplomatic change, but will always be memorable, both in the history of Scotland and its capital, for what has been called *Gowrie's Conspiracy.** Early on the 5th of August, James VI.,

(*z*) Maitl. Edin., 50-51, has transcribed the willing submission of the Edinburgh magistrates.

(*a*) Maitland, 53-4.

(*b*) Birrel's Diary, 43; Calderwood, 402. On the 13th of April 1597, the king was again entertained by the city; and on the 21st of the same month the four guilty ministers were admittted to make their submissions, and were afterward pardoned. Calderwood, 411-16; Birrel's Diary, 43.

(*c*) Spottiswoode, 457; an Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers. At a convention which assembled at Edinburgh on the 24th of June 1598, it was ordained that every *Monday* in every week should be a *play-day*. Moyse's Mem., 260.

(*d*) Ib., 264. * [See Barbé's "The Tragedy of Gowrie House," Paisley, 1888.]

preparing to hunt in his park of Falkland, was invited by the Earl of Gowrie to his house at Perth, where the king was seized, with whatever purpose of imprisonment or death; but he was rescued by his attendants, who slew the Earl and his brother, and overpowered their followers (*e*). A sermon was preached at the cross of Edinburgh, where the people, on their knees, gave thanks to God for the king's deliverance (*f*). The king soon after arrived, and publicly confirmed the whole circumstances of that remarkable event. The fact was believed by every one at Edinburgh except the clergy. The ministers, and particularly Mr. Robert Bruce, who was then deemed the great oracle, were altogether incredulous; yea, after the truth and circumstances were testified by five hundred gentlemen who were present, and saw with their eyes the form and manner of that treasonable practice (*g*). One would suppose, from this singular incredulity of the ministers, that the clergy had some connection with the conspiracy. On whatever motive they acted, whether of guilt, or obstinacy, or self-conceit, the five ministers of Edinburgh were banished, by proclamation at the cross, and were prohibited from preaching, or coming within ten miles of the king's residence, on pain of death, for disbelieving what the king had publicly affirmed (*h*). The dead bodies of the Earl of Gowrie

(*e*) See the Discourse on that conspiracy, with the Depositions annexed to it, in Moyse's Mem., 265. Birrel's Diary, 49. On the morrow news came to Edinburgh of the king's escape, whereupon there was great rejoicing; "the cannons shot, the bells rang, the trumpets sounded, and the drums beat." Id.

(*f*) Moyse's Mem., 309.

(*g*) Moyse's Mem., 309. On the 10th of September, however, three of those five ministers came into the privy council, and declared their belief of the conspiracy. On the next day a fourth minister declared his conviction of the truth of Gowrie's conspiracy; and these four were pardoned for their *scepticism* on so plain a point. Robert Bruce alone remained obstinately incredulous; and being banished from Scotland, went to France. Spottiswoode, 462. They did not believe twenty witnesses, who swore to the simplest facts. The *motive* of Gowrie and his *design*, when he inveigled the king to Perth, can only be conjectured from the context of the History of Scotland, which contains similar events. That Gowrie meant treason is obvious.

(*h*) Birrel's Diary, 51. There was published at the time a written declaration of the king, with depositions, for the satisfaction of the people. Gowrie and his brother were attainted by parliament after the examination of witnesses; yet did the reformed clergy, with a party in Scotland, disbelieve the truth of an obvious conspiracy. During the reign of Anne, the Earl of Cromarty, the Lord Register, published from the Record, twenty depositions of the most respectable men, including the Duke of Lennox, who proved the simplest facts. Yet, in our own times, the late Dr. Robertson, the king's historiographer, and Lord Hailes, one of the senators of the College of Justice, entertained strange scruples about the Gowrie conspiracy; such is the lamentable effect of early prejudice, which prevented two such persons from sitting down, like men of skill, to satisfy themselves about so obvious

and his brother were brought from Perth to Edinburgh, and were hung up at the market cross as traitors, according to the coarse practice of the Scottish jurisprudence (*i*). The king had now escaped from the conspiracy of Gowrie and the incredulity of the clergy; nor is it easy to decide whether the treason of the one, or the scepticism of the others, or the scruples of historians, be the most absurd. After this storm, which was so common in the climate of Scotland, James VI. enjoyed some tranquil years, with the secret correspondence of Elizabeth's ministers, who saw her age approaching to its end, and the king advancing to her throne.

At length the English queen demised, at the period of life, on the 24th of March 1603. The Scottish king was, on the same day, proclaimed her successor, upon the same title which had been denied to his mother, through whom he had derived his right. Many messengers hastened to Edinburgh with the welcome news. On the 31st of March 1603, the nobility came to the cross of Edinburgh, with the Secretary, Elphinston, who read the proclamation of those great events; and Sir David Lindsay, the Lion King, re-echoed it (*k*). The whole commons of Scotland, who could read, now busied themselves in explaining how many of the prophecies, since the ancient times of Thomas Rymer, were at length fulfilled by the accession of James to the English crown (*l*). Amidst the popular regret for the king's departure, there were others, however, of a graver cast, who foresaw, from the absence of the court and the receding of the nobles, that Edinburgh was doomed to a long debility, though it might enjoy greater quiet, from the absence of political intrigue.

an historical truth. Lord Hailes republished the king's declaration, with notes, in order to discredit it, however supported by depositions; and he solicited more evidence to illustrate this obscure passage in the Scottish history.

(*i*) Moyse's Mem., 309. They were attainted by parliament in November 1600. See the trial in Arnot's Crim. Trials, 20-44.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 58: On Sunday, the 3rd of April 1603, the king came to the great kirk of Edinburgh, where he harangued the people in presence of the noblemen of England. He promised to defend the faith, and to revisit his native kingdom every three years. On the 5th of April the king set out from Edinburgh for Berwick and for London, the mighty metropolis of his new dominions.

(*l*) Birrel's Diary, 59, delights to tell what is so illustrative of the political superstition of the times. On the 15th of March 1603, the king granted to the city of Edinburgh a charter, confirming the grants of his predecessors. Mait. Edin., 240-57. On the 5th of July 1603, the king's charter was read and received at the Cross of Edinburgh by Alexander Seyton, the provost, and the magistrates, in the presence of most of the Lords of Session. Birrel's Diary, 60.

At that epoch, and during some years thereafter, Edinburgh, in common with other Scottish towns, was greatly distressed by the frequent recurrence of the *plague*, which swept away many citizens and reduced the survivors to great penury (*m*). Amidst his English cares, James seems to have been studious how to prevent the interposition of the nobles in the politics of his burghs; and in September 1608, he wrote the magistrates of Edinburgh, to recollect, in their choice of a provost, that none could be chosen, according to a salutary law, but a real citizen (*n*). He appears, however, at the same time, to have been equally attentive to the usual gratifications of exterior appearances. He empowered the corporation to cause a sword to be carried before the provost, and the magistrates to wear gowns (*o*). Before this reign, there seems to have been little attention paid, by any order in the state, to exterior ornaments on public occasions (*p*).

James at length resolved to perform the promise which, in the fulness of his heart, he had made when he set out from Edinburgh for London, of frequently returning to his native kingdom. The magistrates of Edinburgh gave orders to make preparations for his reception (*q*). On the 16th of May 1616, the king, arriving at the West Port, was received by the magistrates in their gowns, and by some citizens in velvet habits. Hay, the town clerk, made him an oration, in such eloquent terms as the times afforded. On that happy day of their new birth, the orator acknowledged the goodness of the Almighty in allowing their eyes to behold the greatest felicity of their hearts, which is to feed on the royal countenance of their true phoenix, the bright star of their northern firmament, the ornament of their age; and who could witness, he

(*m*) Mait. Edin., 567.

(*n*) 1535, ch. 26; Mait. Edin., 57. In the parliament of 1606, an Act was passed in favour of Edinburgh. Unprinted Acts, No. 14. During that session, indeed, a general Act was made in favour of the whole *burroughs regal*, confirming their usual privileges and liberties. 1606, ch. 16. And this gratifying Act was followed by another law for preventing unlawful conventions within towns and enforcing the authority of the magistrates in the execution of their offices. 1606 ch. 17.

(*o*) Maitl. Edin., 58. With his usual attention to petty objects, James sent the magistrates two pattern gowns from London. Id. All this while the king seems to have been indebted to the corporation of Edinburgh 59,000 marks, which he seems to have discharged in 1616, by a sort of bankruptcy, for 20,000 marks. Id.

(*p*) At the ranking of the peers, according to their precedence in 1606, they were required to appear in parliament in robes of red, lined with white: the like was never seen in this country before, saith Birrel. Diary, 63. Balfour's Annals, i., 407, concur that those were the first parliament robes that were ever used in Scotland. James II. had tried to introduce such robes.

(*q*) Maitl. Edin., 58.

adds, your majesty's beneficence, more than this good town of Edinburgh, which, being founded in the days of that worthy king, Fergus I., the builder of this kingdom, and enriched by him with many freedoms, privileges, and dignities, which your majesty not only confirmed, but also, with the accession of many more, endowed. But of Fergus I., who never reigned, and of James VI., who visited Scotland to little purpose, enough (*x*)! The citizens entertained the king with a sumptuous banquet, and presented him with what was of still more importance, with ten thousand marks of double golden angels in a silver basin. But what magnificence could be shown by a town whose streets were not yet paved, and the houses whereof were covered with thatch (*y*)? The king convened his two-and-twentieth parliament at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June 1617. Acts were now passed "for the election of archbishops and bishops;" "for the restitution of *chapters*." Commissioners were also appointed "for the plantation of kirks." Several statutes on material points of domestic economy were also enacted; and provision was made for the better support of Edinburgh castle (*z*). The king returned to London on the 15th September 1617, after presiding at a scholastic disputation of the professors of Edinburgh university. He died at Theobalds, on the 27th of March 1625; and on the subsequent Sunday, the ministers of Edinburgh, who had now learned a lesson of flattery from the town clerk, praised him in their sermons as the most religious and peaceable prince that ever was in this unworthy world (*a*).

Charles I. was proclaimed at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the officers of state, on the 31st of March 1625. A convention was convened at Edinburgh in October and November 1625; but their proceedings are as obscure as their authority is questionable. The town council of Edinburgh agreed to advance to the king the assessment of that city, and to contribute to the maintenance of ten thousand men, at the same time providing for the city guard and for the discipline of the whole citizens (*b*).

(*x*) The absurd flattery of the town clerk is transcribed into Maitland's Edinburgh, 58-60.

(*y*) The town council ordered several ways to be paved in 1612, which is the epoch of the paving of the road to Leith. Maitl. Edin., 58. An Act of Parliament, in 1621, directed that the houses of Edinburgh should be covered with slates, lead, tyles, or thackestone. 1621, ch. 26. A thousand nuisances were ordered to be removed by another Act of the same session. Ch. 29. Three bells were provided for the churches in November 1621. Maitl. Edin., 62. And water was introduced under a law of the same year. A nightly guard of citizens was provided in 1625. Id.

(*z*) Unprinted Act of that session.

(*a*) Calderwood, 815.

(*b*) Maitl. Edin., 62-3.

As early as 1628, Charles I. seems to have designed to enter Edinburgh and to receive his crown. The citizens made great preparations to receive their sovereign with splendid ceremonies; and Drummond, the poet, prepared a speech for that joyous occasion, which may vie with the oration of Hay, the town clerk, in honest zeal, inflated eloquence, and absurd adulation. But the king was disappointed in his purpose of visiting Scotland during several years. It was on the 12th of June 1633 that Charles entered Edinburgh by the West Port, where he was received by the provost and bailies in red furred gowns, and by three score councillors in velvet dresses. The reception of Charles I. was certainly more splendid, and undoubtedly more proper, than the plainer reception of James VI., which seems to intimate more wealth in the citizens and more tastefulness in Drummond the poet (*e*). On the morrow, the king passed from the palace of Holyrood to Edinburgh castle. From thence he returned on the following day to Holyrood palace, and on the 18th of June 1633, was Charles I. crowned in the abbey church of Holyrood, with unwonted ceremonies and perhaps unexampled splendour (*d*). In the official language of that age, the coronation of the king was called *giving him his crown.*

On 20th of June 1633, Charles I. assembled his first parliament of Scotland in the *Tolbooth* of Edinburgh, the appropriate place of such meetings in recent reigns. Every privilege of every body was now ratified, and every right of every person was at the same time confirmed (*e*). In perusing the statutes of that session, one can hardly suppose that a single grievance existed in a happy land. Yet no conclusion could be more fallacious. A thousand jealousies existed, and many

(*c*) Spalding, in his history of the Troubles in Scotland, p. 20, gives the most minute account of the ceremonial on that joyous occasion. Maitl. Edin. 63-4. In the same book, we may see the learned puerilities of Drummond, the best poet of a sterile age. His pageant exhibits: Caledonia's Speech; the Muses Song; Endymion's Speech; Saturn's Speech; Jove's Speech; the Sun's Speech; the Speech of Venus; Mercury's Speech; the Speech of the Moon; Endymion's Speech:

> "Whenever Fame abroad his praise shall ring,
> All shall observe and serve this blessed king."

How *he was served* needs not be told.

(*d*) See Spalding, as above, for much curious detail.

(*e*) The acts concerning religion were confirmed. There were ratifications of the College of Justice; there was a ratification of the privileges of the royal burghs; there was a general ratification of the rights of the whole people; and the interest of money was reduced from *ten* to *eight* per cent., though the king was to enjoy for some years two per cent. of the reduced interest. See Table of the printed Acts.

fears were propagated; while the people's minds were prepared to receive every imputation and to listen to every suggestion. This seems to be the first time that we hear of any direct attack made on the authority of the three Estates. It was given out that the parliament itself had been packed, that votes were bought, that voices were not truly numbered, and that some acts were passed without a plurality of suffrages (*f*); but it is not easy to discover at present what could be the statutes which were obtained by such ignominious means (*g*). Charles I. had scarcely retired from Edinburgh when those discontents were openly avowed. In 1634, the Town Council of Edinburgh applied to the king for a charter empowering the inhabitants to form themselves into several companies of militia. They were desired to form their companies so as to show their intentions (*h*). Whatever may have been the king's distrust in 1636 he gave a charter to the city of Edinburgh, confirming all the privileges which had been granted by his progenitors (*i*).

Meantime Charles I., without adverting how much the current of popular opinion ran in Scotland against any thing episcopal, in 1633 established the episcopate of Edinburgh and a liturgy for the Scottish church. The Service Book owed its origin to James I., which was approved by the assembly of 1616. From that period, the English liturgy was used in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, in some of the cathedral churches, and even in the new college of St. Andrews, though without apparent discontent. But there had been a great progress of dislike in the intervenient period; and when the Service Book, which was chiefly copied from that of England, was read in St. Giles's

(*f*) See the king's large declaration of 1639.

(*g*) We may remark, indeed, that the statutes which were made confirming the rights of the reformed kirk, were not hitherto well received by the clergy, as they seemed to think their rights to have been derived from some higher source than the highest temporal power. The Scottish clergy never considered their privileges as safe while episcopacy of the most limited sort existed in the land. They constantly endeavoured to gain many partizans, particularly at *the fasts*, which they held four times a-year. Previous to the meeting of the parliament in 1633, they resolved to present a petition to the king and parliament for a redress of all their grievances, real and pretended. The Earl of Rothes, on the same day that the king made his entry into Edinburgh, waited on Charles I. at Dalkeith, with their petition. The king, having read the petition, returned it to Rothes, saying, No more of this, I command you. To this source may be traced up the calumnies which were propagated of that parliament, and the discontent which ensued, though so many rights were confirmed. The conferring of new titles on some nobles, made these ungrateful and many discontented. Add to all those causes of discontent, the resumption, which the king had made early in his reign, of the improvident or illegal grants of his predecessors, a measure that generally gave great offence, however legal it might be.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 285.

(*i*) Ib. 257-68.

church at Edinburgh, a tumult ensued (*k*). In October 1637, a great concourse of people, of every rank, resorted to Edinburgh to avow their discontent, and declare their opposition to the Service Book. A proclamation commanding them to disperse was issued in vain. A fresh tumult ensued, which was followed by a second proclamation, with as little effect. The Privy Council and the Court of Session now removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow. This measure was followed by a still greater tumult (*l*). In December 1637, a proclamation was made at Edinburgh that it was not the king's intention to make any alteration in religion (*m*); yet, was not the Service Book even now relinquished as untenable (*n*).

During the subsequent year discontent was animated into rebellion. On the 21st of February 1638, the cross of Edinburgh was covered in state, and a proclamation made from it, prohibiting opposition to the Book of Common Prayer (*o*). Against this prohibition a public protest was made, with equal solemnity. There thus appears a wonderful infatuation that Charles I. should risk a kingdom for such an object; and that the Scottish people should hazard a civil war to avoid a Service Book. Yet, a convocation of people was now made at Edinburgh to oppose it. This measure was met by a fresh proclamation, and the covenant was at length renewed, in the Gray Friars churchyard (*p*). The magistrates of Edinburgh now ordered the citizens to prepare themselves for war (*q*), and the covenanters also made military preparations, as if civil war were a slight evil. At length, on the 22d of September 1638, a proclamation was made, at the cross of Edinburgh, relinquishing the Service Book, the Book of Canons, and the high commission (*r*). Such a measure might have prevented hostilities had it been taken a twelvemonth sooner. Edinburgh castle became, at length, a great object with both parties. The covenanters beleaguered it in December 1638. The town council concurred with them, by raising five hundred men, and voting £50,000 of Scots money for their maintenance (*s*). The covenanters now took the king's house of

(*k*) Maitl. Edin. 71-2; Arnot, 107-9.

(*l*) Maitl. Edin. 73; Arnot's Edin. 110.

(*m*) Spalding, i. 59-60-61.

(*n*) The king was studious to inform his people, in his large declaration, 1639, that religion was only pretended, as a palliation of the intended rebellion; as the seeds of sedition had been sown by the covenanters long before any religious grievances were heard of among them.

(*o*) Spalding, i. 63-4.

(*p*) Maitl. 75; Arnot, 113; Spalding, i. 68.

(*q*) Maitl. 81.

(*r*) Spalding, i. 83.

(*s*) Id. 84; Maitl. 82-3-4. The castle being unprovided with provisions, surrendered on the 21st of March 1639, after a slight assault.

Dalkeith, where they found the *regalia*, which they carried to Edinburgh castle, and many arms and much ammunition, that they appropriated to the uses of war; and they now fortified Leith against an expected armament (*u*). The Marquis of Hamilton, who like his fathers, saw some interest in such commotions, came into the Forth with a fleet and army which he had no purpose to employ; and the pacification was made at Berwick on the 21st of May 1639, between the contending parties; the king to retain, and the clergy to gain the sovereignty of Scotland. A public thanksgiving was made at Edinburgh, when a declaration was made that the citizens would adhere to the assembly, though perhaps without any very specific motive. Edinburgh castle was, on that occasion, delivered to the Marquis of Hamilton, as the king's officer. The fortifications of Leith were demolished, and the arms and ammunition which it contained were transferred to the castle (*x*). A proclamation was made at the Cross of Edinburgh during the existing tranquility, forbidding the use of fire arms, on pain of death; but this proclamation was disregarded by those who considered the present quiet as only a prelude to future war (*y*). The parliament which sat at Edinburgh in December 1639, rose amidst mutual criminations of unconstitutional conduct. The magistrates of Edinburgh, in the meantime, pretended to deliver the power of governing their town to the committee of insurrection.

Peace, indeed, could scarcely be preserved, while the minds of men were so distracted by jealousies and fears, and the officers of state were egregiously corrupt (*z*). With the year 1640, began fresh preparations for inveterate war (*a*). In March, the magistrates of Edinburgh raised fortifications to defend the town against the castle; exercised the citizens in arms; and appointed a guard during the night. Ruthen, the governor of the castle, remonstrated in vain. They continued their hostile demonstrations, and he fired upon the town from the castle. Lesley, the Scottish general, after mustering his army at Leith, invested the castle, which resisted his efforts; and at length the governor of the

(*u*) Arnot, 121. (*x*) Spalding, i. 184-5. (*y*) Spalding, i, 195.

(*z*) See the king's declaration of the year 1640, for an exposition of his motives, which show, that scarcely any of the stipulations of the treaty of Berwick had been executed by his opponents.

(*a*) The insurgent nobles applied to the French king for assistance. Their letter is printed in the king's Declaration 1640, and was laid before the English parliament. In the meantime, the popular leaders in England, by various intrigues, urged the Scottish insurgents to persevere in their pretensions. Professor Mackay's MS. Collections.

castle capitulated for want of provisions (*b*). The war of 1640, between vigour and irresolution, was carried on without success by the king's officers; and further hostilities were prevented by the treaty of Ripon, on the 2nd of September 1640, which was confirmed at London, and which left the king little more than a choice of difficulties.

Charles I. came to Edinburgh, for a second time, on the 14th of August 1641, "to perfect, as he said, what he had promised, and to quiet distraction for the people's satisfaction (*c*)." But as he attempted impossibilities, he came only to see his friends prosecuted, and to reward his enemies. He consented to the various parliamentary proceedings which changed the constitution from limited monarchy to unrestrained democracy; and he agreed to an act of oblivion, which saved harmless the successful insurgents, and delivered his unfortunate supporters to several punishments (*d*). On the 17th of November 1641, he departed from this disgraceful scene at Edinburgh, to meet fresh mortifications at London (*e*). A committee of the Estates continued to sit at Edinburgh, to domineer over all under the pretence of government.

Edinburgh, as it was the capital of the kingdom, continued to be the great seat of fanatical insurrection. The magistrates of this city were induced by their prepossessions to adhere to the covenant, and were carried forward by their prejudices to raise a regiment of twelve hundred men, which cost them nearly £60,000 Scottish money (*f*). A new covenant was made at Edinburgh, in October 1643, which was sworn to in St. Giles's church (*g*). In March 1545, the plague superadded its desolations to the waste of civil war. Happily, this pestilence, which then joined its ravages to the delusions of fanaticism, was the last that afflicted this wretched city (*h*).

Meantime, a parliament, like the unwarrantable convention of 1560, convened at Edinburgh on the 8th of January 1645, without any representation of the

(*b*) Spalding, i., 214—260-1.

(*c*) Spalding, i., 218-19.

(*d*) See the statutes of the session 1640-1.

(*e*) Spalding, i., 335-6.

(*f*) Maitl. Edin., 110. The raising of those men was designed to carry into effect the treaty between the English parliament and the Scottish, that the Scots should furnish 21,000 men to England, at the rate of £21,000 sterling a month. The popular factions of the two kingdoms were now playing into one another's hands the game of fanatical folly. The English faction had enabled the Scottish to outfight and overreach Charles I.; and the Scottish faction was now in the act of enabling the English to overreach and overcome the same deluded prince. The practices of both ended in what might have been foreseen, if prejudice had not overpowered the wisest minds, in the tyranny of a protector.

(*g*) Arnot, 125; Maitl., 282.

(*h*) Maitl., Edin., 85-6; Arnot, 259.

king, but with the Earl of Lauderdale for its president, the same earl who acted as the dictator of Scotland in the subsequent reign. Five committees sat daily at Edinburgh. This activity of legislation produced an *excise* on almost every article of consumption. The murmurs of the citizens, as they were heard without feeling by the magistrates, broke out into tumult. But the clergy convinced them that their present and future happiness was the object of this excise, which was perceived to be new, and was felt to be oppressive (*i*).

Yet the citizens had merited their sufferings, from their misconduct throughout so many years. Edinburgh, from this period, partook, with the national councils, of the scandal arising from the sale of the king for money, of his subsequent murder, and of the subjugation of the state (*k*). After that violent demise of the tarnished diadem, the city of Edinburgh joined in what was called the national engagement in favour of Charles II. In the place of the quota of twelve hundred men, which the citizens ought to have raised, they agreed to give £40,000 Scottish money. Yet were they obliged to borrow it, so exhausted were their means. They afterward endeavoured to avoid this debt by pleading the unlawfulness of such an engagement. They consulted the assembly of divines, who supported their scruples, as the money had been borrowed for an uncovenanted purpose. Yet were they compelled by a new power, in December 1652, at the suit of their creditors, to fulfil their contract, which the English judges deemed just, and the Scottish clergy unlawful. Such

(*i*) Arnot, 122 : Spalding, ii., 265-7.

(*k*) The Scottish army, on the 30th January 1646-7, in consideration of £400,000, delivered the king to the English commissioners. This was confirmed by an act of the state, some of the statemen sharing largely in those wages of villany. In vain did the committee of the Estates send Lothian, Cheiselie, and Glendoning, to London, in December 1648, to care for the state. In vain did those commissioners give in a futile protestation against taking away the king's life. In vain did the assembly of the kirk give in a testimony to the same effect. The state and church were both declared to be useless, and their conduct offensive: and they soon received from their commissioners at London, the following result of their absurd mission, as appears from Mr. Professor Mackay's MS. :

"Right reverend and Honourable. This day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, his majesty "was brought out at the window of the balcony of the banqueting-house of Whitehall, near which a "stage was set up, and his head was struck off with an axe: wherewith we hold it our duty to inform "you: and so being in haste, we shall say no more at this time, but that we remain, your most affec-"tionate friends. Lothian.—Jo. Cheiselie.—Ro. Blair."

Covent Garden,)
30th January 1649.)

mental confusion had arisen, from the absurd casuistry of political and religious anarchy during so many wretched years (*l*).

The public affairs of a ruined people had now become quite inextricable, from the discordant opinions and profligate conduct of so many clergy and nobles. Wanting a pageant, they invited Charles II. to become their covenanted king; and, on the 15th of July 1650, was he proclaimed king at the cross of Edinburgh (*m*). But a very different personage was now at hand, who established the quiet of Scotland by the unhallowed means of its subjugation. Cromwell passed the Tweed on the 22d of July 1650, and, marching forward through Lothian, encamped on the Pentland ridge above Edinburgh. The Scottish army then lay at Corstorphine, under Lesley; but they soon moved to a more secure position, between Edinburgh and Leith, where they entrenched themselves, protected on either flank by the batteries on Calton hill and by the fortifications of Leith. Cromwell, finding this camp to be impregnable, while the caution of Lesley allowed him no advantage, retired first to Musselburgh, and afterward retreated to Dunbar. By knowing the country, Lesley was enabled to seize the passes of the Lammermuir before Cromwell could pass their defiles. On the 3d of September 1650, however, the ecclesiastical commissaries attending the Scottish army, by obliging Lesley to leave his strong position, and to fight a doubtful field, delivered the Scottish army into Cromwell's hands. Edinburgh was now subdued by its own fears, and was left by the magistrates without a government (*n*). On the 7th of the same month Cromwell took possession of Leith and Edinburgh, invested the castle, and seized the fortlets of Roslin and Borthwick; and at the end of three months, Edinburgh castle surrendered by capitulation (*o*). At the expiration of fifteen months' absence, the town council resumed the government from those citizens who had ruled prudently during the necessary inattention of the constituted authorities. They probably found leisure, during their flight, to reflect how much, by their own follies, they had contributed to the conquest of their city and the subjugation of the kingdom.

(*l*) The historians of Edinburgh speak with indignation of the dishonesty of the citizens and the knavery of the clergy. Maitl. Edin. 87-91; Arnot. 123. In a statement of the debts of the city, in 1690, the above debt of £40,000 was charged £60,000. While the magistrates were preparing to receive Charles II., they went out, accompanied by the hangman, to introduce the great Montrose, who was executed at their cross with every circumstance of brutal exultation. Arnot, 129-30-1.

(*m*) On the arrival of Charles II., in pursuance of the negotiation at Breda, the city of Edinburgh presented him with £20,000 Scots. Maitl. Edin. 110.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin. 89. (*o*) Arnot, 135; Heath's Chron. 280.

The English commissioners for ruling Scotland arrived at Dalkeith in January 1652, and the citizens found it necessary to ask their consent, before they chose their own magistrates; so fallen were they, after dictating to their legitimate sovereign, and after feeling the humiliation of conquest (*p*). As they were now freed from the domination of the clergy, and were not oppressed by Cromwell, who had other objects, the citizens enjoyed more quiet, as well as security, than they had possessed for many a wretched year of covenanted domination. They saw, however, English people settle at Leith, under the encouragement of Cromwell, who here built a citadel at a great expense (*q*). Scotland now enjoyed unusual quiet, under the strong arm of positive conquest, by her ancient adversaries. The clergy were at length restrained from their accustomed calumnies. Justice was equally administered by strangers, who did not enter into party connections with which they were unacquainted. And the whole people began to breathe, after such terrible agitations; their minds being freed from the tyranny of the clergy; their persons being secured from the outrages of faction; and their estates being safe from exactions beyond their abilities. So completely had the nation been exhausted by so many efforts which were beyond its powers, there was scarcely a person or a community in that kingdom which could pay their debts. The city of Edinburgh owed £55,000 sterling, which it was unable to satisfy. Such was the debilitated state of Scotland, when Monk marched, in December 1559, into England, with perhaps no very predetermined design, though he undoubtedly meant well.

The conquest of Scotland, and its union with England, had scarcely left it any constituted authorities, who could concur in the meditated *Restoration.* After the two houses of parliament in England had *determined to settle the civil government in the ancient channel,* the town council of Edinburgh addressed a letter to the king, on the 11th of May 1660, which was signed by Sir James Stewart, the *lord provost.* The citizens lament that *the iniquity* of *the times* had so long prevented them from tendering their faithful service; they declared their concurrence with those who had prudently laid themselves out to settle the king upon the throne of his dominions; and they rejoiced that they might now expect, from their lawful prince, a redress of those grievances under which *they had so long fainted* (*r*). Thomson, the town clerk of Edinburgh, was

(*p*) Maitl. Edin. 89. (*q*) Maitl. Edin. 91-6.

(*r*) From their feelings, they assured the king that, "the land had been impoverished, subdued, and kept in bondage, by that party who hath invaded us upon the account of adhering

the only authorized person who waited on the king from Scotland. He was received with the *most gracious acceptance.* He appears to have had some authority on that occasion from the *royal burghs,* in whose name he presented "a poor myte of a thousand poundss terling (*s*)," which yet was one-tenth of the city of London's gift. So great was the joy at Edinburgh when the citizens heard of the king's arrival in England, that they caused a sumptuous banquet to be made at their market cross. The king was so pleased with all those attentions, that he ratified some of their old privileges, and promised a confirmation of their several rights (*t*); but it was not till the 22d of August 1660, that the king abolished the English tribunals in Scotland (*u*), re-established its ancient forms of government, appointed the officers of state, and directed a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, to whom he referred the preparing of an act of indemnity, to save from legal penalties a guilty nation. The keeping of Christmas at Edinburgh by persons of all degrees, except a few ministers, was deemed a proof of the renovation of rationality over fanaticism (*x*).

The parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 1st of January 1661, under Lord Middleton, as the king's commissioner. The constitution was now restored with the king's legal authority. The public transactions during the last three-and-twenty years were reprobated as grossly unwarrantable. The acts of the seven parliaments, which sat from 1640 to 1648, were rescinded as unconstitutional in their commencements and violent in their proceedings.

to your majesty, the true religion established among us hath been exposed to hazard by the deluges of error and division, for which a door was kept open by that power which held us under." Yet, the magistrates of Edinburgh had concurred very zealously in the factious follies, which, during three-and-twenty years, had involved the country in desolation, and drenched it in blood. Nor is it easy to find a single person of any consequence in Scotland who can fairly be considered as guiltless of the ruin of their country, so general were the delusions of *the covenant*; all but *the doctors* of Aberdeen, who are so emphatically commended by Clarendon for the superiority of their learning, and the firmness of their spirit.

(*s*) Sir William Lower, in his relation of the king's proceedings in Holland, from the 25th of May to the 2d of June 1660, does not notice the town clerk's acceptance with the king; nor, indeed, the approach of any person from Scotland, though the Earl of Lauderdale is said to have repaired to the king soon after he was discharged from his imprisonment. Lauderdale was, in consequence, appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. On the 3d of March 1660, the Earls of Crawford, Lauderdale, and Lord Sinclair, were released from their imprisonment in Windsor castle.

(*t*) Maitl. Edin. 96-7.

(*u*) Law and government were never better administered in Scotland than by those *English Tribunals.*

(*v*) The Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 1.

The motive which was assigned by the parliament for annulling the transactions of so many parliamentary meetings, was "that all the miseries which "this kingdom had groaned under during three-and-twenty years, were the "necessary consequences of the invasions by pretending reformation, (the "common cloak, say the parliament, of all rebellions), on the royal autho-"rity (*y*). Such, then, was the sober opinion of the Scottish legislators at the end of more than twenty years of innovation and fanaticism, of warfare and conquest, when they had learned wisdom in the school of adversity. The parliament, at this sitting, passed various laws of domestic economy, which tended to employ the people after so many years of idleness (*z*); and the Estates settled a revenue on the king during his life, for the necessary charge of his Scottish government, whereof the town and county of Edinburgh raised a sixth (*a*). In that first parliament of Charles II., there passed an act ratifying to Edinburgh its new charter of confirmation, its power of regality over the Canongate, and its customs, which were collected at the toll-house in in the moor (*b*).

The parliament again assembled at Edinburgh on the 8th of May 1662. The practices of late times appear to have dictated almost all the laws of this parliament. The ancient government of the church by archbishops and bishops was now re-established (*c*). An act was passed for preserving the king's person and authority, wherein the late *leagues* and *covenants* were censured as immoral, and nullified as illegal (*d*). A declaration of fidelity

(*y*) See the statutes of the first Parl. Charles II.

(*z*) See the several statutes among the acts of this session.

(*a*) Of that sum, Edinburgh, the Canongate, and Leith, raised £3,732; Edinburgh county £2,660; which amounted to £6,392, whereof the town raised a tenth. In 1663, the parliament settled the proportions of the excise for three months. Of the whole £29,325 16s., the shire of Edinburgh was to pay £2,140; and the town £2,923; and thus again the town paid *one tenth* of the whole, and the shire more than *one sixth*. In 1667, the convention of estates gave a voluntary aid of £72,000 a-month; which were assessed on the 33 shires at £60,000, and the 62 burghs at £12,000; the town of Edinburgh at £5,320; being much more than one third of the whole burghs, and the shire of Edinburgh, at £3,183 8s. In 1663, the parliament made a voluntary offer of 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry; whereof Edinburghshire furnished 800 infantry and 74 cavalry; and Edinburgh and Leith furnished 800 infantry. In these proportions of men, the counties of Haddington and Berwick were equal to Edinburghshire, though they were much below it in the supplies of money.

(*b*) Unprinted Acts. (*c*) Act, No. 1.

(*d*) Ib. No. 2. The proceedings of the Glasgow assembly in 1638, were specifically annulled as seditious and unlawful.

was prescribed to all persons in public trust (*e*). There was passed the usual act of revocation, of acts done or rights granted during the king's minority (*f*); and there was passed an act of pardon and oblivion, with very few exceptions, considering the multitude of the guilty and the enormity of the crimes. But such laws were enacted in vain, when so many persons in Scotland denied the authority of the temporal legislature, and professed obedience only to their spiritual superiors.

In this state of men's minds the votaries of the late covenant carried their discontents into insurrection. They disarmed some of the king's troops in Dumfries. They now marched under such leaders as they could find to Lanark, and thence proceeded towards Edinburgh. The city was now put into a posture of defence. The gates were barricaded; no one was allowed to go out without a passport; the neighbouring gentlemen were called in for its protection; and the College of Justice armed its members, in support of the law against insurgency. The privy council sent General Dalziel to suppress the insurgents. They were at length encountered by the king's troops at Rullion-Green, among the Pentland hills, on the 28th of November 1666. Fifty of them were killed, a hundred and thirty were made prisoners, and the remaining fanatics were dispersed. On the 7th of December, ten of the rebellious enthusiasts were executed at Edinburgh, avowing their disobedience to the king and the laws, and glorying in their fanaticism and fate. Their avowed motive was adherence to *the covenant*, in opposition to law, according to the maxims which had come down to them from their fathers, who had been instructed by Knox in the Genevan principles and practice.

Under such maxims, quiet could not exist within the land, where the law and the populace stood opposed to each other. As the practice of assassination had also come down from their fathers to the fanatics, one Mitchel, in attempting to murder the archbishop in Edinburgh streets, wounded the bishop of Orkney. After a while he was irregularly tried, and corruptly condemned, though of his enormous guilt there could be no doubt. On the day of his execution, the women of Edinburgh assembled to rescue this odious assassin; but he was too powerfully guarded to admit of female deliverance (*h*).

Throughout this guilty reign, the law and the lower orders constantly opposed each other. The covenanted ministers and their wretched disciples avowed

(*e*) Act, No. 5. (*f*) Ib. No. 8. (*g*) Ib. No. 10.

(*h*) Arnot's Edin. 148-50; and see the *Ravillac Redivivus* of the celebrated Doctor Hickes.

the most dangerous doctrines, and practised the basest actions (*i*). The rulers of those infatuated people could find no other measures for restraining enthusiasm and inducing acquiescence, than the threats of death and the violences of coercion. The government was thus violent and severe, while the populace were disobedient and obstinate. A standing army left the metropolis, in the meantime, no other measures than pliability and subservience (*k*).

Those anarchical proceedings were not altogether confined to the church. A schism existed within the College of Justice. During an age when so much of the law was either unknown or uncertain, it was a litigated point whether an appeal lay from the Court of Session, which seems to have come in the place of the judicial power of the parliament, to the king and his estates (*l*). The king, upon reviewing the whole matter, and wishing to preserve the authority of the court, directed the advocates to acquiesce, or to be debarred from their functions. The advocates refused to acquiesce, and they were joined by forty other advocates, who deserted the bar, avowing the same opinions. The contumacious counsellors were now ordered by the privy

(*i*) In 1681, the government published an impartial account of the confessions of the conspirators, in order to expose to the world the wild opinions, both as to religion and law, which were avowed and practised by the deluded followers of the covenanted ministers. On the 5th of May 1684, there was published a proclamation, with a *list* of *Fugitives*, which has been transcribed into Wodrow's App. No. xciv. It shows, with satisfactory evidence, that the persons who defied the laws and pretended to dictate to the church, were servants, low tenants, weavers, shoemakers, tailors and other tradesmen; but there were among them scarcely any landlords or any persons of the learned professions, and only a few vagrant preachers, with the women, who were fugitives for receiving the guilty. Men and women of somewhat higher ranks of life may have approved of the covenanted practices, though they did not think fit to appear openly in the same cause.

(*k*) The town council gave large sums of money to the profuse and profligate Lauderdale for his good offices. Mait. Edin., 99. And the king was induced to restore to the citizens the right of choosing their own magistrates, as well as to give them, by charter, additional privileges. Id.

(*l*) The king's proclamation, dated the 12th of December 1674, flings some light on this obscure subject, which has been misunderstood by ill-formed history. It recites, that having learned that the Earl of Aboyne had appealed from the lords of our council and session to *Us and our Estates of parliament*; and this being a *strange* and *unaccustomed practice*, the lords did require the advocates, in this appeal, to give their oaths whether they had advised such an appeal. But this request the advocates refused; and instead of justifying that appeal, gave in a paper stating another kind of appeal, having only the effect of *a protestation for remeid of law without sitting process*. The court and the advocates wrote to the king justifying their several proceedings. The king decided in favour of the court, and declined to receive any appeal *to him* and *his Estates*; and he quoted the statute of James II., which seems to preclude such appeals; and he instanced the refusal of the parliament of October 1663, who refused to review a decision of the court of session. The above proceedings were censured by the Convention of 1689.

council, acting under the king's command, not to remain within twelve miles of Edinburgh, while they refused obedience to the Court of Session. This juridical schism would alone show the high passion of the times, if so many rebellions upon the avowed principle of disregarding the authority of the king and the laws did not evince the complete anarchy of those terrible times. The youth adopted some of the principles of the old. At Christmas 1680, the students of the College resolved to burn the effigy of the pope, in contempt perhaps of the Duke of York's religion. The magistrates of Edinburgh interposed, and a tumult ensued. The College was now shut up, and the students were required to depart twelve miles from this tumultuous city. The College, however, was soon opened, and the students were again admitted. Yet is there reason to believe that some of those students set fire to the lord provost's house of Priestfield (*a*), and by such an action evinced more malignity than usually actuates youthful minds.

In the midst of those events, the Duke of York came to Edinburgh during the year 1679, as a sort of banishment from court. The magistrates entertained him magnificently. He tried, by every agreeable art, to please and to be pleased (*b*). He introduced *the drama* and other elegant amusements, which, had they been steadily practised, might have been attended with salutary consequences. They would have gradually corrected the sour and sullen temper of the populace, which positive statute can never correct, and acrimonious edicts can only increase. But he did not remain at Edinburgh long enough for the application of such correctives, or to show how much could be effected by popular attentions (*c*).

(*a*) Arnot's Edin. 392. (*b*) Mait. Edin., 286-9.

(*c*) The following dates will exhibit more distinctly than any history, the Duke of York's scanty intercourse with Edinburgh. On the 27th of October 1679, the duke set out for Scotland. On the 28th of January 1680, the king declared in council that he would send for the duke, finding no good effects from his absence. On the 24th of February, the duke and duchess came to court. On the 20th of October 1680, they set out for Scotland. On the 22d of June 1681, the king sent a deputation to the duke to be his commissioner to the parliament of Scotland. On the 11th of March 1683, the duke met the king at Newmarket. On the 3d of May 1683, the duke embarked on board the Gloucester frigate for Scotland; on the 5th of May she struck on the sand called the Lemon and Oar; on the 7th, however, he arrived at Edinburgh; he changed the officers of state; and he returned to London on the 27th of the same month. The privy council, on the 2d of November 1680, thanked the king for the favour of sending the duke to Scotland. In February of the subsequent year, amid frost and snow, the duke made an excursion from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, Falkirk, and Stirling; and he was every where received with welcome, entertainments, and applause.

On the 28th of August 1681, he held a parliament, in person, at Edinburgh. The statutes of this session seem to have been dictated by the sad state of the country. All former laws for the security of the protestant religion were confirmed. The right of the succession to the crown was asserted in such terms as to comprehend the duke, notwithstanding *any difference* in his religion. A new supply was voluntarily offered. An act for securing the peace of the country was passed, with a view to those unhappy people who carried up their zeal for *the covenant* to positive frenzy. This was followed by an act against *assassinations*, which were practised and avowed by the same zealots. But the statute which was attended by the greatest consequences was the *test* act, and which imposed an *oath* so complicated as to be unintelligible without much study. Such were the laws enforcing *protestantism*, which were now enacted under the *papistical* commissioner. With the exception of some laws of domestic economy, the statutes of this session show the statesmen to have been full as fanatical, though in a different extreme, as the wildest of the populace. It is not to be lamented that *the Estates*, while actuated by such a spirit, did not again sit during the present reign.

Of the infelicities of those times, Edinburgh felt its full share. As the seat of a severe government, and the garrison of a standing army, it was not much disturbed by tumult; but it witnessed assassinations, which were openly committed in its streets; it beheld a thousand punishments inflicted in its public places; and it saw the mangled limbs of the guilty exhibited daily on its bloody gates (*d*). At length the town council tried to ingratiate themselves with the Duke of York, by every mode of adulation, and by every species of service (*e*).

Charles II. unexpectedly demised on the 7th of February 1685, the news whereof reached Edinburgh on the 10th of the same month; and thereupon a theatre was erected at the cross of Edinburgh, when the militia were drawn out; and at ten o'clock the chancellor, treasurer, and whole officers of state, with the nobility and privy council, the lords of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, came to the cross with the lion king at arms and his heralds; the chancellor carried his own purse, and weeping, proclaimed James Duke of Albany the only undoubted and lawful king of this realm, the clerk register reading the words of the act, and all of them swore fealty and allegiance to

(*d*) See Lord Fountainhall's Dec. Index, article, *Edinburgh.*

(*e*) See their letters in Maitl. Edin., 104; and they even voluntarily offered a supply of seven months assessment for supporting the duke's succession. Ib. 105.

the new king, whose title was thus pronounced to be undoubted (*f*). All officers were continued by the king's proclamation. The castle shot a round of guns, and a sermon was preached, wherein Mr. John Robert, the preacher, did regret their loss; but desired them to dry up their tears, when they looked upon so brave and excellent a successor (*g*). The magistrates of Edinburgh transmitted an address of felicitation, which was graciously received, and obligingly acknowledged. At that epoch they erected in the Parliament Square the equestrian statue of Charles II., which still attracts popular admiration (*h*).

A new parliament was convened at Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1685. The first act of James's first parliament was a confirmation of all former laws for the security of the protestant religion as professed in Scotland. The Estates passed an act of absurd adulation, with an offer of the excise to the king (*i*). There were passed also, in that session, some useful laws of domestic economy, while the recent attainders of various persons were confirmed, in a rigid tone of vindictive legislation (*k*).

(*f*) The Act of Parliament which was then read by the clerk register was that of the 3rd Parl. Cha. II., No. 2, asserting the right of succession to the imperial crown of Scotland, passed on the 13th of August 1681. The above ceremonial of the proclamation of James VII. is transcribed from Lord Fountainhall, i., 336-9, who was present. His lordship was studious to quote the Institute of Wesembecius, who says, *coronatio principis non est necessaria.* He might have also quoted Sir George Mackenzie's Observations on the Statutes, 174-5, who insists, that neither a *coronation,* nor *a coronation oath,* are necessary to the king's title. A late writer of history says: "The coronation oath for Scotland was declined by James, as repugnant to the religion which he proposed to introduce." But there was no declinature of what was unnecessary in law, which was correlative with the coronation, that was itself only a mere ceremony. In his letter, dated the 18th of March 1685, to the Scottish parliament, the kings says: "We were fully resolved, *in person,* to have proposed the needful remedies to you; but things having so fallen out as render this *impossible for us,* we have thought fit to send our cousin and counsellor, William Duke of Queensberry, to be our commissioner among you." Wodrow, ii., 145.

(*g*) Fountainhall, i., 339. There was also published soon after *an Act of Indemnity,* with some exceptions. Wodrow, ii., App. No. ciii.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin., 105. What was of still more importance, the magistrates, at the same time, directed lights to be hung out for illuminating their inconvenient streets, which were not yet half paved. The revenues of Edinburgh were exhausted in gratuities to statesmen during an age that had been corrupted by civil wars.

(*i*) Stat. Ch. 11, of that session. The parliament passed also an Act of Supply. The religious state of the country called for several acts against the *covenant* and *conventicles.* There was also passed *an Act for the Clergy,* in which the king declares his firm resolution to maintain the church in its present government by archbishops and bishops, and not to endure, or connive at, any derogation from its rights. In the same spirit the *test* was enforced by a new law.

(*k*) See the unprinted Acts of that session. There was an Act, "ratifying and approving the Earl

The statutes of such a parliament are the best proofs of the sentiments of the people. Unhappily, too many of the populace had for years stood opposed to the legislature and the laws, according to the absurd maxims which had come down from their fathers to them. Hence, the imprudent invasion by Argyle, which involved the country in so many troubles, and stained the capital with so much blood (*l*).

The epoch of the king's purpose to change the religion of the state in Scotland by the introduction of popery, notwithstanding so many laws for supporting protestantism, seems to have been October 1685. His measures of conversion were at first secret; but in the progress of proselytism his conduct became more open. Edinburgh was the chief scene of his religious follies (*m*).

of Argyle's forfeiture." When Argyle, on the 20th of June 1685, was paraded through the streets of Edinburgh to the castle, with his hands bound, his head bare, and with the hangman walking before him, he was treated as a person attainted by parliament. Historians, who are carried away by their commiseration, do not advert to that essential circumstance. It throws additional light on the obscure story of Argyle's conduct, to state that he was indebted to Heriot's Hospital £58,403 10s. Scots money, which the corporation of Edinburgh was obliged to pay to the hospital. This seems to show that Argyle was in ruined circumstances. On the 21st of the preceding May, the Countess of Argyle, with her family, had been committed to Edinburgh Castle; and several of the burgesses of Edinburgh were also secured. About the same time, the magistrates of Edinburgh enjoined the citizens to give in the names of strangers lodging with them, as many disloyal persons were supposed to be harboured in the town.

(*l*) They had resolved, saith Lord Fountainhall, to have regimented and armed the College of Justice, when news came to Edinburgh, on the 9th of June, that Argyle was taken. Dec. i., 364. The Duke of Monmouth, on the 9th of June 1685, was cited by proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh, to appear at the criminal court to answer a charge of treason. It must have been for crimes, saith Fountainhall, posterior to the last king's remission, in December 1683. The fee of Buccleuch, it was thought, he adds, could not be forfeited for his fault; as his lady and children had *the right*, while he had only his life, in the estate. The invasion of Monmouth was not then known at Edinburgh. At Michaelmas 1685, the king nominated Bailie Kennedy to be the provost; and he was accordingly admitted. By this we see, saith Fountainhall, i., 370, the king intends to assume the nomination of the Provost of Edinburgh into his own hands in future, as also of the other considerable towns in Scotland. Wodrow, ii., 575.

(*m*) On the 28th of October 1685, a letter came to the bishop of Edinburgh, which was signed by Secretary Murray, signifying that the king was informed of seditious speeches which had been uttered in the pulpits of Edinburgh, tending to stir up the people to a dislike of the king or the Popish religion; and ordaining the bishop to advert thereto *on his peril*. The bishop convened his ministers, and intimated this to them. Fountainhall, i., 371. The fact is, however, that the Duke of Queensberry, when he was appointed the king's commissioner to the parliament of April 1685, was instructed "to suffer nothing to pass to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics, more than was already." Ib., 374. This carries back the king's intentions, with regard to his religion, to a much earlier period, at least with regard to *defensive measures*.

On the first of the subsequent November, the king's letter was read at the privy council, dispensing with *the test*, in favour of *some papists* who had been named in the supply act of April 1685. It was pretended that those papists had been inserted by mistake; and they were therefore exempted from the test, that they might act without it. "This seemed a downright derogation from the act of parliament 1685, and not within the king's power (*n*)." The dispensing power was thus plainly avowed; and his purpose, not only to protect the papists from persecution, but to give them power and to encourage proselytism was apparent. The whole conduct of James VII. on this head, as he was not defective in understanding, is one of the most singular instances of absurd delusion which is recorded in any history. The experience of five-and-twenty years had shown that protestant episcopacy, with every support of law and government, could scarcely be maintained in Scotland against the prejudice of the populace and the practices of fanaticism, which, at that period, had produced so many odious crimes and so many popular ebulitions. How hopeless then the endeavour to introduce and support popery in such a country against law, and in the face of such firm conviction in the wisest minds. We may thus perceive, also, that religion was the king's great object, and the dispensing power only a secondary means.

With the opening of the year 1686, the king's design became more apparent. An order was made by the privy council, directing the stationers of Edinburgh neither to sell nor print any books reflecting on popery (*o*). A tumult soon after ensued in Edinburgh, when to such an order was added the saying of mass in an open manner, however contrary to law. The privy council, actuated by the heat of the new converted chancellor, the Earl of Perth, directed a young baker, who had acted riotously, to be whipped by the common executioner; but he was rescued from the officer, who was himself insulted by the populace. The king's guards were now ordered to disperse the rioters, who were tried

(*n*) Lord Fountainhall's Decisions, i., 374. There was another clause, he adds, "*without prejudice* to the king, to dispense with any others he pleased." Id. This letter, he goes on, alarmed some people, as an evidence that the king intended by degrees to put Papists in the government; and which seemed to them clear from his speech to the English parliament on the 9th of November 1685. Id.

(*o*) Fountainhall, ii., 398. A copy of that order was delivered to every bookseller in Edinburgh. When it was intimated to James Glen, he informed the messenger of the privy council that he had one book in his shop which condemned Popery much; and being asked what book, he said *the Bible.* Glen seems to have been a resolute as well as a witty man; for in such times his tongue ran some risk of being castrated for such a sarcasm. Id.

and convicted by the privy council, and were yet afraid to proceed to extremities. The king said publicly, when all those matters were communicated to him, that he would support his chancellor; yet privately blamed the privy councillors for bringing the practices of his religion too openly before a zealous people (*p*). At the criminal court, on the 15th of February 1686, the king's advocate insisted on the forfeiture of the Duke of Monmouth, who was found guilty of three points of treason; for the invasion, for the assumption of the crown, and for touching persons who were afflicted with the scrofula, *jure coronæ* (*q*).

The king's intentions became every day more apparent (*r*). The Duke of Hamilton, the Lord President Lockhart, and General Drummond, were called to London on the 23rd of March, in order to sound them before the meeting of parliament, when it was to be proposed to rescind the laws against popery (*s*). The chancellor, Perth, had suggested this measure, as Hamilton and Lockhart had shown some symptoms of disapprobation. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Edinburgh, were also called to London, with the same purpose of securing previous votes by private intrigue (*t*). The burghs, also, whose representatives in parliament formed a numerous body, were flattered with the promise of a free trade to England (*u*). The proposed measure was now discussed in printed papers and by public preaching (*x*). The parliament

(*p*) Fountainhall, ii., 399-403. In order to prevent such tumults in Edinburgh, an Act was passed making masters answerable for the misconduct of their servants; and because a landlady distrained the press and other goods of one Watson, a papist printer, for his rent, this distress was made a *combination;* and his goods were violently taken, and brought to the abbey of Holyrood, where he was protected. He was made the king's printer in Holyroodhouse, and was the father of James Watson, the king's printer, during the reign of Anne. Id.

(*q*) Fountainhall, ii., p. 403. The counsel for the injured duchess declined to act, but protested that the doom against her husband should not prejudice her just right to her own estate. Id. This respectable lady, who, with all the virtues of her sex, possessed the fortitude of her fathers, lived long and acted prudently. She acquired for her children many lands: Musselburgh on the east, and Langholm on the west.

(*r*) On the 11th of March 1686, the king appointed the Duke of Gordon, who was a Papist, the governor of Edinburgh Castle, in the room of the Duke of Queensberry; and *the test* which was required by law was dispensed with in the duke's favour. In return, the Duke of Gordon discharged this trust honourably.

(*s*) Id. (*t*) Ib., 412. (*u*) Ib., 412.

(*x*) George Shiel, the minister of Prestonhaugh, having preached vehemently in the abbey church against Popery, was sharply reproved; but he said he had obeyed the bishop's old instructions,

at length convened at Edinburgh, on the 29th of April 1686. After the usual protests for precedence, the king's advocate objected to the sitting of Lord Forrester of Corstorphine, as he had not a right of peerage, the last lord's patent being but temporary. So he was desired to withdraw till he had cleared his title (*y*). This intimation is important, as it shows the usual mode of objecting to disputable peerages. The king's letter to the parliament was now read, proposing indulgence to the Roman Catholics; and the king's commissioner recited his speech, enforcing the king's topics of legislation (*z*). This was a session of unusual length and discussion, and the people's minds were now enlightened and their apprehensions awakened. The king's desire in favour of his religion was finally disappointed (*a*); yet the king and his ministers did not learn any moderation from recent experience. Any man of common abilities might have perceived, from the intrigue and management and agitation at Edinburgh during that session, how impossible it was to obtain a repeal of *the tests*, or to make much progress in proselytism. The profoundest lawyers, the soundest divines, the ablest men of Scotland, had all settled their belief and taken their several stands, so that promises and threats were

allowing the ministers to preach against Popery, sparing persons; and he added that a ridiculous religion might be treated with ridicule. Thereupon the bishop, by a new Act, directed the ministers to discontinue such preaching in the pulpits of Edinburgh and its suburbs without his licence. Ib., 413.

(*y*) Fountainhall, ii., 413.

(*z*) The king's letter, the commissioner's speech, and the answer of the parliament are transcribed in Wodrow's App., ii., 158-60. The parliament say, in answer to the king's desire of toleration to the Roman Catholics: "We shall take the same into our serious consideration, and go as great lengths therein as our conscience will allow; not doubting that your majesty will be careful to secure the Protestant religion, as established by law." Id.

(*a*) Wodrow, ii., App. 160, has preserved the proposed bill respecting *the penal statutes*, which shows that private worship in their private houses would have been allowed to Roman Catholics, yet on condition that the Test Acts should be still more enforced. Nor was such a law accepted by the king's ministers. There is a good account of the parliamentary debates during this interesting session in Fountainhall, i., 413. His lordship states that two of his servants had been arrested during the sitting, though the servants of the English members of parliament were free; but he did not complain to parliament of a breach of privilege. These circumstances show how little the privileges of the Scottish parliament were then understood. The lord chancellor, Perth, sat in that parliament though he was a Papist, and had not taken the test as required by law. There were hints thrown out that he had no right to sit; but there was no formal motion made upon this important point. It is curious to remark that in the *Harlem Gazette* there was published, from time to time, a good account of what passed in that parliament.

equally unavailing. In a few months this parliament was dissolved, without any design, perhaps, of ever calling another during James VII.'s reign (*b*).

The parliament had hardly risen when the king and his ministers began the unhallowed work of persecuting the members for their several votes, from the highest to the lowest, from the Duke of Queensberry to Provost Miln of Linlithgow (*c*). Rewards were given on the other side. The whole conduct of James VII. exhibits such a delusion as the world had never witnessed before. In opposition to the spirit of the country and the declarations of law, he continued to fill the privy council and the offices of government with papists, in contempt of *the test act.* He now went the length of doing that for the papists which the parliament had refused to do for them. By his own authority he took the Roman Catholics under *his* laws and protection, giving them the private exercise of their religion, with a chapel in the abbey of Holyrood; and he commanded the privy council and the magistrates to maintain the Roman Catholics in their rights and privileges (*d*). Watson, the popish printer, was

(*b*) Lord Fountainhall remarks of that session: "One said of this parliament, what *the Irish tague* "said of the Earl of Feversham, when the king was making him a knight of the garter, for defeating "Monmouth, *that God only deserved the garter;* so the finger of God was seen in the stedfastness of this "parliament, who had not one great man in public to own them; and it behoved to be from some "higher principle that noblemen, gentlemen, bishops, and others cheerfully laid down their "places rather than violate their consciences." Decisions, ii., 419. His lordship also mentions, among *other providences* which occurred at that time, "to defeat this *project of toleration,*" Doctor Sibbald's turning Protestant, and Lord Doune, the commissioner, Earl of Murray's son, turning Papist. Poor Sir Robert Sibbald, the physician, the antiquary, the topographer, whose books show him to have been one of the weakest of men, was bred a Protestant, became a Papist, and now, from trouble of conscience, after his return from London, called upon the bishop of Edinburgh, declared he could find no security in the Popish religion, and desired to be readmitted into the Protestant faith, offering to make a public recantation. But the bishop of Edinburgh refused it as unseasonable; while others called it a dispensation of Providence for strengthening Protestants.

(*c*) Fountainhall, i., 420. Provost Miln, indeed, had been trusted to lead the burghs in favour of the court; but deserted the ministers in parliament.

(*d*) The king's letter, which was read in council on the 4th September 1686. Lord Fountainhall, i., 424, says, some asked what those *rights* and *privileges* were? This unwarrantable epistle was accompanied with panegyric on the Papists and censures on the Protestants, and particularly on some of the late members of parliament. We do not learn, however, from that intelligent writer that the secretary or other officer, countersigning such illegal and offensive rescripts, were called to an account, as responsible for their conduct. The useful principle of responsibility seems not to have been known, at least practised, in the Scottish jurisprudence. This observation is justified by what passed in the Scottish privy council, when an answer was drawn

made printer to *the king's family*, though Anderson's heirs had a grant to be the king's printer; and the privy council gave Watson the right to print all *the prognostications* in Edinburgh. To that source may be traced up the various books which bear in their title pages to have been printed at that period in *Holyroodhouse*. The printing and circulating of such books was made one of the charges against King James VII., when his right to govern was declared by the convention to be forfeited (*a*). The king soon after assumed the power of appointing the provosts of the several burghs (*b*). In May 1688, the king exlpained his grant of toleration, in the face of the law, in such a manner as to dissolve all judicatories till they should obtain new commissions renouncing the legal test (*c*).

James VII. had now run his race of religious folly, and had shown his people a thousand examples of his violent passion for governing against law when in

up to that rescript. The Duke of Hamilton, objecting to the prerogative of the king as a legal security for this favour to the papists, the chancellor asked briskly who would question the king's power to relax the laws. So the duke, retiring, said he was not doubting the king's prerogative, but what needed the privy council declare it to be law. Sir George Lockhart, the president, *sat mute* the whole time; but whispered, he would quit his head before he would sign it so. Thus was the word *legal* put out and the word *sufficient* put in. In this manner, says Lord Fountainhall, they granted what the parliament had refused. Decisions, i. 424.

(*a*) Ib. 424, of the date the 16th of September 1686. The printers and booksellers of Edinburgh were required by the privy council to declare what books they had imported in the last year; the chancellor observing that they had sold sundry scandalous and seditious pamphlets. Ib. 472.

(*b*) Ib. 425. The king immediately nominated the magistrates of Edinburgh. On the 23d of November 1686, the king's yacht arrived from London at Leith, with the altar, vestments, images, priests, and their appurtenants, for the popish chapel in the abbey of Holyrood. Ib. 430. On St. Andrew's day the abbey chapel was consecrated by holy water, and a sermon by Wederington. Ib. 432. On the 8th of February 1688, Ogstoun, the bookseller in Edinburgh, was threatened for selling Archbishop Usher's Sermons against the Papists, and the History of the French Persecutions, and all the copies were taken from him, though popish books were printed and sold. Ib. 496. On the 22d of March 1688, the Rules of the Popish College in the Abbey of Holyrood were published, inviting children to be educated *gratis*. Ib. 502. See those rules in Wodrow, ii. App. No. cxlii.

(*c*) Fountainhall, i. 503. It was even supposed by some that the same exposition had dissolved the Court of Session. But the lords continued to sit. Id. On the 24th of July 1688, the chancellor ordered the king's advocate to summon the masters of the university of Aberdeen for presuming to take an oath of the students, when graduated, that they would profess the protestant religion. The masters defended themselves by saying that their statutes and their oaths obliged them to do it. Ib. 513. This seemed to be the plea of Magdalen College in Oxford.

pursuit of his object (*d*). Throughout the months of September and October 1688, his officers of state at Edinburgh acted as if they expected an invasion from Holland (*e*). Throughout August and November 1688, the Court of Session almost ceased to act, considering its functions to have ceased, from the apparent dissolution of the established government at Edinburgh (*f*). As early as the 3d of December 1688, the students of Edinburgh university burned the pope, and clamoured for a free parliament. The students were on that occasion obviously made use of as instruments. The magistrates endeavoured to preserve tranquility. But the chancellor, Earl of Perth, in whose person rested the whole government of Scotland, retired from the capital to the Highlands, being persuaded by some of the privy council to shelter himself from the coming storm. The king withdrew from London about the same time that the chancellor retired from Edinburgh (*g*). The remaining members of the privy council assumed the provisional government (*h*). Yet the populace and the students repaired to the abbey, to burn the chapel in Holyroodhouse. They were repulsed by the guard, who fired upon them under the direction of Captain Wallace. He was now directed by the privy councillors to withdraw his guards; but hesitating to obey what he thought incompetent authority, the citizens overpowered him. The city being thus master of the abbey, the populace, without further opposition, forced the doors of the chapel, and carried the furniture to the cross, where it was burned in zealous triumph. After this sacrifice, guards were placed throughout the town and its suburbs, to repress any further tumults. Nor did Edinburgh castle

(*d*) See Wodrow's App. ii. p. 187-99.

(*e*) Mackay and Blackadder, who had recently come from Holland as intriguers, were imprisoned in Edinburgh castle. A proclamation was made for raising the militia and for setting up beacons. Soon after another proclamation called out the Heritors. Wodrow's App. ii. 201-3. On the 10th of November, a third proclamation threatened the spreaders of false news. Ib. 205. The Prince of Orange had landed in Torbay on the 5th of the same month. Sir John Dalrymple's Mem., i. 223. There was an address to the king from the Scottish bishops, dated on 3d of November 1688, on the birth of a prince, on the threatened invasion from Holland, full of adulation, yet trusting to his royal protection to their church and religion, as the laws had established them. Wodrow, App. ii. 204. It was in this address that the bishops prayed God to give the king *the hearts of his subjects* and *the necks of his enemies.*

(*f*) Fountainhall, i. 516.

(*g*) The chancellor, who had been the great instrument of James's misgovernment in Scotland, attempting to flee into France, was brought back by the seamen of the Forth.

(*h*) On the 14th of December 1688. there was a proclamation against the papists, and requiring all persons to disarm them. On the 24th of the same month, another proclamation called out the militia to resist papists.

fire upon the city, owing to the discretion of the Duke of Gordon, the governor, who yet refused to resign his command. On the 25th of December, the students paraded with the college mace before them, and music playing, to the cross of Edinburgh, where they again burnt the pope, while the privy councillors and town council beheld the triumph with approving eyes. But the country was now universally in arms, and the papists, who made no resistance, were generally seized. In this manner, then, was the government of James VII. dissolved in Scotland, where he seems to have had no party to support his measures, which were as absurd as they were illegal.

It is a more pleasing task to show how a very different government was established on the ruins of an administration which was wholly corrupt. On the 27th of December 1688, the privy council transmitted an address to the Prince of Orange. On the following day the lord provost and the common council of Edinburgh addressed the prince, expressing their satisfaction that his endeavours had been attended with success without bloodshed. They offered him their services, they begged for his protection to their persons, city, and privileges, and they assured him of their cheerful concurrence in preserving their religion, their laws, and their liberties. They declared for a free parliament, as the students had done before them, for securing their ancient monarchy and royal succession (*i*). The archiepiscopal city of Glasgow proclaimed the Prince of Orange as the *protestant protector*. Such, then, were the proofs which the prince received of the general wishes of the Scottish people.

Encouraged by those attentions, the prince, on the 7th of January 1689, called together, at Whitehall, the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who were then in London. He briefly asked their advice in what manner to secure the *protestant religion*, and to restore their laws and liberties, according to his declaration. After a slight debate, thirty peers and eighty commoners, after thanking the prince for his generous undertaking, desired him to assume the government of Scotland for the preservation of peace, until a general meeting of *the Estates* might be called at Edinburgh, by the prince's proclamation, according to the custom of the kingdom. The prince had now the authority of a convention of nobles and gentry, sitting without the kingdom, for taking upon him the administration of the Scottish affairs ; and he was obeyed with full as much conviction of his title as the power of those kings who had governed Scotland for two centuries of anarchical misrule.

(*i*) Maitl. Edin. 108.

The Estates of Scotland assembled at Edinburgh, in obedience to the prince's letters. They met in one apartment, according to the custom of the country. The bishop of Edinburgh read prayers to them, in which he prayed God to have compassion on King James, and to restore him to his government. Whether the king or the bishop had acted most indiscreetly, needs not be strenuously debated. The Estates chose the Duke of Hamilton for their president, by a majority of forty voices, in opposition to the Marquis of Athole ; and they first provided for their own safety, as the city of Edinburgh was altogether under the cannon of the castle, which was commanded by the Duke of Gordon, a Roman Catholic. As the duke had no very determinate purpose, the castle sustained a sort of siege, throughout many months, in the midst of frequent treaties. In the meantime, the city of Edinburgh was crowded with armed men, who had come from all parts of the kingdom, from motives either of zeal or curiosity. The Estates commanded all persons, who did not belong to the city or the convention, to withdraw from the town, and they appointed a committee to take care of the public peace. By admitting the son of the late Earl of Argyle to sit as one of the convention, notwithstanding a protest, while his father's attainder remained unreversed, the members showed to those who reasoned accurately, more zeal than knowledge (*k*).

The prince's letter to *the Estates* was now read, recommending the speedy settlement of their government on lasting foundations, and desiring them to consider of an union of the two kingdoms. After some debate, and a resolute protest, the Estates also read a letter from the king, which was written at sea, on his voyage to France. Such a letter, consisting of promises and threats, at such a crisis, could only be injurious to the writer, who did not recollect, amidst his disasters, how much he had himself done to animate the Scottish people with desire of change, and to promote the quick progress of decisive revolution. The Estates of course proceeded to declare themselves a free and lawful meeting, which was regularly convened for the equal settlement of their regular government. Nor did they proceed hastily to this difficult work. They provided for the public revenue (*l*) ; they endeavoured to draw together the scattered forces of the state (*m*) ; and they now answered the

(*k*) The attainder of the Earl of Argyle was afterwards reversed by parliament.

(*l*) The merchants of Edinburgh offered to advance the money immediately upon the security of the convention.

(*m*) On the 30th of March 1689, the forces that came from the west to Edinburgh, being above 6,000 men, were ordered one week's pay, and the public thanks of the house for their

prince's letter to the Estates, in a manner that must have been very agreeable to him, while they declined to give any other answer to the king than a passport to his messenger (*n*). On the 26th of March, the magistrates of Edinburgh gave their oaths of fidelity to *the Estates* (*o*); and on the 2d of April 1689, the Estates came to the memorable vote, that James VII. had, by the violation of the laws, *forfaulted* his right to the crown, and that the throne was thereby vacant. This vote, and the various reasons which were detailed in its support, were approved by the whole estates except twelve, and of these, seven were bishops (*p*). This vote was followed by another, which was equally important, for settling the crown upon William and Mary, the king and queen of England. On the 11th of April, William and Mary were accordingly proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, king and queen of Scotland, and the longer liver of them, but the regal power was appropriated to the king alone (*q*). And *a claim of right*, or instrument of government, was directed to be presented to the king and queen with the offer of the crown (*r*). All those measures were followed by a long list of grievances which had arisen out of the legal anarchy of late times, and undoubtedly improved a very imperfect constitution (*s*). All those documents were presented to the king and queen at Whitehall, on the 11th of May 1689. They both on that occasion took the coronation oath, with an explanatory avowal that they did not consider themselves thereby obliged to persecute. The commissioners, Argyle, Montgomery, and Dalrymple, were not instructed by the Estates to represent to the king and queen, "that persecution was neither intended by the oath nor required by law," whatever the words might import. William and Mary were now, both in law and fact, the king and queen of Scotland. It was

good service in blocking up the castle. Convention Proceedings, No. 3. The above forces were popularly called the *Cameronians*. They refused any gratification when they were sent home, saying, that they came to save and serve their country. They had on their colours *a Bible* with some other devices, with this *motto*, "For reformation according to the word of God." Id.

(*n*) Ib. No. 3-4.

(*o*) Ib. No. 6. Several of the magistrates refusing to take that oath to *the Estates* were ordered to be turned out and new ones chosen in their room. Id.

(*p*) When the business of the day was over one of the bishops offered to say prayers as the custom was; upon which it was ordered that King James be no more prayed for, and the bishop discreetly said *The Lord's Prayer*.

(*q*) Ib. No. 11. (*r*) Id.

(*s*) Ib. No. 12; and the Acts of the Estates, ch. xiii. Yet on that occasion there was no declaration making the servants of the crown responsible for the act of the king, which would have been far more useful in practice than any recital of abstract rights or of experienced wrongs.

also desired by the Estates, that for the further securing the Protestant religion and the national liberties, the king would "turn this meeting into a parliament (*t*)." The Revolution was now accomplished at Edinburgh by the several acts of the Estates, who declared the forfeiture of James VII., and by the nomination of William and Mary as king and queen, under a claim of rights and a representation of grievances (*u*).

Under the reigns of Charles II. and James, some of the covenanted clergy and the lowest populace refused obedience to the laws and acknowledgment of the king. After this revolution, some of the episcopal clergy and laity refused to acknowledge King William and to conform to the declared law. We may thus perceive that those dissimilar parties acted upon a similar principle; but the Episcopalians now changed places with the Presbyterians. One of the first acts of the Estates was to admit the son of the attainted Earl of Argyle to sit among them as a peer, having the rights of the peerage; and they also admitted Sir Patrick Hume to sit as a legal representative of Berwickshire, though he had also been attainted. The Estates perhaps acted upon the principle that the government of the late kings, and the proceedings of the recent parliaments, were equally unconstitutional. James VII. had introduced unchartered irregularities into the magistracy of the royal burghs. In order to restore those chartered bodies to their legal rights, the Estates directed that new magistrates should be chosen by the inhabitants of those towns. A different mode was adopted when *the Estates* were to be converted into a Parliament. The Estates met, according to their adjournment; and the king and queen, with their consent, declared *the Estates* to be *a Parliament*; and it was, by the same act, declared to be treason for any one to impugn the authority of the parliament as thus constituted (*x*). In the unconstitutional government of James VII. there was nothing more absurd and illegal than the present mode of converting a revolutionary convention into a legal parliament. When the king and queen had accepted the government, there were now rulers, properly

(*t*) The Convention Proceedings, No. 22.

(*u*) King William, on the 17th of May 1689, wrote a letter to the Estates, declaring his acceptance of the crown, with the claim of right and the representation of grievances. On the 22d of the same month the Estates adjourned themselves to the 5th of June then next. The functions of the Estates which had accomplished that great and salutary measure ought now to have ceased, as there was now a king in possession.

(*x*) Stat. 1st. Parl. William and Mary, ch. i. This act was confirmed by the more legal parliament of Queen Anne. But this act of recognition seems to imply that the only parliament of King William was liable to some objection. Parl. Anne, May 1703, ch. 3.

constituted both in law and fact. When the Estates had thereupon adjourned, the Revolution was accomplished; and the revolutionary government ought at this period to have closed. The king had by law no right *to declare the convention* to be *a parliament.* All he could do legally as the Scottish king, was to issue writs in the accustomed manner to the constituted authorities, directing them to cause the electors to choose their representatives for the proposed parliament according to their several privileges. The king, then, in forming his first parliament, did not act according to law. The objection to this first, and indeed only parliament of this reign, therefore, was that the people did not choose the representative part of it; and King William, with all his renown for prudence, chose to put his *legislative* government of Scotland upon the footing of power rather than of law (*y*). Revolutions in government can only be justified by necessity; but no considerate statesman who may be occupied in such transactions will carry revolutionary practice a single step beyond the warrant of necessity. Every measure which runs beyond that warrant amounts to positive illegality (*z*).

Throughout the reign of William, there was only one parliament without any election of the people, and eight sessions of violent legislation. Edinburgh was the scene of the Revolution, as we have seen, and the place of so many sittings of a parliament whose authority was questionable, and whose policy was doubtful. The city of Edinburgh existed in a state of hostility with its castle from the beginning of the Revolution till the 13th of June 1690, when it capitulated. In such a town, we may suppose that it contained many persons

(*y*) The second act of this first parliament thus illegally constituted, was "an act recognizing their majesty's royal authority." But as they had not the people's assent, constitutionally expressed, they did not gain one *iota* of additional legalization. The second act of this ill-omened parliament, was *an act abolishing prelacy.* The fourth act was that for *rescinding the forfeiture of the late Earl of Argyle.* By another act the first session was adjourned to the 8th of October then next.

(*z*) On the 24th of May 1689, a new commission was issued by King William nominating a privy council. It was resolved that this new privy council should act *before appending the Great Seal to the commission.* But why should the privy council act without their appointment? A thousand facts evince that the statesmen who then figured on the stage at Edinburgh had no notion of acting according to law accurately understood. When the convention of Estates adjourned to the 5th of June, a proclamation was ordered to be issued, requiring the several members to attend on that day, and the proclamation stated that it was issued *by warrant from his majesty;* yet this did not legalize the members, as the parliamentary electors had not chosen them. The king had no right, by his warrant, so to constitute a parliament. In the Convention Proceedings, No. 26, there are some reasons to justify this; but they are egregious sophistry.

who did not quite approve of the revolutionary proceedings which they witnessed within its walls. There were, of course, several plots which were disconcerted as soon as discovered (*a*). The city, however, concurred in the Revolution, though perhaps without much zeal. In July 1690, the magistrates were empowered to raise a revenue on the inhabitants for maintaining the guard of the town (*b*). Another act was soon after passed for enabling the corporation to pay its debts, though not without opposition (*c*). An act was also passed in favour of the four incorporated trades of the Canongate, which was opposed by the protest of the city (*d*). Edinburgh was stained in 1689 by the murder of the Lord President Lockhart; and it was disgraced during the reign of William by the practice of torture. It saw also its university reformed under a statute which was made in 1690, by legislators who are more memorable for their zeal than knowledge (*e*). Their buildings were moreover reformed (*f*). A destructive conflagration which happened in February 1700, gave rise to an act of the town council in 1703 *for quenching fire*. Throughout this reign we hear of no hilarity in Edinburgh. There were frequent *fasts* and some *thanksgivings*; but the gloominess of the citizens was never, as far as appears, tempered by such little incitements to mirth as are apt to disperse melancholy. The birthdays of the king and queen were, indeed, kept, though without any great display (*g*). There seems to be nothing in the whole conduct of King William with regard to Scotland which much merits commemoration. The massacre of Glencoe, the disregard of the Scottish privileges at the treaty of Ryswick, the failure of the Darien expedition—all those causes of discontent carried the popular discontent into violent indignation; and in 1700,

(*a*) On the 21st of June 1690, a proclamation was issued "for securing the peace within the city of Edinburgh and the suburbs thereof," requiring the citizens to deliver to the magistrates the names of their lodgers.

(*b*) Parl. Proceedings, No. 128. (*c*) Unprinted Acts, Sess. 1690. (*d*) Id.

(*e*) One of the professors was charged with the crime of *having taken down out of the college hall the pictures of the first reformers*, with the abuse of making some alteration in the oath which was wont to be taken by the students who were about to obtain their master of arts degree, and with the real offence of not taking the oath of allegiance and signing the confession of faith. Parl. Proceedings, No. 143.

(*f*) In 1698, an act passed, regulating the manner of building within the town of Edinburgh. Stat. chap. viii.

(*g*) On such occasions the cannons of the castle were fired, a dinner was given, the magistrates came to *the cross* in their formalities to drink their majesties' healths, while the conduits ran wine, and the solemnity ended with numerous bonfires and ringing of bells. Bnt we hear nothing of concerts, balls or plays.

a tumult ensued at Edinburgh, which obliged the king's commissioner and other officers to retire from popular fury (*a*). Whether, indeed, we review King William's policy or his legislation, nothing appears that ought to revive in the minds of those who are descended from his Scottish subjects but contempt for a coronation oath, which, to be taken, required to be explained away; abhorrence of that monstrous anomaly, a free parliament, without the people's choice; and disdain for forms of faith which precluded freedom of thought.

King William demised at Kensington on the 8th of March 1702. On the same day the accession of Queen Anne was proclaimed. She took the coronation oath that was required by the Scottish statute legalizing the claim of right; and she immediately transmitted a letter to the privy council of Scotland, authorizing them to act, and assuring them that she would maintain the government both in church and state. She was accordingly proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh with the usual ceremonies. On the same occasion a proclamation was issued to continue the officers of state till the queen's directions should be further signified. In this manner, then, was the Scottish government fully constituted in the person of Queen Anne, and in the power of her ministers of state.

The parliament was holden at Edinburgh on the 9th of June 1702, under the Duke of Queensberry as the queen's commissioner. By the first act the Estates recognized her majesty's royal authority. Their second statute was merely an act of adjournment till the 1st of July then next. Their third act was another law for securing the *true protestant religion* and the presbyterian government. Their fourth statute going far beyond all these, declared the present meeting of parliament to be lawful, and that it should be treason to impugn the authority of the current parliament on any pretence whatsoever. But this declaration, continuing the same meeting which had sat as the convention in 1689, did not pass without opposition. The Duke of Hamilton, with seventy-nine members, withdrew from the assembly, protesting against its illegality. The faculty of advocates forming the great body of the Scottish law, supported that protest by declaring the sitting parliament to be positively unconstitutional (*b*). The lawyers were reprimanded by the parliament, but the nation was not convinced of the rectitude of this measure, and much less of the legality of the sitting legislators. A national fast did not remove the

(*a*) Arnot's Edin., 185.

(*b*) In 1696 the Estates had, by their act, ch. 17, declared that the parliament, notwithstanding the demise of the crown, should continue to sit during six months after such an event.

well-grounded dissatisfaction which pervaded the capital and the kingdom. After voting a supply, the parliament proceeded to pass an act appointing commissioners for treating of an union between Scotland and England, which the queen had recommended to their consideration as of the greatest importance to both.

The queen appointed commissioners to treat concerning that great object on behalf of England. But another parliament, consisting of new members, assembling at Edinburgh on the 3rd of May 1703, the most violent debates ensued, which ended in rescinding the commission that had already appointed negotiators on behalf of Scotland. Under the baleful influence of party spirit, this parliament again recognized the queen's authority, again secured the *true protestant religion and presbyterian government*, and ratified the act which turned the meeting of the Estates in 1689 into a parliament. These attempts to conceal the anarchical temper which then prevailed only revealed it. But the act with regard to peace and war, sufficiently revealed that spirit, by changing the nature of the constitution. That temper was still more distinctly avowed by the bill, which, pretending to secure the government, would have more essentially changed its nature; and which, when the queen's representative refused his assent, induced the promoters of it to question the queen's power of legislative dissent. Some laws of domestic economy were passed amidst this violence, while the usual supply was withheld. From the temper and tenor of those proceedings, it became apparent to considerate men that the two British kingdoms must either separate or unite (*c*).

The several acts of the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh on the 6th of July 1704, under the Marquis of Tweeddale as the queen's commissioner, are so many proofs of that melancholy truth. As early, however, as the 11th of January 1705, a bill was brought into the parliament of England enabling the queen to appoint commissioners to treat of an union with Scotland. The Scottish parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh under the Duke of Argyle, as the queen's commissioner, on the 28th of June 1705, followed that example of conciliation. In the meantime, the populace of Edinburgh continuing in a state of irritation, broke out into tumult, which threatened the life of the chancellor (*d*). It was not till the 16th of April 1706 that the negotiators of

(*c*) On the 6th of August 1704, the Scottish parliament passed *an Act of Security*, which amounted nearly to a declaration of war against England. On the 21st of December thereafter, the House of Lords addressed the queen to fortify Newcastle, with the other towns on the borders; and to march her army that way.

(*d*) Arnot's Edin., 186.

the two kingdoms assembled for treating of an union. On the 22nd of July the articles of that union, by which the two kingdoms were incorporated into one state, were finally signed by the several commissioners. But the articles, which were purposely withheld from the public, were still to be ratified by the two parliaments. The city of Edinburgh was particularly interested in the event. It was foreseen that the withdrawing the semblance of royalty and the national councils, would be as mortifying to her pride as those circumstances were supposed to be injurious to her interests; and it was not then surprising that a measure which was unpopular throughout the kingdom should have incited the most dangerous ferments in the capital. On the 23rd of October 1706, the populace attacked the house of the late provost, Sir Patrick Johnstone, who had promoted the Union, and who was now obliged to save himself from popular fury by timeful flight. The insurgents, from their numbers and violence, became for a while masters of the city. A party of soldiers were sent to take possession of the Netherbow port; the guards secured the avenues to the parliament house; a little army was encamped in the vicinity of the metropolis during the sitting of parliament, in order, by all those means, to preserve the doubtful tranquility of the Scottish capital (*d*). In the midst of those disturbances and this security, the parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on the 3rd of October 1706, ratified the articles of the Union on the 16th of the subsequent January (*e*). This great measure being thus carried, it met with no difficulties in the parliament of England. Thus, then, was accomplished this efficient act of wise policy which had been often attempted, yet till now had always failed. The epoch of *the Union* is the 1st of May 1707. While the capital was somewhat depressed during several years, the country did not derive all the benefits which had been foretold, as the people were not prepared, either with capital or skill or enterprise, to derive all the commercial advantages which ought naturally to have been the result. It is only by comparing the state of Edinburgh and of Scotland in 1706 and in 1806, that the wonderful effects which were foreseen, and have resulted from an union of affections and interests, of industry and enterprises, of policy and legislation, at length clearly appear and are generally felt.

This progress of melioration was, however, obstructed a while by the rebellion of 1715. This unworthy enterprise began, owing to the relaxation of

(*d*) Arnot's Edin., 189. There were several proclamations, which show the state of the public mind on that occasion, forbidding tumultuous meetings; and several writings were directed to be burnt by the hangman at the Cross of Edinburgh. Unprinted Acts.

(*e*) Acts, 4th Sess. 1st Parl. Anne, ch. vi., ch. vii., and ch. viii.

the established government, with an attempt to surprise the castle of Edinburgh. One of its first effects was to cause an extraordinary demand on the Bank of Scotland, which obliged its directors to stop the temporary currency of their notes. Fifteen hundred insurgents passed the Forth from Fife into East-Lothian, and marching forwards towards Edinburgh, found it so well prepared that they declined to assault it; but they diverged to Leith, which they held for some days, though the Duke of Argyle tried, with inefficient force, to overpower them. They did not think fit, however, to provoke his perseverance; and marching southward, they were more vigorously attacked and finally overpowered. Meantime six thousand Dutch troops arrived at Edinburgh in aid of the king's measures; and rebellion languished, and tranquility was restored to a harassed capital and a misgoverned country (*f*).

Scotland was again alarmed, and Edinburgh once more prepared for defence, against the Spanish invasion of 1718, a hundred and thirty years after the grand armada had alarmed their fathers. The conspiracy of 1722 called upon the citizens to avow their loyalty and to offer their attachments. The malt-tax of 1725 made them fear for their property, incited tumults which disturbed their quiet, and in the end introduced among them new establishments that promoted their industry and augmented their wealth. Yet experience of the past did not prevent the lower orders from assassinating Porteous, who had been pardoned by the government, and this outrage brought them before the parliament, endangered their privileges, and obliged them to adopt measures for preventing similar tumults. In 1744 the citizens of Edinburgh were roused by information of the approach of a pretender to the crown. He actually landed in the subsequent year. He pressed southward to their capital, whatever force could be opposed to his progress. On the 17th of September 1745, he entered Edinburgh, which could not be defended, and he took possession of the palace of Holyrood house, the residence of his progenitors; but he did not gain Edinburgh Castle, which was defended by the governor, Guest, with vigour, and retained with success against the feeble attacks of "the new-entrusted sceptre." Yet the rebels went out to defeat the royal army under Cope, and to return with triumph. They marched off to the southward, on the 31st of October, to try their fortunes in England; but they found themselves obliged to retreat along the western road before the vigorous pursuit of the king's armies. From the 17th of September to the 31st of October 1745, the rebels, amounting nearly to 8,000 men, domineered at

(*f*) Arnot's Edin., 171.

Edinburgh, which was obliged to furnish contributions of shoes, tents, and targets (*g*). The castle, indeed, disturbed their enjoyments; yet during that period, within the Scottish metropolis, there was no municipal government (*h*). In the meantime, the son of the pretender resided in the palace of Holyrood at perfect ease, seeing and being seen by every one without any hesitation or restraint (*i*).

After the tumults on account of the malt-tax had been suppressed in 1725, various useful establishments were formed at Edinburgh for giving employment to a restless people. From the suppression of this rebellion, in 1746, the spirit of the people was again turned to useful labours, and improvements soon after commenced, which contributed to energize the country throughout many years, to confer on a more industrious land the agreeable advantages of industry and the important benefits of wealth. The magistrates of Edinburgh began in 1749 to think seriously of meliorations, and to propose establishments, to court commerce by an exchange, to acquire useful knowledge by a select society, and to promote general gaiety by public amusements. But the commencement of the present reign is the true epoch of the progressive im-

(*g*) They were described by an intelligent person who was sent from York to Edinburgh on purpose to report the state of the insurgents; and the following is submitted to the reader from a MS. copy of his Report in my library: "They consist, said he, of an odd medley of greybeards "and nobeards: old men fit to drop into the grave, and young boys whose swords are near equal "to their weight, and I really believe more than their length. Four or five thousand may be very "good, determined men; but the rest are mean, dirty, villainous looking rascals, who seem more "anxious about plunder than their prince, and would be better pleased with four shillings than "*a crown.*"

(*h*) Maitl. Edin., 124-31. On the 30th of October 1746, the king issued an order in council, directing a choice of new magistrates by a *poll election.* Id.

(*i*) The above-mentioned "person got to Edinburgh on the 15th of October 1745, at night, "without let or molestation; and on the 17th was introduced to him whom they call their prince, "who asked him several questions as to the number of troops and affections of the people in "England, which he answered truly as far as he knew. He was in the room with the prince, and two "more, a quarter of an hour. The young chevalier is about five feet eleven inches high, very pro-"portionably made, wears his own hair, has a full forehead, a small but lively eye, a round, brown-"complexioned face, nose and mouth pretty small; full under the chin, not a long neck, about his "under jaw a pretty many pimples. He is always in a Highland habit, as are all about him. Then "he had a short Highland plaid waistcoat, breeches of the same, a blue garter on, and a St. Andrew's "cross hanging by a green ribbon at his button-hole, but no star; he had his boots on, as he "has always. He dines every day in public; all sorts of people are admitted to see him then; "and he constantly practises all the arts of condescension and popularity; talks familiarly to his "meanest Highlanders, and makes them very fair promises." The above description corresponds very exactly with the bust which was made by Le Moin, of Charles Stewart, after his return to Paris.

provements of Edinburgh, of the activity of her enterprize, of the augmentation of inhabitants, the increase of her buildings, and the splendour of their opulence.

In the meantime, the rents and profits of the lands within the shire of Edinburgh, and the two constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow, amounted, according to the *ancient extent*, to £4,029 ; but according to the *true value* of the year 1367, to £3,030 12s. 9d. (*k*), such being the sad effects of the succession wars throughout the hostile reigns of Robert Bruce and David II., his less fortunate son. At the recent epoch of the Restoration, there were accounted for in the Exchequer, as the amount of the king's rental in the shires of Edinburgh and Bathgate, and in the regality of Musselburgh, £2,197 12s. 1d. Scots money ; from which, however, there were deductions amounting to £1,411 13s. 4d., that arose from the rapacity and fraudulence of many years, both of penury and misgovernment (*l*), so disastrous had those long wars been to the domestic affairs of a wretched land.

When the competition for the crown began, and the numerous parliament of Brigham sat in March 1290, we may easily discover who were then the considerable men of Edinburghshire, by ascertaining who were its representatives in that assembly. The abbots of Holyrood and Newbotle represented the ecclesiastical estate, and William de la Hay of Locherwart, and William de Saintclair of Roslin, were the only barons from Edinburghshire (*m*) ; but at the accession of Robert Bruce, there were not any peers or greater barons, who had a residence in this county, or a title from any of its localities. There was not a noble in this shire, even at the epoch of the tardy return of James I. from his long captivity. During his reign, indeed, there were two *lords of parliament* created out of the gentry of Edinburghshire (*n*). James II. only

(*k*) The old MS. Rental in the Paper Office.

(*l*) Mr. Solicitor Purvis' Exchequer MS. in my library. The difference between the Scots and English money was, according to the Exchequer Account, as *ten* to *one*.

(*m*) Rym., ii., 471-2.

(*n*) Sir William Borthwick was made Lord Borthwick in 1433. Bower, ii., 542. He is supposed to have been descended from William de Borthwick, who flourished in 1378 under Robert II. Dougl. Peer., 76. William de Borthwick, the son of William, obtained a licence from James I., in 1430, to build a castle in that place, which is called *the mote of Lochwarret*. Ib., 77. A castle was accordingly built, which is said to have been called Borthwick Castle. Stat. Acco., xiii., 533-4. At the baptism of the twin sons of James I. appeared the son and heir of William, the lord of Borthwick. The other lord of parliament who was created by James I. was Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, whose progenitor, Andrew Douglas, a younger son of Archibald, the third in descent from the original settler, branched off from the principal stock at the middle of the 13th century.

added one lord of parliament to the list which had come down from his father. Sir William Crichton, the chancellor, the ablest and most vigorous character in Scotland, was created Lord Crichton; but this title, which he had acquired by his talents and defended by his vigour, was forfeited by his grandson in 1484. In 1458, James, Lord Dalkeith, was created Earl of Morton, and from this enumeration it appears, satisfactorily, that when James VI. became king of England in 1603, there were only three peers in Edinburghshire; William, Earl of Morton; John, Lord Borthwick; and Mark, Lord Newbotle. James VI., after his accession, merely added three to the peerage of Edinburghshire. He, indeed, raised Lord Newbotle to the earldom of Lothian in 1606. He created, in 1607, John Bothwell to be Lord Holyroodhouse, a lordship which ceased in 1635; his ancestors had been provosts of Edinburgh and senators of the College of Justice. Sir William Cranston was created Lord Cranston in 1611 (*o*); and Sir George Ramsay, who could boast of very gallant ancestors, was made a lord of parliament in 1618, and created Earl of Dalhousie in 1633. Charles I., amidst his constant choice of many difficulties, elevated one peer, as we have just seen, and added three new ones within this shire (*p*). Charles II. only added to the list of peerages two peers within this shire, who, however, did not long embarrass the peerage (*q*). James VII., amid his religious delusions, seems to have been very penurious of peerages. King William was frugal of his creations in this country (*r*). At the great epoch of the Union, on the 1st of May 1707, there remained of peers within this shire only eleven to oppose or approve that important measure of conciliation and interest (*s*). In July 1726, Prince Frederick, the eldest son of George, Prince of Wales, was created, in his twentieth year, Duke

(*o*) His progenitor had been provost of Edinburgh under James II.

(*p*) (1), Sir Archibald Napier was created in 1627 Lord Napier of Merchiston. (2), Dame Elizabeth Beaumont was created Baroness Crammond in 1627, and her son Sir Thomas Richardson succeeded to the same title in 1628. But this peerage soon became extinct. (3), In 1633, George Forrester was made Lord Forrester.

(*q*) In 1651, Sir James Macgill was made Viscount of Oxenford, a title which failed by extinction in 1706. In 1681, Charles Cheyne was created Viscount Newhaven, whose title became extinguished in 1728.

(*r*) In 1700, he created Archibald Primrose Viscount of Primrose, who in 1703 was elevated to be Earl of Rosebery. In 1703, Sir James Primrose was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Primrose; and in 1701, King William raised the Earl of Lothian to be a Marquis by the same title.

(*s*) Above all was Anne, the Duchess of Buccleuch, whose heir-apparent was Francis, Earl of Dalkeith. The ten other peers were James Earl of Morton, who was one of the commissioners

of Edinburgh (*t*). He died on the 20th of March 1751; and on the 14th of November 1764, his third son, Prince William Henry, was created Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh. When he died in August 1805 he was succeeded by his only son as Duke of Edinburgh.

In addition to those distinguished persons, the localities of Mid-Lothian have given titles to several senators of the College of Justice. In May 1532, John Dingwall, the provost of Trinity College, William Gibson, the dean of Restalrig, and James Fowlis of Collinton, were all appointed original members of the new establishment (*u*). John Sinclair, the dean of Restalrig, who was afterwards the bishop of Brechin and president of the court, was made a senator of the College of Justice on the 19th of November 1540 (*x*). James Scott, the provost of Corstorphine, and Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, were appointed to the same trust on the 13th of November 1554 (*y*). Thomas Maccalyean of Cliftonhall, who died in 1581, was raised to that honour on the 20th of October 1570, in the room of Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, a noted intriguer during intriguing times (*z*). On the 20th of October 1575, Robert Pont, the provost of Trinity College, and the first protestant minister of the West Kirk, was elevated to that station (*a*). Richard Cockburn of Clerkington was appointed to that trust in the room of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchinoul, in

for settling the Union; Henry Lord Borthwick, William Marquis of Lothian, William Lord Cranston, William the Earl of Dalhousie, Francis Lord Napier, George Lord Forrester, William Viscount Newhaven, Archibald Earl of Rosebery, who was one of the commissioners for settling that interesting measure, and Archibald Viscount of Primrose.

(*t*) On that event there were great rejoicings at Edinburgh. Caledonian Mercury of the 25th of July 1726.

(*u*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session. James Foulis was appointed the king's advocate in 1528, the clerk register in 1531, a senator of that college in 1543; and he was employed with other commissioners to negotiate the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots with Edward the Prince of Wales. Dougl. Baronage, 87.

(*x*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 3, with the note. (*y*) Id. (*z*) Ib. 5.

(*a*) Ib. 5. He was the father of Timothy Pont, the celebrated chorographer of Scotland. The Rules for understanding the *Calendare* that are prefixed to Bassendyne's Bible, which was the first printed in Scotland during 1576, were written by Robert Pont. He wrote a tract on chronology. Under the name of Pontanus he published *De Unione insulæ Britanniæ, Edin.* 1604, 8°. "At the convention of "the kirk, halden in the kirk of Leith, on the 12th of January 157½, Maister Robert Pont obtenit "advyse of this convention to be senator of the College of Justice, provdding always that this their "license to the said Mr. Robert be na preparative to na other minister to procure sic promotion, without "the kirk's advyse had of before, and license obtained thereto." MS. Proceedings of the Kirk from 1560 to 1605, by Ja. Mellvil, in my library. Robert Pont died on the 8th of May 1608, aged 81. Mait. Hist. Edin. 179.

November 1591 (*a*). John Bothwell, the commendator of Holyroodhouse, was appointed a judge in July 1593, in the room of the bishop of Orkney (*b*). In November 1594, John Skene of Curriehill, who is still remembered for his several publications of the old laws of Scotland, was appointed a senator in the room of Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet (*c*). David Macgill of Cranston-Riddel succeeded the commendator of Culross in May 1597, at a period which is noted for juridical corruption (*d*). Sir Lewis Craig of Wright's Houses was appointed to this trust in 1604. Sir John Hamilton of Magdalen was raised to the same bench in 1622; and Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, the son of him who is celebrated for his discovery of the Logarithms, was elevated to that trust in 1623. Sir Alexander Napier of Laurieston and James Bannatyne of Newhall were both appointed to the same charge in 1626 (*e*). Sir James Macgill of Cranston-Riddel, which has been fruitful of lawyers, was placed on the bench in 1629 (*f*). Sir John Hope of Craigiehall, Sir William Scot of Clerkington, George Winram, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, were all appointed senators during the long rebellion (*g*).

The reign of Charles II., like the reign of James I. in England, produced in Scotland several lawyers of great knowledge and eloquence. Of these, the foremost was Sir John Gilmour of Craigmillar, who was appointed in June 1661 the Lord President of a learned court (*h*). Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, Sir James Macgill of Cranston, Sir James Foulis of Collinton, were all placed at the same time on the same honourable seat (*i*). Sir James

(*a*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 6. (*b*) Ib., 7.

(*c*) Ib., 7. It were to be wished, says the late Lord Hailes, that his knowledge of the Scottish antiquities had been equal to his industry. He was keeper of the Scottish Records under the name of Clerk Register. Melvil told King James, "that I would take with me on an embassy "to Denmark, for a lawyer, Mr. John Skene. His majesty said he judged there were many "better lawyers. I said he was best acquainted with the German customs, and could make "them long harangues in Latin, and he was a good true stout man, like a Dutchman." Ib., 12. His son, Sir James Skene of Curriehill, was appointed a judge in June 1612, and rose to be president in 1626.

(*d*) Ib., 7-12. (*e*) Ib., 8. (*f*) Ib., 9.

(*g*) Ib., 9-11. Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston is one of those infamous men who stained their country during that calamitous period by their fanaticism and treason. This man expiated his crimes on the scaffold after the Restoration had raised the sword of justice. Ib., 19, and Lord Hailes's note.

(*h*) The Catalogue, p. 12-21. The stand which he made (as an advocate) on behalf of the Marquis of Argyle, says Lord Hailes, will ever be remembered to his honour.

Dundas of Arniston, who is the first of a series of illustrious lawyers who have issued from that place, was appointed a judge in June 1662; and he resigned in November 1665, as he could not take the test of a scrupulous age (*k*). Sir James Foulis of Reidfurd was appointed to the same trust in 1674, in the room of Sir Robert Preston, deceased. Sir John Maitland of Ravelrig and Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenston were two of the judges whom Scotland owed to the Revolution (*l*). Roderick Mackenzie of Prestonhall was appointed in 1703, Sir William Calderwood of Polton in 1711, and Sir Walter Pringle of Newhall in 1718 (*m*). In the place of the last judge was nominated on the 10th of June 1737, Robert Dundas of Arniston, who was raised to the President's chair in September 1748, and died on the 26th of August 1753 (*n*). Robert Dundas of Arniston, who inherited the genius of his family and chose the profession of his father, was called to the bar in 1738; appointed the King's Solicitor in 1742; the Lord Advocate in 1755; and was elevated to the President's chair on the 14th of June 1760 (*o*). The foregoing list is sufficient to show how many eminent lawyers have been produced by Edinburghshire, for the public advantage, of preventing wrong and distributing right.

But Edinburgh county and city have given rise to distinguished men in literature, in science, and in the arts. They have supplied an enterprizing

(*k*) The Catalogue, 12. His son was placed in the same honourable list on the 1st of November 1689. Ib., 14.

(*l*) Ib., 14. (*m*) Ib., 15-16.

(*n*) Ib., 16-17. Of this eminent judge Lord Hailes remarks: The president Dalrymple said, "I knew the great lawyers of the last age, Mackenzie, Lockhart, and my own father, Stair: Dundas excels them all." Ib., 26. I have seen, in the Paper Office, Lord Arniston's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle asking for the chair; it is written in a very bad hand, but with all the modesty of real merit. Charles Erskine, Lord Tinwald, was his competitor. On the 12th of May 1748, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to General Bland, the commander of the troops in Scotland, of his majesty's intention to promote Mr. Dundas of Arniston to be president of the session, in the room of the late Mr. Forbes, to appoint Mr. Fletcher to be keeper of the signet for life, and Mr. Ereskine of Tinwald to be lord justice clerk, upon the resignation of Mr. Fletcher. These promotions were said to be made "for convincing every one that the king was determined to reward merit and zeal for his service."

(*o*) Ib., 17-35. He died on the 13th of December 1787; he was followed to his grave by the whole magistrates and lawyers. When the Lord Advocate, Grant, asked for a seat upon the bench on account of his health, the Duke of Newcastle was informed "that Mr. Craigie "was the fittest to succeed him, that the next in fitness was Mr. Dundas, the late solicitor, a "gentleman of great honour and abilities, and that the only other lawyer of any degree of fitness, "who can be called a whig, is Mr. Henry Home," [the celebrated Lord Kaimes]. Documents in the Paper Office.

nation with statesmen and soldiers. Yet is it impossible in the limited space which is here allowed to such inquiries to specify the various characters who have dignified those districts by their birth, adorned them by their genius, and widely diffused their literary fame by their ingenious labours.

In the meantime, the lower orders of men within Edinburghshire lived amidst the wretchedness of slavery. The wars of rude ages which considered captivity and servitude as the same, multiplied a wretched race (*p*). Such bondmen were very common in this shire during the reign of David I., under the name of *Cumerlach*, which, in the Northumbrian language of that age conveyed the idea of misery (*q*). This state of villeinage certainly continued in Scotland at the sad demise of Robert Bruce (*r*). This calamitous condition of the lower orders existed particularly in Edinburghshire at that epoch (*s*). The same state of society continued throughout every district of Scotland during the whole reign of David II. (*t*). The same policy and its attendant of misery remained in full vigour throughout the reign of Robert II. The villeinage which we have thus seen existing at a recent period of the Scottish history cannot be easily traced to its abolition. All vassalage and servitude were abolished by a rough ordinance of Cromwell's legislative usurpation. (*u*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture and Trade.*] Mid-Lothian, as we have seen, is rather a mountainous country, interspersed, indeed, with fruitful vales, and washed by a mighty river. Two thirds, however, of its ample area, are supposed to be dedicated to tillage, or pasture, or wood. The successive settlers here did not find it much cultivated at the various epochs of their colonizations or conquests. Nor was the diversified surface much meliorated, while it was frequently fought for by those dissimilar people.

Whensoever the operations of the plough may have begun in Mid-Lothian during periods of warfare and of rudeness, agriculture had here made some progress before the commencement, in 1097 of the Scoto-Saxon period. At this epoch and for ages afterward, this great district was covered with

(*p*) Hoveden, fol. 452, M. Paris Ed. Watts, p. 950; addit. p. 198.

(*q*) See the charters of David I., in the Frag. Scots Hist. App. No. i., ii.

(*r*) Ib., No. iii., which is a judicial declaration of the manumission of certain bondmen.

(*s*) There is a charter of David de Crawford to the abbot and convent of Newbottle, granting, in 1327 all the escheats and amercements of certain lands, "et *hominibus habitantibus* in eisdem." Chart. Newbottle, No. 158.

(*t*) See the charters of David II., in Robertson's Index to the Records.

(*u*) Scobell's Acts, 1654, ch. 9.

woods (*y*). Near Edinburgh was the forest of Drumselgh, the Drumseugh of modern times, wherein David I. encountered the stag; the circumstance which, if we may credit the legend, gave rise to the religious house of Holyrood (*z*). *Drumseilg*, indeed, signifies in the Gaelic, the ridge of venison or of hunting. From his demesne of Liberton, David conferred, among a thousand privileges, on the monks of Holyrood, thirty cart-loads of brush-wood (*a*). Alexander II. gave his *forest* of Gledehouse to the monks of Newbotle (*b*). Those woods and forests supplied abundant shelter, pasturage, and *mast*, for numerous brood-mares, cattle, sheep, and swine; and *pannage* became an object of profit and of care. There were vast pasturages on the Gala water (*c*). While the feeding of flocks was pursued by the opulent, husbandry was followed by the poor. But David I. was the greatest farmer in Mid-Lothian. This admirable prince had many agricultural establishments in this shire (*d*). Yet was husbandry practised in that age without adequate knowledge and full effect. Even David I. talked without emotion of the numbers of his sheep, which, in

(*y*) The maps of Lothian evince how many names of places were derived from the woodiness of the soil; and show how much woods abounded in Mid-Lothian during the Scoto-Saxon period.

(*z*) Maitland's Edin., 143. The extensive common near Edinburgh, which was long known by the name of the *Burugh-moor*, was covered with oaks as late as the demise of James IV. Drummond, in mentioning the muster of his army, which he led to their fate on Flodden-field, says the Burugh-moor, whereon they collected, was a spacious field, that was delightful from the shades of many aged oaks. Hist. James's, 218.

(*a*) Ib., 146. David I. granted to the monks of Newbottle some lands in Mid-Lothian, with a salt-work, at Blackeland, and pannage, through all *his forests*, and wood from the same to construct their buildings. Chart. Newbot., No. 28. This grant was confirmed by his son Henry and his grandson William. Ib., No. 29-176.

(*b*) Chart. Newbottle, No. 127. In 1239 the same king granted to those monks the lands of Morth-wait, and Glede-house, *in liberam forestam*. Ib., No. 32 and 128. Both those places lay on the sources of the South Esk, in Temple parish. Alexander II. granted to the monks of Dunfermline *a free warren* throughout their lands of Musselburgh. prohibiting every one from hunting or trespassing within the warren, on the penalty of £10. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. We may trace in the Chartularies several other grants of *free warren* in Mid-Lothian during the 13th century.

(*c*) "Gala water even now," says Robertson, "abounds in sheep-walks, which are scarcely inferior to the hills of Teviotdale." Agricult. Survey, 159.

(*d*) Charter of Holyrood, in Maitland's Edinburgh. From the reign of David I. to the days of King James VI., the agricultural changes in the royal possessions were numerous. The park of Holyroodhouse paid of old 600 mutton bulks; which park was replenished and reserved for keeping his majesty's house; with 600 stone of hay, which was accounted for in 1663 at 40s. for each mutton bulk, and 2s. for each stone of hay, amounting in all to £1,000. But the same is now disponed to Sir James Hamilton as keeper thereof, who pays nothing for the same, though the former keeper paid £1,000, as before mentioned. MS. Rental.

every year, died *naturally* from want (*e*). If so beneficent a prince did not provide winter food for his herds, we may easily suppose how many of the flocks of his subjects perished every spring from the diseases which penury produces. The people were too often exposed during those rude times, to the inconvenience of plenty and to the miseries of famine. The next greatest farmers to the king were the abbots, who possessed vast herds and cultivated many granges by their villeyns. The barons, in their several degrees of rank and of opulence, were the next greatest farmers to the abbots. As every church had its hamlet, so every baronial house had its villagers, who followed the plough during peace, and drew their swords in support of the baron in war. Thus every hamlet was inhabited by husbandmen, who tilled the adjacent fields, and pastured their flocks on the extensive commons, which to every district belonged (*f*); and from this circumstance it became, in those times, an established right for every person to enjoy common of pasturage throughout his own parish.

During ages of rudeness, however, when the track of warfare was constantly marked by devastation, agriculture could not, uninterruptedly, follow her laborious course. The lower orders of men, as they were the bondmen rather than the tenants of the landowners, laboured unwillingly for others, rather than freely for themselves. Under such a state of society, while coins were few and circulation was unknown, it was impossible that the tillers of the earth could possess sufficient capital for enabling them to follow their ploughs with advantage to the nation or profit to themselves. Under those inabilities of means, the landlords, copying the example of the freeholders of England, found it necessary to furnish the tenant with stock, which he rented as well as the land, and which the tenant was obliged to restore when he delivered up the farm to the owner of both. The stock, which thus accommodated both parties, was called, in the law of Scotland, *steelbow*-goods. The practice of *steelbow*, indeed, is still known in this shire, though the origin of the term seems to be forgotten (*g*). It required a long progression of quiet industry, as well as attentive economy, to carry up the value of agricultural capital from nothing, in the wretched age of *steelbow*, to the flourishing period of 1795,

(*e*) Charter of Holyrood.

(*f*) Adam of Swanyston granted various parcels of land to the hospital of Soltre with common of pasture, with a reservation, however, to his own men of the right of common in all the commons and other easements belonging to Swanyston. Chart. Soltre, 19-20-31.

(*g*) Wood's Hist. of Cramond, 98; Robertson's View of Mid-Lothian Agriculture, 59.

when there were employed in the agriculture of Edinburghshire, £508,750 Sterling (*h*).

When, with new men, a very different policy began at the Scoto-Saxon period, every manor had its mill as we have already seen. David I., the greatest farmer of his kingdom, possessed many a mill (*i*). The nobles and ecclesiastics, who followed his agricultural example, had also many mills, as we may learn from the chartularies (*k*), and from the increase of the number of mills, through every age, we may infer the progress of agriculture. During the same ages there also were, in every manor, a malt-kiln and a brewery, as we know from the chartularies.

There is reason to infer, from the facts that are recorded in the chartularies, that the practice of horticulture began as early as the pursuits of agriculture. David I., who gave so many salutary lessons to his people, also showed them an example of gardening. He speaks, in his charter of Holyrood, of his garden under the castle. The royal gardens of Edinburgh were objects of care during the disastrous reign of David II. (*l*), and horticulture was generally practised in Mid-Lothian during the Scoto-Saxon period. The monks of Newbottle received tithes from the gardens as early as the reign of Alexander II. (*m*). As early as the year 1202, there was a garden at Locherwart, on the Upper

(*h*) Robertson's View, 213.

(*i*) David I. speaks of his new mill of Edinburgh, and of his mills of Dene and Liberton, in his charter of Holyrood ; and he gave the monks of that *house* a right to erect a mill on their lands, a privilege which could not be enjoyed without a grant. See his charter in Maitland's Edinburgh.

(*k*) Alan of Swintun took to farm of the Abbot of Dunfermline within his manor of Musselburgh, the site of a mill on the Water of Esk, on the west part opposite to the abbot's mill of Wythenoc, with common of pasture for the horses which might bring the corn to the mill, paying yearly one mark of money at the two terms, and stipulating that he should not injure the abbot's mill, but uphold the same in case of injury. Chart. Dunferm.

(*l*) David II. appointed Malcolm Pagainson the keeper of his gardens at Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 39. The royal garden was in 1680 converted into a physic garden, with a proper salary to a skilful botanist. Maitl. Edin., 154. James Sutherland, who published in 1683 a learned catalogue of "the plants in the physic garden at Edinburgh," was probably the first *intendant* of the said garden. When this able man ceased to cultivate botany is uncertain ; but he was succeeded in 1710 by George Preston, as *superintendent* of the physic garden ; and Preston was followed in 1716 by the late Dr. Alston, as professor of botany and as superintendent of the *physic garden* at Edinburgh. The lectures on botany generally began in the physic garden at the end of May and continued till the end of the season. See the advertisement in the Edinburgh Courant.

(*m*) Chart. Newbot., 250 ; Lord Hailes's Canons.

Tyne (*n*). During the reign of James III., even the poorest tenants of the moorlands in Mid-Lothian had their gardens, which supplied them with *kail.* In March 1479, the tenants of Crosswood pursued in parliament Sir John Sandilands of Calder, for a trespass on their possessions, when the lords adjudged him to pay to each eight shillings for the *kail* which he had destroyed in their *kail-yards* (*o*). Before the accession of King James, gardens were universal in Mid-Lothian (*p*). During his reign it became the practice to pillage the gardens of Mid-Lothian (*q*).

In addition to all those agricultural pursuits during those early ages, there were other objects of rural profits. *Petaries* for fuel, became, as early as the reign of David I., the frequent objects of request and of grant (*r*). The *collieries* and *quarries* of Inveresk and Tranent were worked perhaps as early as the reign of William the Lion. The monks of Newbottle, as we have already seen, had the merit of discovering and working *coal* at Preston in East-Lothian, before the accession of Alexander II. (*s*). This useful practice must have soon been introduced into the adjacent shire, which abounds with

(*n*) Chart. Scone, No. 43. There was an *old orchard* at Gilmerton before the year 1607. Inquis. Special Edin., 226. In 1603 the tenements in the Cowgate of Edinburgh had gardens belonging to them. Ib., 107. The tenements in Leith had also their gardens in 1609. Ib., 271.

(*o*) Parl. Rec., 248.

(*p*) Chart. Newbot., 292-4; Inquis. Spec. Edin. On the 25th of May 1338, Henry de Brad granted to the monks of Newbottle the meadow called *mediespeth*, and the well in it, and the *garden* called Stotfauld, and the common use of his moor, with his peatary for fuel. Chart. Newbot., 65.

(*q*) In 1625, John Rait and Alexander Dean were hanged for stealing from the gardens of Barnton, Pilton, and other places various herbs and bee-hives. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 305. At Edinburgh, in 1683, John Reid published his *Scots Gard'ner.* We may learn, from the advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury*, that soon after the seedsmen of Edinburgh began to import *garden seeds* from abroad of the freshest and choicest kind.

(*r*) Chart. Newbot., 27. Towards the end of the 12th century, David de Lyne granted to the monastery of Newbottle the *petary* of Locherwart, which was called Ulnestruther, with a sufficient space on his land of Locherwart to dry the fuel, and free passage through his ground to carry the *petes.* Ib., 23. A similar grant was made to the same monastery by David de Lisurs, the Lord of Goverton. Ib., 43. Herbert, the abbot of Kelso, granted to Reginald de Bosco his whole land of Estir-Dodinestum "cum medietatem *petarie* de Camerun;" yielding for the same yearly ten marks of silver, and performing to the king the usual services. Chart. Kelso, 453-4.

(*s*) See before, p. 486; Chart. Newbot., 72. At the accession of King James, there were collieries at Duddingston, at Gilmerton, in the barony of Newbottle, in the barony of Broughton, at Woolmet, and at other places. See the Inquisit. Special Edin. In December 1764, the coalpits at Woolmet were supernaturally dried up. Scots Mag., 686.

coal; and in after times, collieries were everywhere opened, and worked to the advantage of the country and the profit of the owners.

William and his immediate successors tried, by salutary regulations, to promote the practice of a better husbandry (*s*). The reign of Alexander III. is celebrated, after the factions of his minority had ceased, for its quiet and its plenty: "swá wes corne in his land enwche, with sons of ale and brede (*t*)."

But sad scenes of domestic strife and foreign hostilities ensued "when Alyxandyr oure kyng wes dede." A war of seventy years began in 1296, and ended with 1366, during which hostility and destruction were the same. The waste of that course of conflicts cannot be easily calculated; yet may we estimate the loss, with some degree of accuracy, from a consideration of the amount of the old and new extents within this shire, which we have already seen (*u*). The war of the competition for the crown was succeeded by domestic feuds, by the hostilities of the Reformation, by the conflicts of the fanatics, which ended with the war of the Revolution. England long felt the enmities of *the Roses:* Scotland scarcely recovered from the devastation and the penury which were the necessary effects of those successive wars, even to our own times.

Of the various accommodations of agriculture, easy communications are deemed of the greatest consequence. The earliest roads in Mid-Lothian were undoubtedly made by Roman hands. During the Scoto-Saxon period, the king's high-ways are often mentioned in the chartularies as local boundaries (*x*).

(*s*) See their statutes in Skene's old laws. Parl. Rec., 5.

(*t*) Wyntownis Chron., i., 400-1. Wyntoun states the price, at that epoch, of a bolle of *atis*, at pennys foure of Scottis mone; a bolle of bere at awcht or ten; a bolle of whete at sextene, as at twenty pennys the derth was grete. But it may be doubted if those prices can be strictly applied to the reign of Alexander III. There was no *Scottis moné* in that age; all was sterling, of the same value as the coins of England.

(*u*) In the chartulary of Newbottle there are various documents, granting the monks several abatements of the rents which they paid for lands and salt-works, on account of the devastations of the *direful war*, of *the oppressive wars*. We might hence infer that the value of lands must have been very low during the 14th century: Edward de Lestalrig granted to the nuns of North-Berwick a toft in Leith and three acres of land at Greenside, which they leased for ever to the monks of Newbottle for the yearly rent of half a mark of legal money, Chart. Newbot., 57-8. The same property was granted by the monks in fee to Symon de Daynotre for eleven shillings sterling yearly, during the reign of James IV. Ib., 285.

(*x*) Under Alexander III., a charter of Sir Hugh Riddel mentions the *regiam viam*, which led from the village called Ford to the monastery of Newbottle. Chart. Newbot., 22. The king's highway, which leads from that monastery to Edinburgh, is mentioned in another of the year 1253. Ib., 16. Gervaise, the abbot, mentions in his charter a certain road which was called *Derstrette*, near Colden, in the district of Inveresk. Ib., 163.

David I. recognizes several roads in the charter of Holyrood; yet for ages afterward, county, parish and cross roads, were but few and founderous (*a*). The first statutes with regard to *highways*, are said to have been made under David II. The year 1714 is supposed to be the epoch of turnpike-roads in this shire, when improvements are asserted to have begun (*b*). The true epoch of the first road act for Scotland is 1555. The year 1750 is the era of the first turnpike act, which was made by the united parliament for Haddingtonshire. This law probably led on to the passing of an act in the subsequent year, "for repairing the high roads in the county of Edinburgh, to and from the city of Edinburgh (*c*)," and it is from the year 1751 that we may date the commodiousness and the extent of the roads in Mid-Lothian, at whatever expense to the public or the traveller.

Connected with roads are wheel-carriages. These useful vehicles are said not to have been used for the purposes of husbandry in Mid-Lothian till the recent accession of George I. (*d*). Yet are *carts* mentioned by David I. in

(*a*) The monks of Newbottle had several lands in Clydesdale, and in order to have easy access to those distant granges they obtained from various proprietors in Mid and West Lothian, special grants of free passage through their estates between Newbottle and Clydesdale. Chart. Newbot., 218 to 227 and 240. Those grants evince that the communications between Lothian and Clydesdale were difficult. In 1214 Thomas de Lestalrig granted a confirmation to the monks of Inchcolm of some lands in *villa de Leith*, which he describes as lying on the south "*altæ stratæ* inter Edinburgum et Leith." Chart. Inchcolm, 16. Yet it is supposed that there were no wheel-carriages at Leith in 1602. In 1612 causeways were ordered to be made about Edinburgh. Maitland, 58.

(*b*) Robertson's Agricult. Survey, 178. The act which is alluded to above is 12 An. ch. 10, private. This was followed by the Act of 5 Geo. I., ch. 30, for confirming all the laws made in Scotland, before the Union, concerning the repairing of highways, bridges, and ferries.

(*c*) 24 Geo. II., ch. 35. During the disturbed reign of Charles II. there had been made several statutes for the making or mending of roads, which, at least, evince the general conviction of the importance of road-making to domestic economy. In 1688 there were no *footways* in the city of Edinburgh, which the magistrates endeavoured to remedy by directing the citizens to lay before their *tenements* large flat stones. Maitl. Edin., 108. Even during the reign of King James, the legislature paid some attention to the *county bridges*. In 1587 an act was passed for repairing Cramond brig. Unprinted Act. This was followed by another for the same object in 1607. Id. In 1594 there was an act passed concerning the brig of Dalkeith. Unprinted Act. There was another for supporting this brig in 1663. Id. In 1670 there was an act imposing a duty for upholding the brig of Dalkeith. Unprinted Act. In 1597 there was an act passed for repairing the brig of Musselburgh. Unprinted Act. And in 1661 there was passed another law "for an imposition at the bridge of Musselburgh." Unprinted Act. Such were the endeavours of the legislature to repair the several bridges of Edinburghshire.

(*d*) Robertson's Survey, 178.

his charter of Holyrood, and the chartularies are crowded with notices of the villeyn-services which were performed by the husbandmen to the monks in *wheel-carriages*, upwards of five centuries and a half before the epoch which has thus been mistakingly assigned them (*e*). The most common wheel-carriages during the 13th and the 12th centuries, were the waggon, or *wayne*, which was drawn by *oxen*, that were then commonly used for every agricultural purpose (*f*). The epoch of the first public coach which was proposed to run between Edinburgh and Leith was the year 1610 (*g*). The second project for the same purpose was adopted in 1660 by the town council of Edinburgh, who licensed Woodcock to set up a coach to run between Edinburgh and Leith (*h*). In 1684 the town council ordered two coaches to be bought at London for the use of the magistrates, considering how much expense the town had paid in coach-hire for the use of their bailies (*i*); so slow is the progress of introducing effectually the most obvious accommodations into general practice (*k*).

Neither the wasteful wars nor the many changes in the ownership of the soil during the reign of Robert Bruce admitted of a flourishing husbandry. The hostilities, the distractions, and the debility of the age of his feeble successor, admitted of no favourable alteration in this respect (*l*). Some other acts of the

(*e*) Yet is it certain that David II. granted to John Tennand the lands of Laureston in Cramond, with forty *creils of peits*. Roberts. Index, 60. *Cartwheels* were an article of import from Flanders during the reign of James I., who was assassinated in 1437. Hakluyt's Voyages.

(*f*) Their was a suit decided by the lords auditors in parliament on the 22nd of March 1503-4, by Dame Elspeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Tod, burgess of Edinburgh, against James Farley of Braid, for detaining 42 marks Scots money, 12 *oxen*, a *wayne*, a *horse*, a plough, two harrows, 6 bolls of meal, 3½ ells of russet at 46s. 8d., two ells of welvous of the value of £5, and 5 ells of lawn of the value of 50s. Parl. Rec., 499.

(*g*) The king granted a licence to Henry Anderson of Tralsound, in Pomerania, to bring from thence to Scotland a number of coaches and waggons with horses, for the purpose of transporting persons between Edinburgh and Leith; taking for each person the fare of two shillings Scots money. Privy Seal Record, lxxix. This project was not probably carried into effect. Queen Anne brought with her from Denmark, in 1590, the first coach.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin., 97. The whole fare of the coach was settled at 1s., and of each person at 4d.

(*i*) Ib., 105. From 1721 to 1726 it was the common practice to advertise a coach returning to London from Edinburgh for the conveyance of passengers. See the Edin. Courant of those times.

(*k*) The Edinburgh Almanack shows how many coaches now run from Edinburgh in all directions every day.

(*l*) The low prices of every thing which was connected with agriculture evince the wretched condition of the husbandmen. The following are the prices, from the chamberlain's accounts of

parliament of James I. cast additional light on agricultural affairs during his reign (*h*). The statutes of the parliaments of James II. evince a knowledge of legislation and an ambition to promote the agriculture of the kingdom, which are very remarkable (*i*). During the mild reign of James III., the quiet removal of tenants at the usual terms was provided for (*k*). In April 1481, it was enacted, with great attention to the *poor commons* as well as to the gentry, that no one coming to the king's host should waste *the meadows* or destroy the corns; nor should make spoil of any manner of goods (*l*). During the traitorous year 1482, the insidious war with England created great waste of corn and cattle, and famine thereupon ensued, which caused many deaths (*m*). Those

1329; A horse, 13s. 4d.; an ox, 10s.; a sheep, 14d. to 2s.; a swine, 6s. 8d.; a stone of cheese, 1s.; a boll of meal, 1s. 7d.; a boll of barley, 2s. 5d.; a boll of oats, 11d.; a boll of *white* pease, 2s. 4d. Such were the articles and the prices in 1329. Compare with them the articles and prices of the year 1424, at the distance of almost a century, from Ruddiman's Diplomata: A boll of wheat, 2s.; a boll of rye, barley, or pease, 1s. 4d.; a boll of oats, 6d.; an ox, 6s. 8d.; a horse, 13s. 4d. The parliament of May 1424 ordained taxes to be raised upon cattle and corn, for paying the king's ransom. The several articles were then valued as follows, as we may learn from the Parliamentary Record, 9: The boll of wheat, 2s.; the boll of rye, bear, and pease, 1s. 4d.; the boll of oats, 6d.; a cow, and her follower of two years, 6s. 8d.; a draught ox, of three years old, 6s. 8d.; the wedder, and the ewe, 12d.; gimmers, dimmounts, and goats, 12d.; the wild mare, with her follower of three years old, 10s.; colts of three years, 13s. 4d. The same parliament of May 1424 passed an act against rooks breeding in the trees of *church-yards* and *orchards*, as they consumed the corn. Parl. Rec., 10.

(*h*) The export of horses under three years old was prohibited. Parl. Rec., 12. The sellers of *hay* and fodder within the burghs were prohibited from going into the *hay*-house with a candle without a lantern. Ib., 17. In May 1426, it was enacted that every husbandman tilling with a plough of eight oxen be required to sow at least a firlot of wheat and half a firlot of *pease*, with a proportion of *beans*. Every baron was required to sow the same quantities of grain, under a large forfeiture to the king. Ib., 18. In 1439 was the *dear summer*, for the boll of meal was 24s, the boll of malt 26s. 8d., and the boll of wheat 30s.; and many died for hunger. Chron. at the end of Wyntoun.

(*i*) In January 1449-50, an act was passed, "for protecting the poor commons that till the ground." Their possessions and their leases were declared to remain, though the landlord might sell the soil. Parl. Rec., 31. The scarcity induced, and the parliament ordained, that all manner of corn should be threshed before the last of May. No one was allowed to hoard. Parl. Rec., 35. In July 1454, the importation of victual was encouraged. Id. In March 1458, the parliament required all landholders to let their lands in fee-farm. It was then ordained that all the tenants should be obliged to plant woods, hedges, and broom; and that hedges should be made with *living* wood; that every one having *a plough* of *eight oxen* should sow certain quantities of corn; and that *rooks* and *crows* building in *orchards* and other places should be destroyed. Ib., 43.

(*k*) Ib., 177, on the 20th of November, 1469. (*l*) Ib., 268.

(*m*) The old Chron. at the end of Wyntoun; Parl. Rec., 358.

various measures of those several reigns, wretched as they were, may seem to mark a progress of improvement. But what useful husbandry could exist when the neighbouring barons might oppress with impunity the king's tenants, when the weak might be oppressed by the strong (*n*). The parliament enforced in 1504, the act for the encouragement of letting to lease the lands in fee-farm (*o*). As far as this measure had a tendency to give permanence to possession it laid a strong ground for real improvement. The practice of enclosing was at the same time enforced (*p*), and punishments were provided for those who stole fish, pigeons, bee-hives, or other articles from orchards, parks, or other privileged places (*q*). The frequent returns of scarcity and of famine seem to show the bad state of the agriculture after all those legislative measures of encouragement or at least protection. But those various means were obstructed by the still more terrible times which ensued. The minority of James V., the reign of Mary Stewart, the infancy of her son, and the civil wars of her grandson, Charles I., were all periods of lasting waste (*r*).

Melioration of the means of conveyance is undoubtedly a great object. In tracing the improvements of agriculture we must always advert to the condition of the people whether happy or adverse. The emancipation of the *villeyns* during the progress of the 15th century, was certainly a great step in genuine melioration. Yet what could this change avail during wretched times, arising from foreign and domestic wars; from the propensity of the strong to oppress the weak; from the want of protection to persons; from the insecurity of property, owing to the prevalence of wrong rather than the administration of right. In this view of the subject, the establishment of the College of Justice in 1532 was an important measure for making both persons and property

(*n*) An act was passed in February 1489-90, during the first year of James IV., "for protecting the king's tenants from oppression." Parl. Rec., 366. During the preceding reign we have seen the tenants of Crosswood apply to parliment for redress against the violence and spoliation of Sir James Sandilands. Ib., 247-8.

(*o*) Ib., 493. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) Ib., 492. James IV. was active to introduce horses and mares from Spain, and also from Poland. Epist. Reg. Scot., i., 98-9. James V. was equally active to introduce horses for the stud from Denmark and Sweden. Ib., ii., 36-7; and Pitscottie tells, 279, that James V. brought home from Denmark great horses and mares, and put them in parks, that their offspring might be ready to sustain wars in time of need.

(*r*) The very laws which were made during successive reigns for protecting the tillers of the soil from spoil, are the best proofs of the deplorable state of the husbandmen. How could agriculture flourish if the farmers were occupied with domestic war throughout a period of twenty years!

more safe. What availed the making of the best laws, if the people were not prepared to derive any advantage from them; if the rulers were not in a condition to enforce them; and if, at the end of many a year of misery, the insurrections of the Reformation and the rebellion of the Covenant left the nobles and people in a miserable state of complete exhaustion, without property or the means of acquiring it, without habits of application or desire of settlement.

Such was the disastrous state of Scotland at the epoch of the Restoration. In vain did the parliament meet to make the most salutary laws, while the government was severe from a sense of weakness, and the populace were mutinous from their ignorance of what they owed to themselves and the state. The first parliament of Charles II., which assembled at Edinburgh in January 1661, enacted many laws upon the narrow principles of the mercantile system, which ought to have made the people industrious and rich, if positive statute could obtain such desireable objects. An act was now passed "for planting and inclosing ground," yet there seems to have been no provision made for carrying that salutary measure into real effect. A ruined people demanded a law "for protecting debtors," and another "for *reducing the interest of money.*" These laws may have given the *debtors* some respite, but it did not give them *capital.* As it was designed to make the people manufacturers, a law was passed "against the import of *ready made wares,*" and another for erecting manufactories. These were immediately followed by various acts for preventing the export of linen yarn, woollen yarn, and of skins, for making linen and stuffs and soap. Add to all those which were also passed, a *navigation act* and an act for *fishings.* The parliament plainly meant well, but the populace did not concur in those useful objects. They were not "dull sublunary lovers." They had set their heart on the *Covenant,* on *Conventicles,* on everything except their *temporal advantage;* and the preachers having an interest to delude them, left the legislators alone to devise prudential measures of political economy (*s*).

Subsequent parliaments were not discouraged, though the populace and their preachers became more frantic. In the session of June 1663, *the Estates* endeavoured to promote the rebuilding of ruinous houses in burghs, to incite the practice of agriculture, by passing an act for encouraging *tillage* and *pasturage,* by making a law to allow *the export of corn* and to prevent the *import of strong waters;* and they enacted another law for imposing a duty on

(*s*) See the several statutes of the first parliament of Charles II.

the *import* of *Irish corn*, which was afterwards prohibited. Domestic manufactures were again encouraged, by discouraging the introduction of English commodities, and by exempting from duty the materials of manufacture. Foreign commerce was promoted by appointing *a council of trade*, by empowering the king to regulate traffic with foreign states; and in order that every one might have the means of engaging advantageously in agriculture, in manufactures, and in commerce, the *export of money was prohibited*. *Beggars* and *vagabonds* were at the same time denounced as enemies to the industry which was so much desired, and was so hard to obtain. In addition to all those legislative measures, which are so plausible in theory, markets on the *Mondays* and *Saturdays* were prohibited, as they might possibly interfere with the practice of piety. Other parliaments passed other statutes of a similar tendency, before the religious delusions of James VII. brought on the *Revolution*. The legislative regulations of King William's parliament did not balance the effects of his wars, foreign and domestic, on the political economy of a harassed people. The progress of melioration from all those measures of encouragement, can scarcely be traced in the long period extending from the Reformation to the Revolution, either on the surface of the soil or in the practices of the people (*t*).

The true epoch of improvement in Edinburghshire, and indeed, in Scotland, may be marked by the year 1723, when the Society of Improvers was formed at Edinburgh, who gave instructions and examples to the people (*u*). The nobility and gentry, when they had no longer *religion* or *politics* to occupy

(*t*) In vain did projectors propose their discoveries for the benefit of the dispirited husbandmen. On the 23rd of October 1598, the laird of Makerstoun advertised that he could make land more fruitful *by sowing it with salt*. Birrel's Diary, 47. On the 12th of April 1725, Higgins and his copartners began to sell their *manure*, for improving of ground, at one shilling sterling a bushel. See the Caledonian Mercury, No. 787. In 1723 was published another edition of Lord Belhaven's *Advice* to the farmers, which contains some useful hints. The spirit of improvement was now roused and active. In 1718 the *white* wheat of Cleaveland was introduced into Lothian. Edin. Courant, No. 99. In 1723 a new ingredient for preparing the seed was frequently advertised by John Dickson. He appears to have had rivals, who were called *upstarts*. Caledonian Mercury, No. 526, 549, 553.

(*u*) The Society of Improvers held many meetings. They resolved, in 1725, to discourage the use of *foreign spirits*, to obtain skilful distillers, and to erect manufactories of corn in proper places. Caled. Mercury, No. 694; Courant, No. 899. We here see the original introduction of distilleries upon a large scale. The society published, for the benefit of the farmers, a Treatise on *fallowing*, on *raising grass*, on *training lint* and *hemp*. Caled. Mercury, No. 722. They promoted the linen manufacture; and in May 1729, an ox, six feet four inches high, was sold in the Canongate market. Courant, No. 644.

them, found an amusement in cultivating their domains and in teaching the tenantry to improve their farms (*x*). The great defects of that age were the want of proper tenures and adequate capital. It was reserved for other improvers in more recent times to supply both, and the result has been, after various efforts, to carry up the agricultural practice of this well-tilled shire to possible perfection (*y*).

It is, however, of importance to trace some of those means which enabled the husbandmen to carry forward their agricultural affairs from inconsiderable beginnings, in a regular progress to great perfection. The first class of men in modern times who distinguished themselves as active improvers, were the nobility and gentry as we have just seen. The next classes of men were the learned professions; the lawyers and physicians of Edinburgh, and the country clergy, who turned their talents and attention from their proper business to agricultural pursuits (*z*). The first person who is recorded as the earliest improver in this shire was Sir John Dick of Prestonfield, who being provost of Edinburgh at the Revolution, transferred the sweepings of the streets to his own fields (*a*). But this was said without consideration, as early as 1630, Sir James Macgill had shown the benefit of manure and the practice of obtaining it from Edinburgh (*b*). Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland, the grandfather of the present baronet, was the first improver who introduced the sowing of turnips and the planting of cabbages in the fields. He was among the first who sowed clover and rye grass, and he also greatly improved the breed of horses and cattle (*c*). Hamilton of Fala set the example of enclosing his estate by hedge and ditch, and by sheltering his fields with clumps of

(*x*) Lord Belhaven, in his very erudite dedication of *his Address*, in 1723, to the young nobility and gentry, says, I must confess I am very well satisfied to see so much industry of late about the dwelling-houses of most of the nobility and gentry within Scotland. His lordship added a sentiment, which it would be injurious to suppress: "Husbandry enlarges a country, and makes it as if you had conquered another country adjacent; and, I am sure, a conquest by the spade and the plough is both more just and of longer continuance than what is got by sword and bow."

(*y*) Robertson's Gen. View of the Agriculture of Mid-Lothian.

(*z*) Wight's Survey of Edinburghshire, 1778.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. of Duddingston. The fact is, however, that John Reid, the Scots gardener, said in 1683, "there is no way under the sun so probable for improving our land as enclosing and planting the same; therefore, I wish it were effectually put in practice." This ingenious improver was born at Niddrie, in this shire.

(*b*) He entertained daily ten horses for *carrying muck* to Wester-Drylaw, in Cramond parish, from Edinburgh, for the *gooding* of his land, besides procuring lime at a great expense. Wood's Cramond, 97.

(*c*) Stat. Acco., ix., 282.

planting, and this intelligent improver incited a similar spirit of rational improvement among the neighbouring gentlemen (*d*). Thomas Hope of Rankeillor, who had learned the art of farming in England and Flanders, and was the father of the society of improvers, distinguished himself during its existence, as a very intelligent and active improver (*e*). But, above all, the several members of that society residing about Edinburgh, by their example as well as their precepts, began to give a more advantageous form to agricultural affairs (*f*). One of the first measures recommended and enforced by that society to the attention of farmers, was *summer fallowing*, with a rotation of barley, wheat and pease (*g*). There is reason to believe that the practice of fallowing had been understood two centuries before, though it had not been skilfully employed. The benefit of manure had been shown by the practice of Sir John Dick, but it was reserved for that society to recommend *marle*. Yet few had adopted this manure, owing to the expense and to the shortness of the leases; and they proposed this last disadvantage to the consideration of the landlords. The society next recommended the sowing of *turnips*. At the epoch of the Union, the cultivation of that useful root was confined to the gardens for kitchen use (*h*); but from the recommendation of the society and the fitness of the measure, the turnip husbandry was soon transferred to the fields, as it was generally approved. There was, however, nothing said by the society's treatise about *potatoes*. The first cultivation of this very important root to the sustenance of life, is said to have been transferred from the gardens to the fields about the year 1744 (*i*). But improvers strenuously recommended

(*d*) Stat. Acco., x., 602.

(*e*) Transac. Soc. Improvers, Ded. vii.

(*f*) See their Transac. by Maxwell, 5. Among those eminent improvers ought to be mentioned, with just praise, James Small of Ford, in this shire, who has improved and brought to perfection the plough, the great instrument of the best husbandry. Stat. Acco., xiii. 626; Ib., ix. 283.

(*g*) Their *Treatise of fallowing*, 1724.

(*h*) Sutherland's Catalogue; the Buccleuch Household Book.

(*i*) Robertson's General View, 67, wherein the potato is said not to have been long before cultivated in gardens. Yet the *Virginia potatoes* were in Sutherland's Catalogue. In the *Scots Gardener* of John Reid, 1683, there are directions for planting potatoes. It is a fact that potatoes were not planted in the fields when the society published their Treatise on fallowing, in 1724; for Wilson, the quaker, in writing to Thomas Hope of Rankeillor on this subject, says, "if you had in Scotland the method of planting potatoes with the plough, you need not lose that year's crop." Transactions of the Society, 154. As early as December 1720, the largest and firmest potatoes were brought to Scotland from Stoughton, in England. They were sold at 2s. 8d. per bushel. Advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 616, etc. The cultivation of

what was of equal importance to the animal world, *the sowing* of *grass-seeds*, a practice which had recently been begun, and successfully adopted ; yet was it declined by some farmers, who were of opinion that every new practice brought with it great charge and much labour, attended with some disappointments. Such objections the improvers answered by remarking what shows the agricultural state of those times. The farmers in Scotland being in use to labour their grounds at a much smaller expense and with less industry than they do in England, were content with a very small return ; so that they continued to labour their grounds for corn till it was reduced to absolute sterility, which may be said of soil when it does not render *three fold* ; but in England, grounds are regarded as unfit for tillage when they render less than *five fold* (*a*). Such, then, are the instructive intimations which show at once the misery of the old modes, and the importance of what is called *the rotation of crops*, which relieve the soil and enrich the husbandman. We may easily suppose that the advantage of a rotation being once acknowledged, every one adopted such a sequence of sowing the species of corn or vegetable as was most suitable to the soil or convenient to his circumstances. While the spirit of the farmers was thus roused at the epoch of that society in 1723, and their efforts directed to the most advantageous methods and profitable crops, we hear little of the *means* by which additional expenses were to be defrayed. The society, instead of proposing how *capital* was to be provided for so many projects, only intimate to the landlords that the tenants ought to be considered in the length of their leases and the moderation of their terms. The *Bank of Scotland* had, however, existed since the year 1695. It had been in operation during eight-and-twenty years of difficult times, and the result had hitherto been that the bank stock had not been very profitable to the proprietors nor beneficial to the people, owing to the inability of both to profit from each other (*b*).

potatoes by the plough in the fields was soon after introduced, as we may learn from Maxwell's observations on the quaker's letter. Transactions of the Society, 171-2. Yet in a Treatise by John Fraser, published at Edinburgh in 1757, containing directions how to raise potatoes, he says, "the farmers have *of late* got into the method of raising the red potato by the plough in "the richest of their grounds ; whence people have taken occasion (among the many assigned "causes of dearth) to say, that since potatoes became so plenty, there has never been a cheap "peck of meal." When Wight surveyed this shire in 1778, he found the *potato husbandry* completely established, and the universal conviction of its great utility to the grower and consumer fully settled.

(*a*) The society's Treatise on fallowing, 35-6.

(*b*) On the 5th of April 1722, the adventurers of the bank, at a general meeting, resolved that a dividend of profits for the year byegone should be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the company's capital stock.

While the improvers of Edinburghshire had not yet learned to provide capital for every exigency, it was important to abridge labour and improve machinery. It is not exactly ascertained what improver it was who first tilled with two horse ploughs instead of four. Two clergymen, Doctor Carlyle of Inveresk, and Doctor Grieve of Dalkeith, claim the merit of this practice about the year 1768. Reflecting on the practice of the ancients, and "having observed the wheel plough with two horses driven by one man, successfully used *for some years within the park of Dalkeith*," resolved to make trial of that method on their own farms though of a strong clay soil (*c*). They were laughed at by the farmers for doing that with little expense which they did themselves with great. But this laughter did not last long. When it was generally perceived that better crops were raised by fewer means, the practice of two horse ploughs was gradually adopted in all the Lothians; while the instrument itself was amended and supplied at a lower price by Small, the plough-maker of Dalkeith (*d*). We may thus perceive, however, that this useful practice began within the park of Dalkeith, where it may have been often seen by the farmers without desire of imitation. It is impossible to quit Dalkeith without concurring in the general applause which is willingly paid to the present Duke of Buccleuch, for his protection of the arts, for his practices of husbandry, for his improvements of agriculture, which are permanently useful in themselves as they are beneficial to the public.

The city of Edinburgh partook of the general spirit. The town council endeavoured to obtain the improvement of the *Burgh-loch*, or *Common-myre*, forming a part of the Burgh-moor, lying southward of the city for a great extent. In 1658 the Burgh-loch with its marshes were let to John Stratton for nineteen years. The city, in September 1722, let the same waste to Thomas Hope of Rankeillor on an improving lease of 57 years, paying yearly £66 13s. 4d. (*e*). The Frigget waste, lying along the shore of the Forth, between

Caledonian Mercury, No. 313. On the 8th of April 1723, the same dividend of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was voted the proprietors. Ib., 470. We thus see that the profits of the bank on its actual stock were only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

(*c*) We may remember that in the parliamentary practice, during the reigns of the Jameses, *a plough with eight oxen* was deemed the standard of a *man's means*. This plough of *eight oxen* had come down from the agricultural days of David I.

(*d*) See the Rev. Doctor Carlyle's Stat. Acco. of Inveresk, xvi. 12.

(*e*) Maitl. Edin., 173; MS. Contract. During recent times an act of parliament was passed to enable the town council of Edinburgh to drain this Common-myre, or Hope Park, which from an ornament had become, owing to neglect, a nuisance.

Leith and Musselburgh, has been converted by very different management into a busy village (*f*). There is scarcely a parish within Mid-Lothian that has not shared in the various meliorations which the active energy that was roused in 1723 has universally produced (*g*), and the general result has been, in the active progress of seventy years, to employ many people, to lay out much capital, to acquire great profit, and to yield vast advantage to this energetic district (*h*). [In 1887, there were under cultivation in Edinburghshire, 35,554 acres of corn crops; 19,019 acres of green crops; 36,166 acres of clover and grasses under rotation; 48,132 acres of permanent pasture; 1 acre of flax; and 165 acres fallow land. In the same year there were in the county, 4,187 horses, 18,776 cattle, 160,200 sheep, and 5389 pigs.]

From the agriculture it is natural to advert to the manufactures of Mid-Lothian, which promote and support each other. During the earliest reigns of the Scoto-Saxon kings, their people must have enjoyed the benefit of those domestic fabrics without which society can scarcely exist. During those times, we may perceive in the chartularies, that this shire enjoyed handicrafts but not manufactories; and the earliest were those which were connected with agriculture; the manufacturing of corn into meal; and malt into ale, for ages

(*f*) Stat. Acco., xviii. 361.

(*g*) See the Stat. Accounts of this shire, under the head of improvements.

(*h*) The intelligent writer of the *General View* of the *Agriculture of Mid-Lothian*, in 1795, states the general result in this manner. The whole operations of agriculture were in this shire conducted by 675 families of farmers, under whom were 2,346 families of *hinds*, who were in constant employment; 1,014 families of mechanics, who depended chiefly on husbandry; and 270 domestic servants. There, moreover, were 460 families of hinds and mechanics, who were employed by the land owners, exclusive of casual labourers during the busy seasons.

He stated the whole capital which was employed in this shire for every agricultural purpose at,		£435,000
The annual value of the whole crop,	£488,100	
Of this, was paid yearly, for the rent,	£134,575	
for seed,	65,000	
for tillage,	65,000	
for carriage,	65,000	
for other charges,	103,903	
The whole charges,	£433,478	
The profit,	54,722	
	488,100	

In the same year, 1795, this agriculturalist gives a different view of the domestic profits of this shire, thus:—

The gross produce of the *land*,	£516,925;	the rent, £145,750, at 30 yrs. purch.;	worth, £4,372,500
of the *coal*,	60,000;	20,000, at 8	160,000
of the quarries,	10,000;	3,333, at 10	33,333
of the houses,	156,000;	156,000, at 10	1,560,000
	£742,925	£325,083	£6,125,833

before the practice of distilling grain into spirits was known. The making of salt was very early of great importance to a people who lived much on salted provisions (*i*). Snch was the inconsiderable state of domestic manufactures at the demise of Alexander III., which was also fatal to husbandry itself. Yet in those ages the catching of fish in the rivers and lakes, as well as the sea, was an object of active pursuit and considerable profit, though the fishery was in those times carried on rather for domestic use than foreign traffic. Nor beyond the limit of domestic use has fishery ever been carried in Mid-Lothian.

At that epoch, ages of warfare and wretchedness began, which did not admit of manufactures or meliorations. During the 14th and 15th centuries, an independent but ruined nation scarcely enjoyed the most common handicrafts. The industrious Flandrikins supplied the Scottish people with almost every necessary as late as the reign of James I. (*k*). Two centuries of subsequent distractions could not give much energy to the manufactures of Mid-Lothian, and legislation interposed her encouragements in vain to engage men in those useful labours, while the people possessed neither skill, nor connection, nor capital.

How many efforts were made by parliament soon after the Restoration to introduce efficiently various manufactures, active fishery and numerous shipping, we have already seen. The populace turned away from *temporal* pursuits in quest of spiritual objects, and the popular energies evaporated in polemical contest and fanatical ebullition. During such a period, a progress in the efforts of domestic economy can scarcely be traced. A different spirit was introduced at the Revolution, and some laws were then made which still continue to produce their beneficial effects. But the energies of the Scottish people were turned away to distant plantation from domestic effort; and dis-

(*i*) A *salt-pan* was granted by the charter of David I. to the monks of Holyrood. Maitl. Edin., 146. There were some salt-works on the shores of Mid-Lothian during the 13th and 12th centuries, as we may learn from the Chartulary of Newbottle. Mary Stewart introduced some foreigners here, who brought in an improved manner of making salt, and who obtained an exclusive privilege by act of parliament for carrying on this work. 9th Parl. of Q. Mary, ch. 71. There are many salt-works on the same shore at present.

(*k*) The wools of Scotland were in those times *draped* in Flanders. The Scots were supplied out of the low countries with *mercerie* and *haberdasherie*, and half of the Scottish ships were laden with *cart-wheels* and *barrows*; so that the traffic of Scotland in that reign consisted of the *rudest wares*. See the Commercial Poem, which has been transcribed into Hakluyt's Voyages, i. 192.

appointment, depression, and tumult followed in necessary succession. The year 1695 saw, however, established at Edinburgh, the Bank of Scotland, with a nominal stock of £100,000 sterling, with a real capital of £20,000 of the same money. Yet for this sum, small as it seems to be, it was not easy to find employment in the business of banking at Edinburgh, at Glasgow, and at other towns in Scotland, such was the want of skill, and circulation of industry and of opulence during that uncommercial age. Yet the African Company at Edinburgh attempted, at the same time, to act as bankers by the circulation of notes, though without success. The bank endeavoured to deal in exchange, but this practice was soon discontinued as unprofitable, and its whole business was now restricted to "the lending of money, which seemed to be the proper dealings of a bank (*l*)." January 1699 is the epoch of bank notes of £1, which were found to be convenient in Edinburgh as well as the country. Yet in the public markets they were scarcely circulated, "as nothing answered there among the common people but *silver* money, gold being scarcely known (*m*)." Such then was the commercial state of Edinburgh and of Lothian at the end of the 17th century. The period which elapsed from *the Revolution* to *the Union* was a time of more bustle than business at Edinburgh, and of more projects than execution.

The Union was a great commercial concern as well as a speculation of politics. As the two nations were thereby incorporated, there was also to be a community of agriculture, manufacture, and trade. One of the most immediate benefits of the Union was the recoinage of the specie upon the English principle, so as to obtain uniformity of circulation. New ports were after a while established; new custom-houses were soon settled; and the entrances and clearances of shipping were at length made according to the English modes; and the Scottish people were fully admittted into a participation of all the advantages

(*l*) Hist. Acco. of the Bank, 5. They then *discounted some bills,* which was much more congenial to a bank, as well as advantageous to trade and manufacture and husbandry. Before the year 1699 there had been issued five kinds of notes—of £100, of £50, of £20, of £10, and of £5.

(*m*) Ib., 6. The circulation of England during that age consisted also in *silver coins,* without much respect to *gold.* The whole circulation of Scotland at that period appears, from the recoinage at Edinburgh in consequence of the Union, to have been of *silver coins,* as follows:

Of *foreign* silver coins - - - - -	£132,080 17	Sterling.
Of *milled* Scottish coins - - - - -	96,856 13	
Of *hammered* Scottish coins - - - - -	142,180 0	
Of English milled coins - - - - -	40,000 0	
The whole circulation - - - -	£411,117 10	

of the English commerce and colonies. But it was not so easy to introduce habits of business, spirit of enterprise, the conveniences of correspondence, and the benefits of circulation; and the Union, the bank, and the recoinage, did not produce any perceivable effect on the general system of commercial affairs, much less on the manufactures of Mid-Lothian, as the people were not yet prepared to receive and communicate benefits. When the Society of Improvers arose in 1723, they endeavoured to draw the attention of cultivators to the sowing of *lint* and *hemp*, which they deemed so self-evidently for the advantages both of the farmers and the manufacturers (*n*). It was found more easy to recommend than to attract or enforce, as the individual is always moved by what he thinks his immediate interest. The greatest stock which the bank had theretofore employed during the pressing exigencies of the most difficult times was £30,000 (*o*); and the usual dividend of profit, as we have seen, was only two pounds ten shillings on every hundred pounds. These facts evince that Scotland was in those times without opulence and circulation, and Mid-Lothian without manufacture and traffic. At length commotion induced policy to establish at Edinburgh, in 1727, a board of trustees with a small fund, under parliamentary encouragement, to promote the manufactures and fisheries of Scotland. The effects of this establishment were not immediately perceived, but they have at length been felt by their magnitude (*p*). They

(*n*) The Improvers' Treatise on the Training of Lint and Hemp, 1724. They annexed an appendix of the several statutes, Scottish and English, for encouraging the manufacture of linen cloth. The linen manufacture in Mid-Lothian was at this epoch scarcely in existence, for in 1728 there were made within this shire only 747 yards, of the value of £198 17s. sterling. On the 9th of December 1726, there were public resolutions at Edinburgh, by the nobility and gentry, in favour of the linen manufacture. Caled. Mercury, No. 1,038.

(*o*) The Hist. Account. The bank sent out branches to Glasgow and Berwick, to Dundee and Aberdeen, but they were all removed before the year 1733, as they were found to be unprofitable. The discreet directors of the bank held as maxims: "It is a vain thought to imagine that "a bank in any nation can supply all borrowers, so as to engross the whole business of lending; "2nd, It is impossible to extend their credit so as to make their notes circulate in the remoter "parts of the nation." They might have said, in other words, that banking cannot be carried beyond the circulation of any country. Yet, John Law, having more splendid notions, some years before insisted that paper money could be circulated to the amount of the value of the whole lands.

(*p*) On the 3rd of October 1728, the trustees advertised for persons who would undertake to erect bleachfields. Courant, No. 547. On the 14th of November 1728, a curious machine for dressing hemp and flax was finished and much employed. Ib., 559. On the 4th of June 1729, arrived from Holland Mr. John Lind with some Dutch bleachers, who are to be employed by

raised the linen manufacture of Scotland from two millions of yards to twenty-five millions; and the same manufacture within Mid-Lothian, from the yearly value of £199 to £35,883. The intelligent mind must supply the intermediate progress, from little to something great. In the twenty years which elapsed from the establishment of that board, the extent and value of the linen manufacture experienced more than a three-fold augmentation. The Royal Bank was also established at Edinburgh in 1727, with an invidious eye to the Bank of Scotland, which had struggled through difficult times and supported the weakness of an uncommercial people. The contest and competition which ensued between those rival banks brought forth an impeded circulation, one of the greatest evils which can afflict an industrious nation. But this obstruction did not last long. The *British Linen Company* was established at Edinburgh in 1747, which, by bringing more capital and enterprise into the intercourses of manufacture, supported the weak and energized the strong. There were now banks established at Aberdeen and at Glasgow, and yet the Bank of Scotland, in March 1753, divided among its proprietors to the full amount of five on the hundred of their real stock (*q*). Such then were the beneficial effects of some competition, of greater industry, of more wealth, and wider circulation.

As the great want during the infancy of traffic is the deficiency of capital, the lending of money to the tradesmen is the best encouragement. This want was now supplied, as we have seen. The incitements of the Society of Improvers, who were succeeded in their principle and usefulness by the Society of Arts; the assiduities of the Board of Trustees; the rivalities of all those banks; the efforts of the British Linen Company, all tended greatly to prepare the people

him in a bleacherie, newly created at Gorgie near Edinburgh. Ib., 641. On the 17th of the same month notice was given that the bleachers who had been brought by Mr. John Lind from Haarlem were pleased with the water at Gorgie, where he has begun to bleach in the manner of Holland. Notice was given that, at the same place of Gorgie, linens were *printed* and *stamped* all colours. Ib., 646. This is the *first notice* of printing and *stamping linen*. On the 15th of July 1729, notice was given that Mr. Spalden had finished his mills on the water of Leith for beating and switching flax, the first that were ever set up in this country; and great quantities of flax were already brought thither. Ib., No. 677. On the 1st of September, in the same year, the trustees issued notices of prizes to be given for the shire of Edinburgh, and to be contended for on the 12th, in the Burgh-room. Ib., 696. In 1728 and 1729, there were premiums given by the trustees for cultivating hemp and flax. Id. There are now in Mid-Lothian several mills for dressing flax, and there are extensive bleachfields in Lasswade, Glencorse, in Borthwick, and in other parishes. See the Stat. Accounts of those parishes.

(*q*) Scots Mag., 1753, 157. This dividend, we may remember, in 1723 was only 2½ per cent. on the stock.

of North Britain before the commencement of the present reign, how to make a proper use of the commercial establishments of their country; and the commencement of the reign of George III. may be deemed more than any other epoch, the true beginning of the effectual improvements in Edinburghshire.

Whatever there may have been in Mid-Lothian formerly, there is now a very considerable capital employed within it in various commercial establishments, though this cannot be properly called a *manufacturing shire*; yet those manufactures which chiefly relate to agriculture and to life, have always abounded in Edinburghshire. *Milling* and *Malting* have always been here carried on to a great extent from the days of David I. to the present (*r*). Every manor formerly had its malt-kiln and its brewery. Maltsters formerly abounded in Edinburgh and Leith. The maltsters of both, of the circumjacent country, and indeed the whole kingdom, were brought under the consideration of parliament in March 1503-4. They were all required to bring their malt to open market on market days at particular hours; and they were required, under penalties, for the making of a chalder of malt, to take no more that one boll

(*r*) David I. granted a mill at Inveresk, with the manor and the fishings, to the monks of Dunfermline. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The same king, who carried rural economy of every kind to the greatest extent, gave to the monks of Holyrood one of the mills of *Dene*, with the tenth of the multure of his other mill of *Dene* and of Libertun, and of the *new mill* of Edinsburg. Maitl. Edin., 145. Robert I., in May 1325, granted to the preaching friars of Edinburgh five marks sterling yearly out of the firms of his mill of Libertun. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Sir William Livingston gave the monks of Newbottle, on the 3rd of March 1338-9, the privilege, by themselves or their men, inhabiting their lands of Easter Gorgie, of grinding their corn cultivated there at his mill of Gorgie, paying as multure only one firlot in the chalder. Chart. Newbottle, 80. This being only a 64th part, was a great abatement of the usual multure in favour of those monks, who having discovered coal and improved agriculture, well deserved to be favoured. Many similar grants might be found in the chartularies as to Mid-Lothian mills. In March 1482, there was a contest before the auditors in parliament about the *Powmill* of Dalkeith. Parl. Rec., 275. The thirlage of the country mills only applied to the *grana crescentia*, or growing corns on the lands, within the servitude of the particular mill; but the thirlage of the burgh mills was extended to all corn which was brought within the limits of the servitude for the support of the inhabitants. At Leith mills this practice was even carried still further by taking multure for the great quantities of flour which were brought into that port for the use of Edinburgh. This extortion was remedied in 1491 by 4 Parl. Ja. VI., ch. 44. The mills of Leith were destroyed during the siege in 1560. In 1572 the mills about Edinburgh were destroyed by the king's party. Bannatyne's Journal, 333. The water of Leith is remarkable for its many mills.

of bear (*s*). Such then were the enmities between the sellers and buyers of what were deemed the necessaries of life, which the parliament was obliged to pacify or to paliate for preventing the mischiefs of tumult.

In addition to those objects of profit, to the linen trade, which has never been of great value, after every effort of incitement, there now exists more than ever a woollen manufacture (*t*). During the reign of James III. there was a domestic manufacture of blankets, which covered the beds of the farmers of Edinburghshire (*u*), and there was even then some export of woollen cloth (*x*). Such was the woollen manufacture which has existed here from the earliest times to the present. Even in the reign of James VI. there were *Flemings* at Edinburgh who were engaged as manufacturers (*y*). In 1601 some *Flemings* were brought to Edinburgh for carrying on the *woollen* manufacture (*z*). The same manufacture exists even now, though to no great importance,

(*s*) Parl. Rec., 494. In November 1526, the parliament took into consideration the complaint of the oppression which was committed by the malt-makers of Leith by raising the prices of grain to an exorbitant rate. The provost of Edinburgh, the justice clerk, and others, were appointed to call the maltmen before them, to bring them before an assize of the country, and if convicted to punish them according to law. Ib., 571. We thus see that the maltsters of that age gave as much suspicion and offence as the distillers of the present. In June 1535, the maltsters of Leith were again accused of extortion for selling their malt at exhorbitant prices. They were again regulated, and they were now treated as oppressors of the king's people. Ib., 603. A similar statute was also then made for correcting the extortion of cordwainers, smiths, baksters, brewsters, and all other craftsmen who sold victual and salt. Ib., 606. In December 1567, the parliament prohibited the maltsters from choosing a deacon, or acting as a craft or corporation. 1 Parl. Ja. VI., act 29. In 1593, a duty of 20s. a-ton to the king was imposed on *beer imported.* Parl. 13 Ja. VI., ch. 179.

(*t*) As far back as March 1458, the fabric of woollen was regulated by parliament, and it ordered that no *dyer* should be a *draper,* nor buy cloth and sell it again. Parl. Rec., 41. To remedy the evil experienced by the matting of woollen cloth, it was directed in November 1469, that woollen cloth should be measured by the *rig* and not the *selwich.* Ib., 155. The importation of English cloth was prohibited. Ib., 176. In 1477 the town council of Edinburgh appointed the market-place for the *linen* and woollen cloth. Maitl. Edin., 14. In January 1476, the websters of Edinburgh were erected into a corporate body by a charter from the town council. Ib., 307. In February 1521, that charter was confirmed, with this additional privilege, of receiving from every country weaver who wrought for the people of Edinburgh, one penny a-week for the support of their altar of St. Soverane in St. Giles's kirk. Ib., 308.

(*u*) Parl. Rec., 248.

(*x*) Maitl. Edin., 9 : Major, l. i., c. vi., takes notice of a woollen manufacture near Leith, whence the best clothes in Scotland had their name.

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 11th Parl. Ja. VI., a ratification to the *craftsmem Flemings.*

(*z*) Maitl. Edin., 55.

in Edinburgh, at Inveresk, and at Stow (*a*). There are iron works in the vicinity of Edinburgh and at Cramond, which are carried to a great and useful extent (*b*). Leather in great abundance is manufactured at Edinburgh (*c*). The making of glass at Leith has long been there made, and is carried on to great perfection and profit (*d*). Here also are made soap, candles, and sugar, with abundant profit to the tradesmen and benefit to the public (*e*). Cotton mills have been erected in this shire (*f*). Near Edinburgh, cottons, shawls, cassimers, have been introduced with good success (*g*). Paper-making, which was introduced here in pretty early times, has been carried up in this shire to great value (*h*); and the printing of books is now executed at Edinburgh with accuracy and elegance, at charges sufficiently cheap (*i*). Coach-making, which was first introduced here in 1699, has been cultivated into elegance, and has been carried the length of exportation for the use of other countries (*k*). Some other manufactures, both laborious and scientific, are on at Edinburgh and at Leith, with benefit to the undertakers and advantage to the public (*l*). Breweries, which are so ancient, and distilleries, that are so modern, are equally conducted here, with great emolument to the parties and benefit to the people (*m*). There is a very busy scene of various manufacture at Inveresk, of cloth, of soap, of starch, of pottery, of malt, and ale and spirits, and of salt, which was probably made here in early times (*n*). In Colinton parish, also, there are various manufactories, which have augmented the wealth and increased the people of this district (*o*). The proprietors of salt-works and the salters have undergone many regulations (*p*). Along the coast of Musselburgh there are great quantities of salt manufactured (*q*). In Duddingston parish there are six pans, which make annually

(*a*) Stat. Acco., vii. 138; xvi. 13; and Arnot's Edin., 590-1.
(*b*) Roberts. Survey, 189; Wood's Cramond, 89. (*c*) Arnot's Edin., 595.
(*d*) Robertson's Survey, 185. (*e*) Id.
(*f*) Ib., x., 422. (*g*) Stat. Acco., vi. 593-4-6,
(*h*) Ib., v. 223; xiv. 359; vi. 595; x. 279; Inquis. Special. Edin., 117; Courant, No. 738.
(*i*) Arnot's Edin., 599. (*k*) Id. (*l*) Ib., 600-1. (*m*) Id.
(*n*) Ib., xvi. 13-15. (*o*) Ib., xix. 580.
(*p*) 5th Parl. Ja. VI., ch. 56. No person could hire a salter without a testimonial from their last master; and the proprietors of salt-pans were empowered to seize vagabonds and other beggars and to oblige them to work. 18th Parl. Ja. VI., ch. 2. During the zealous years 1640 and 1641, the assembly and parliament concurred to reprobate and restrain the working of salt-pans on a Sunday. Salt-works were declared to be free, and to be deemed public manufactures. Parl., i., Car. II., ch. 27.
(*q*) Stat. Acco., xvi. 15.

18,000 bushels (*r*). The profit of those establishments is considerable, and employ many people. Above all, there are at Leith manufactures of iron, which is very old here, and of shipping to a great extent, with sail-cloth and cordage in abundance (*s*). In every kirk-town within this shire, there are domestic manufactories of greater or less accommodation to the people and benefit to the workmen; yet is not Mid-Lothian considered as a manufacturing shire, because it has neither a great woollen, nor linen, nor cotton manufacture, whatever it may have of iron in all its varieties. There is another kind of business at Edinburgh, which, though it does not employ many hands, is yet the cause of many hands being employed. It is *banking*, of which Edinburgh is the great scene, and which, when prudently managed, facilitates circulation and supplies capital, the mighty means of rousing to many enterprises, and putting in motion so much labour.

Mid-Lothian, whether we regard its agriculture, its manufactures, or its commerce, must be deemed in a very prosperous state. It had some trade and some shipping in very early times. It had the kings and abbots for its traders (*t*). The port of Inverleith was granted by David I. to the abbey of Holyrood. This confluence of Leith water, which contributes so much to the use and ornament of the city and the shire, continued during the middle ages dependant and inconsiderable. Edinburgh, as we may infer from its charters, acquired, during those ages, a monopoly of the traffic within the compass of Mid-Lothian, according to the narrow maxims of uninformed times. The magistrates of the city were ambitious of domination over Leith, and after many a struggle obtained it. The whole trade of import, comprehending groceries and

(*r*) Stat. Acco., xviii. 368. From those works is the city of Edinburgh supplied by women, who bring it on their backs from the makers to the consumers. About 50 of these salt-women reside in Inveresk parish, and 40 of them in Duddingston parish. Ib., xvi. 23; Ib., xviii. 368.

(*s*) Ib., vi. 570; Arnot's Edin.; Roberts. Survey, 187-9.

(*t*) We may trace in the chartularies the kings, and nobles, and bishops, and abbots carrying on trade, for their domestic supply perhaps. In April 1457, George de Fawlaw, the *king's merchant*, was appointed by James II. one of his commissioners to treat with the English. Rym., xi. 398. In 1459 there were several grants to John Dalrymple, *the king's merchant*, for his services at home and abroad. Scotstarvit's Calendar. In April 1448, John de Dalrymple, bailie of the burgh of Edinburgh, was one of the Scottish ambassadors for whom passports were granted. Rym., xi. 213. James III. had his ship, which was taken by a vessel belonging to the Duke of Gloucester; and in April 1475, the English ambassador, Doctor Leigh, was instructed to give complete satisfaction to the Scottish admiral for that ship. He was also directed to give satisfaction for a ship belonging to the laird of Luf, which had been captured by Lord Gray. Those instrucions remain in Vesp., c. xvi., fo. 118.

merceries, and of exports, consisting of the rude produce of the soil, were now conducted through Leith, according to the mean motives of monopoly and the interested legislation of the burghs. The merchants of Edinburgh, however, upon some memorable occasions, merit the praise of liberality. When the state was in danger, under James III., they interposed their credit; and when the Revolution was to be accomplished, they offered to furnish the means upon slight security. In more modern and opulent and refined times, the import trade of this shire consists of all that is necessary and luxurious; and its exports comprehend all the produce of the soil, and all the manufactures of skill and diligence (*u*). When Berwick ceased to belong to Scotland, owing to the treacheries of Angus and Albany, Leith became, perhaps, the chief port, while Edinburgh equally assumed the consequence of the metropolis (*x*). During the mild tyranny of Oliver Cromwell, Leith was allowed to be the principal port of North-Britain (*y*), as the chief custom-house was then established in its neighbourhood. The *Restoration* and the *Revolution* did not add many shipping to the port of Leith, though the progressive gains of a century added a great number (*z*). The augmentation of the numbers of shipping may, perhaps, be thought satisfactory proof of a progressive increase of trade. In 1717 the limits of this port were again set forth, according to those of 1656 (*a*). The traffic of this port employed, of shipping to carry it on,

(*u*) See the Custom-house details in Arnot's Edinburgh.

(*u*) When the English came into the Forth with a hostile fleet, in 1544, they perceived Leith to be a rich town, comparing it with the rich towns of England. In September 1547, after the battle of Pinkie, the English found 13 ships in Leith harbour, and such a quantity of wines, wainscot, and salt ware as could not be carried away. Patten, 78. In 1540 Leith was regarded by Beague, 65, as *the emporium of commerce* in Scotland. In that age, Leith was certainly deemed of great importance. See its lawsuit with Edinburgh in 1697. Fountainhall, i. 742-59-65.

(*y*) Tucker's MS. Report. In 1656, Leith, however, only owned 3 vessels of 250 tons, 11 of 20; being in all 14 vessels, bearing 970 tons.

(*z*) Gent. Mag., 1752, 477; and Register of shipping. Of vessels, there belonged to Leith—

In 1692,	-	-	1,702 tons.
In 1744,	-	-	2,285
In 1752,	-	-	5,703
In 1787,	132 ships	-	14,150
In 1792,	168	-	18,468
In 1802,	157	-	18,241
In 1808,	160	-	20,022

(*a*) The date of that re-establishment is the 25th of July 1717; and its limits were again assigned, from the Frigget burn on the east, and Cramond water on the west; and its extent is

during the year 1800, 110 vessels bearing 11,585 tons; and the value of the cargoes which were transported by those shipping are estimated at upwards of half a million. The confluence of the Esk was probably an earlier port than even Inverleith (*b*). David I. gave the port of Inveresk, which comprehended Musselburgh, to the monks of Dunfermline (*c*). Robert I. confirmed to those monks their ancient privileges within this port and added more (*d*). But Musselburgh and Inveresk, with the Frigget burn, are now included within the inconsiderable port of Prestonpans, and the shipping and business of this district are now absorbed by the carrying trade of Leith, which is every year acquiring more activity and greater extent, from the augmented numbers of its traders and the vast increase of their capitals. The whole Forth, in one sense, may be considered as the port of Edinburgh, though this estuary be divided into many districts for the convenience of admitting the ships to their entrance at the custom house (*e*). The intelligent mind must fill up the intervenient progress from the reign of David I. to the present, throughout so many ages of warfare and debility, to our own times of vigour and prosperity (*f*).

six miles along the Forth, comprehending as creeks, Craigentinnie, Newhaven, Royston, Muirhouse, and Cramond. A Custom-house Report.

(*b*) David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermline "omnes rectitudines de omnibus naves, que in portu de Inveresk applicuerint." MS. Charters.

(*c*) Monast. Scotiæ. Pope Gregory confirmed in 1234 to the monks of Dunfermline, "*burgum* et *portum* de Musselburgh, cum omnibus libertatibus suis; et Inveresk." Id.

(*d*) Roberts. Index, 20. Robert III. confirmed to the same monks "totam novam magnam custumam nostram," within their lands of Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Musselburgh, and the Queen's Passage.

(*e*) It may gratify a reasonable curiosity to be informed that in 1808 there were 6,617 ships which navigated in the Forth, carrying 462,681 tons.

(*f*) See the Commercial Tables in this volume, ch, i. The whole excise, according to the three years average ending with 1802, which was paid by the city of Edinburgh, with a part of Edinburghshire, was £308,635. The same excise which during the same period was collected from the city of Glasgow, with a part of Lanarkshire and all Dumbartonshire, was £125,412. These statements show the relative consumption of each of those cities and districts. We shall have a different view of the several means of the same cities and districts from the following facts: The *commercial* assessment on Glasgow in 1800 was £30,735 18s. 6d.; the commercial assessment on Edinburgh in the same year was £7,263. 15s. $6\frac{3}{4}$d; and these commercial assessments evince how much more capital is employed in commercial enterprises at Glasgow than at Edinburgh, and it is the contrast of both which supplies the instruction of those curious facts. In

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History*]. The Roman legionaries, who delighted to dwell along the salubrious shores of Mid-Lothian, as well as the Romanized Britons, probably enjoyed the religious benefits of the Christian dispensation. The successive settlers in the same land, the Pagan Saxons, and the Christianized Scots, witnessed many changes in the ecclesiastical polity of this pleasant country.

The Saxon colonists of Mid-Lothian derived much religious instruction as well from the pious efforts of the worthy Baldred, as from the wider excursions of the excellent Cuthbert (*g*). Yet legend itself does not pretend that the people of Edinburgh or its vicinage received any of the comforts of instruction from the peregrinations or the miracles of St. Giles.

The epoch of the bishopric of Lindisfarne is 635 A.D. It undoubtedly comprehended Edinburgh, and we know that the Northumberland Ceolwulf annexed to the same bishopric the monastery of Abercorn, and other places lying westward of that ancient burgh (*h*) ; but the abdication of the Northumbrian authority over Lothian equally put an end to the episcopal jurisdiction of the Northumbrian bishops.

When the Scottish kings obtained undisputed authority over the utmost bounds of Lothian, the bishop of St. Andrews naturally assumed the ecclesiastical

the year which ended with July 1802 the whole public money, which was remitted through Edinburgh to London, was

For the excise,	£833,000	0	0 Sterling.
For the customs,	190,000	0	0
For the stamps,	157,078	18	8
For the post office,	520,289	2	7
	£1,790,185	13	4
Exclusive of what were paid for bounties on corn imported,	170,000	0	0
	£1,960,185	13	4

And it is again, by contrasting this great sum with the small amount of the Scottish revenues, on which the estimates of *the Union* were made in 1706, that we clearly discern how much every district of Scotland had increased during the intervenient period, in agriculture, in manufacture, in commerce, and in opulence.

(*g*) The district of Baldred extended, as we have seen, to *Eskmuthe,* and the diocese of Cuthbert comprehended within its ample bounds the whole of Lothian during the Saxon times ; and we may determine, with regard to the influence of Cuthbert, from the number of churches which were dedicated to his respected name, as St. Cuthbert's at Edinburgh, and other parishes throughout the southern shires.

(*h*) Lel. Col., xiii. 181 ; Ang. Sacra, i. 698-703 ; and with those authorities concur Simeon of Durham and Bromton.

jurisdiction, throughout its whole extent, which seems to have been relinquished to him without a rival, and we may see Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, exercising episcopal authority over the whole churches "in *Lothonie*," as early as 1127 A.D., when John, the recent bishop of Glasgow, witnessed that exercise of his undisputed power (*i*). Under the superintendence of the bishop of St. Andrews, the Lothians continued till the religious zeal of recent times introduced unstable innovations. In 1633, a period unpropitious to prelacy, that part of the episcopate of St. Andrews lying southward of the Forth, and comprehending Stirlingshire, Linlithgowshire, Edinburghshire, the constabulary of Haddington, Berwickshire, and Lauderdale, was erected in an evil hour into the See of Edinburgh (*k*).

When the Scottish establishment was reformed by the liberal spirit of David I., the churches of Mid-Lothian were probably placed under the subordinate authorities of the deans of Lothian and Linlithgow. Under them, the various churches of this shire were severally placed, as we may learn from the ancient *Taxatio* (*l*). Of old, the *archdeacons* and *deans* of *Lothian* were persons of great authority, as we may indeed learn from the chartularies, wherein we distinctly see them acting in the scene very conspicuous parts (*m*).

(*i*) Smith's Bede, 769.

(*k*) The charter of erection is in Keith's Bishops, 20.

(*l*) There were in *decanatu* de *Linlithgow:*

	Mercas.
Ecclesia de Penicok	20
Ecclesia de Pentland	12
Ecclesia de Lessewade	90
Ecclesia de Mallavill	20
Ecclesia de Wymet	20
Ecclesia de Dodingston	25
Eccles. S^ti Ægidii de Edin.	26
Eccles. S^ti Cuthberti sub castro	160
Ecclesia de Gogyr	12
Ecclesia de Halis	60
Ecclesia de Ratheu	70
Ecclesia de Kelleleth	50
Ecclesia de Newton	15
Ecclesia de Kaledour cler.	30
Ecclesia de Kaledour com.	40

In *decanatu Laudonie:*

	Mercas.
Ecclesia de Muskilburg	70
Ecclesia de Cranstoun	60
Ecclesia de Creichtoun	30
Ecclesia de Fauelaw	6
Ecclesia de Locherwer	40
Ecclesia de Kerynton	18
Ecclesia de Kocpen	20
Ecclesia de Klerkyngton	8
Ecclesia de Maisterton	4
Ecclesia de Heriet	30
Ecclesia de Monte Laudonie	12

In *decanatu de Merske:*

Ecclesia de Waedale	70

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, 27-285. John of Leicester, the cousin of William the Lion, was archdeacon of Lothian in 1203. Ib., 142. He was elected Bishop of Dunkeld in 1211. Keith's Bishops, 48; and dying at Cramond in 1214, he was buried in Inchcolm. Fordun. William de Bosco, who was chancellor to Alexander II., was archdeacon of Lothian. Keith's Bishops, 141.

This dignitary seems to have gradually given way to an *official*, or deputy, for executing the archdeacon's jurisdiction, or as the delegate to whom the bishop generally committed the charge of his spiritual authority. After the reign of James III. the archdeacon of Lothian seldom was seen, and John Cameron, who rose to be bishop of Glasgow, appeared as early as 1422 in the character of *official of Lothian.* Nicolas Otterburn, a canon of Glasgow, acted as the same official under James II., from whom he was a frequent envoy (*n*). John Otterburn, who is said to have divorced the Duke of Albany from his first wife, in his character of official of Lothian, certainly acted in that office from 1467 to 1473 (*o*). He was no doubt succeeded by the celebrated William Elphinston, in 1474, as official of Lothian (*p*), who rose from this situation to be bishop of Aberdeen. The *official of Lothian* was present on the 19th of September 1513, in the general convention at Stirling, when he was chosen one of the council which was to assist the queen (*q*). The officials of Lothian, as they generally resided at Edinburgh, became extremely useful in the public conventions. Under all those influences the ecclesiastical affairs of Mid-Lothian continued to be fitly managed, till the Reformation placed them under the popular regimen of presbyteries and synods.

The age of David I. was a period of piety, when the founding of religious houses was deemed a munificent act. The worthy David had seen this spirit and that practice, during his residence at the splendid court of Henry I., and when he ascended the Scottish throne, he perceived how much the same policy might benefit such subjects as his, who were ruder from ancient habit, and more various from recent colonisation. Near his castle and town of Edinburgh he dedicated, for canons regular whom he brought from St. Andrews, a religious house to Mary and to *All Saints* (*r*). To that noble endowment,

Walter Wardlaw, who was secretary to David II., and employed in his confidential negotiations, was archdeacon of Lothian in 1361, he was consecrated bishop of Glasgow in 1368, and he died a cardinal in 1389. Keith, 145-6. That eminent ecclesiastic was followed, as archdeacon of Lothian, by some considerable men who rose high in the Scottish church, and state.

(*n*) Rym., xi. 213.

(*o*) Parl. Rec., 152-61-74 ; and see before, 268-9.

(*p*) Parl. Rec. 211 ; and before, 269. The *officials of Lothian* seem to have sat in parliament in virtue of their office, and were generally chosen on the committee of causes. See the Parl. Rec. throughout.

(*q*) Ib., 525.

(*r*) The foundation charter of David I. has been transcribed, though not very accurately, into Maitland's Edinburgh. This ample charter was confirmed by Robert I. and by David II. in

many additions were made of lands and churches in several shires during the long progress of the religious spirit, and in the *ancient Taxatio* the whole lands of this abbey, which was called Holycross, or *Holyrood*, were assessed at £88. The abbot and canons were invested with as large a jurisdiction as the bishop of St. Andrews, or the abbots of Dunfermline or Kelso. They were endowed with the privilege of sanctuary, which remains to this day annexed to the palace of Holyrood (*p*). They were empowered to build a burgh adjoining to Edinburgh, which now forms the well-known suburb called the Canongate (*q*). They were enabled to trade in any town, or to send their ships to any country (*r*).

The abbey of Holyrood, connected as it was with the capital, with the parliament, and with the king, has been always a place of note. Fergus the lord of Galloway, one of its earliest benefactors, retired in 1160 from the infelicities of life to this abbey, where he died in the subsequent year. His son Uchtred was also a benefactor to the same canons. In 1206 John the bishop of Candida Casa found refuge here from a censorious world, as we

1343, when he added a donation of the king's chapel, and declared the abbot of Holyrood to be his principal chaplain. The foundation charter was further confirmed by Robert III. in 1391. Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 125.

(*p*) Birrel, in his Diary, often mentions the *Girth-cross* at the foot of the Canongate, near the abbey. This cross was the limit of the sanctuary. Maitl. Edin., 154. The precinct of the palace forms still a sanctuary for debtors, the limits whereof are described in Maitland, 153.

(*q*) Abbot Robert, who flourished under Alexander III., granted a charter of privileges to the people of the Canongate. Maitl. Edin., 147.

(*r*) "An° 1128, cepit fundari ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Edenesburch." Chron. St. Crucis; Chron. Melrose. Alwin was the first abbot who resigned his charge in 1150, and died in 1155, when he must have been aged. The seven-and-twentieth, and last abbot, was Robert Stewart, the natural son of James V. by Euphemia, the frail daughter of Lord Elphinston. In this charge he appears to have been placed very young; and in that age the king's bastards, as the last corruption of a corrupt age, were introduced into the greatest bishoprics and the richest abbeys. This abbot of Holyrood, who was known in the court of Queen Mary by the name of Lord Robert, became in 1559 a Protestant, and one of the reformers; and in 1561 he married Lady Jane Kennedy, of the house of Cassilis. In November 1563 the queen settled a considerable revenue on him, out of her thirds of the revenues of his abbey, for the education of his three lawful children and two natural sons. This grant was ratified by the parliament of April 1563, in which he sat as abbot of Holyrood. Parl. Rec., 751-5. In 1569 he exchanged his abbey for the temporal estates of the bishopric of Orkney, with Adam Bothwell, the bishop, who was empowered to grant them. Adam and his son were commendators of Holyrood, the estates whereof were converted, by the impolicy of James VI., into a temporal lordship, by the title of Holyroodhouse. Crawfurd's Peer.,185.

may learn from Fordun. Adam, the abbot of Holyrood, had his full share both of the honours and wretchedness of the succession wars (*s*). The monastery was plundered by Edward II.'s army, when it retired from Lothian, in August 1332 (*t*). Edward Baliol held his parliament in the church of Holyrood, in February 1333-4 (*u*). When the Duke of Lancaster sought refuge in Scotland during the year 1381, he found hospitable entertainment in Holyrood Abbey (*x*). During the furious inroad of Richard II. in 1385, he burnt the monastery of Holyrood (*y*). When Henry IV. advanced to Leith in 1400, he assured the monks of Holyrood that he would not injure the house wherein his father had found refuge (*z*). Robert III., when he came to Edinburgh, resided sometimes in the castle, and at other whiles in the abbey (*a*). James I. with his queen, while at Edinburgh, resided in Holyrood abbey (*b*); and herein was she delivered of male twins, on the 16th of October 1430. James II., one of those twins, upon succeeding his father, was crowned in this abbey on the 25th of March 1437 (*c*). He was married therein to Mary of Guelder, in June 1449, and he was buried in the same abbey, in August 1460; so that James II. was born, crowned, married, and buried in the abbey of Holyrood. He seems to have had a house in Edinburgh, wherein he generally dwelt while he sojourned in the metropolis. James III. resided in Holyrood abbey while he gladdened Edinburgh with his presence (*d*).

But James IV. seems to have been the first of the Scottish kings who here built a palace, which was near, but distinct from the abbey; and in this palace he certainly received Margaret of England, on his marriage in August

(*s*) There is a writ of Edward II., dated the 8th of April 1310, directing his chamberlain in Scotland to settle accounts with the abbot and canons of Holyrood. He was to estimate what corn, cattle, victual, and other goods had been taken from the canons by the constables of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the keeper of the Pele of Linlithgow; and to allow them the value, which was to be deducted from 148 marks that were due the king from the abbot and canons for the fee-firm of the lands of Carse. Rot. Scotiæ, 81. They rented the Carse of Stirlingshire for a fee-firm rent of £60 sterling a year.

(*t*) Fordun, xiii. c. 4. (*u*) Rym., iv. 592. (*x*) Fordun, xiv. 46.

(*y*) Bower, xiv. 50. (*z*) Bower, xv. 2.

(*a*) It was in the abbey that he granted the remission to Albany and Douglas for his son, Rothsay's death. Parl. Rec., 137.

(*b*) Parl. Rec., 29-73. (*c*) Parl. Rec., 29-73.

(*d*) He was married to Margaret of Denmark in the abbey, on the 13th of July 1469. MS. Chron. at the end of Wyntoun.

1503 (*e*). In April 1506, the palace seems to have been damaged by fire (*f*). During the inroad of the Earl of Hertford in May 1544, the abbey of Holyrood and the adjoining palace were burnt by the English army (*g*). After the battle of Pinkie, in September 1547, the protector Somerset sent two commissioners, Boham and Chamberlayne, to suppress the monastery of Holyrood (*h*). In the abbey church there were, before the Reformation, various altars at which chaplains performed, according to their several endowments (*i*). The reformers, on the 29th of June 1559, spoiled the abbey and damaged the palace of Holyrood (*k*). Queen Mary on her return took possession of the palace on the 19th of April 1561; in the abbey church she was married to Lord Darnley on the 29th of July 1566; and on the 15th of May 1567, the same queen married James, Earl of Bothwell, in the hall of the palace (*l*); but on the 18th of June 1567, two days after the queen's imprisonment, the Earl of Glencairn spoiled the chapel of Holyroodhouse (*m*), as we have seen. At the suppression of this abbey, it enjoyed the greatest revenue which any of the religious houses in the southern shires possessed (*n*).

(*e*) Lel. Col., iv. 290-6. On the 16th of February 1505-6, the king in parliament ratified his gift of 20 marks from the great customs of Edinburgh for the maintenance of a chaplain, to sing in the chapel within his palace of Holyrood, and for his fee in keeping the palace. Parl. Rec., 523; and MS. Donations.

(*f*) On the 17th of April 1506, James IV. granted a charter to the Earl of Huntly, in which he recited that the earl's title-deeds had *been lately consumed* by fire in his lodging within the royal palace. Gordon's Hist. Gordons, i. 408. James V. built an addition to the palace, and is said to have enclosed the King's Park.

(*g*) Expedition, 7-11. Both are said to have been soon repaired. Arnot's Edin., 253.

(*h*) They found that the monks had fled; but the church and a great part of the house were well covered with lead. They pulled off the lead, and *took down* the *two bells;* and, according to the statute, did hereby somewhat disgrace the house; and the monks, as they had fled, were put to their pensions at large. Patten's Expedition, 82. Thus did the protector execute the English law upon the unoffending abbey!

(*i*) Two of those altars were consecrated to St. Andrew and St. Catharine. Maitl. Edin., 154. Another was dedicated to St. Anne by the tailors of Edinburgh. A fourth altar was founded by the cordwainers to St. Crispin and Crispinian, whose statues were placed on it. Dalzell's Cursory Remarks, 17.

(*k*) Lesley, 551. (*l*) Birrel, 9. (*m*) Keith, 407.

(*n*) The revenue of the abbey of Holyrood, which was returned at the Reformation, was £2,926 8s. 6d. in money; in victual, 26 chalders 10 bolls of wheat, 40 chalders 9 bolls of bear, 34 chalders 15 bolls 3 firlots 3½ pecks of oats, and 4 chalders of meal. There were, moreover, belonging to it 501 capons, 24 hens, 24 salmon, 3 swine, and 12 loads of salt, which were due as services. Books of Assumption, and Books of Assignation. The revenues of two only of its cells are mentioned: St. Mary's isle, at £307 11s. 4d., without any statement of victual; Blantyre, at £131 6s. 7½d. in money, without any return of victual.

In after times the abbey church was fitted up and used as the parish church of the Canongate. In 1617, James VI. ordered this chapel to be repaired; and for this useful end he sent some carpenters from London, with directions to set up in it the portraits of the apostles. Rumour was now busy to inform the populace that graven images were to be set up and worshipped. A ferment ensued, and the bishop of Galloway, *as dean of the chapel*, wrote the king that the discontinuance of his purpose would allay the fermentation. The king, in an angry mood, lamented that prejudice could not distinguish between ornament and image; between the incitement to devotion and the adoration of an idol (*q*). After this ferment had been merged in much greater ferments, Charles II. ordained the abbey church to be set apart in future as a chapel royal, and directed that it should no more be used as the Canongate church. It was now elegantly fitted up, and appropriated as a chapel for the sovereign and the knights of the order of the thistle, with the useful decoration of an organ (*r*). But this attempt at splendour in the chapel royal, was ruined at the Revolution by the zeal of insurgency (*s*). The palace, which had been dilapidated during the grand rebellion, was ordered to be rebuilt by Charles II., under the architectural genius of Sir William Bruce (*t*). By the Act of Union, the palace of Holyrood was especially appointed as the appropriate place for the meeting of the Scottish peers, to choose their representatives in the united parliament.

David I., actuated by similar motives, also founded on the Esk, in 1140, a monastery at Newbattle, for Cistercian monks who were brought from Melrose(*u*). The place derived its name from the Saxon *botle*, villa, domicilium;

(*q*) Spottiswoode, 530. On the 28th of June 1633 there passed an act concerning the dissolution [dis-annexation] of the abbey of Holyrood. Unprinted Act.

(*r*) On the 12th of July 1687 the key of the chapel of Holyroodhouse was ordered to be given to the knights of the order of the thistle. Fountainhall, i., 466.

(*s*) Arnot's Edin., 254. Maitland, in his Hist. of Edin., 156-60, has transcribed the monumental inscriptions in the abbey church. By unskilfully attempting to put a stone roof on this chapel, of a weight heavier than the walls could bear, was "crushed down, with a heavy fall," the ancient fabric.

(*t*) See delineations of this palace in Slezer and Maitland, and a description in Arnot, 305. In the Edinburgh Courant, No. 639, there is a notice of Alexander Hamilton, writer to the signet, as bailie of the royal palace and privileges of Holyrood, who succeeded his father, Lord Pencaithland, in 1729, in this singular office.

(*u*) Chron. Mail.

and it was probably called Newbotle by some Saxon settler here, in contradistinction to Eld-botle, or Old-botle, in East-Lothian (*x*).

The endowment of this house was less abundant than that of Holyrood. David I. granted to the monks the whole manor of Newbotle, except the lands which were held of him by Robert Ferrers (*y*). He gave them the district of Mor-thwaite, which, by various mutations, is now called Moor-foot, on the South Esk. He gave them the lands of Buchalch, on the Esk (*z*). He conferred on them a salt-work at Blackeland, in Lothian, and the right of pannage and the privilege of cutting wood in his forests (*a*). The munificent David also assigned them the patronage of several churches, and the benefit of some revenues. The example of so good a prince was followed by his grandson, Malcolm, by the Countess Ada, the widow of Earl Henry, and by William the Lion, who granted them the lands of Mount-Lothian; and, with some special services, he confirmed the grants of David I. and of Malcolm IV. The first abbot of Holyrood, the bountiful Alwin, relinquished to the monks of Newbotle the lands of Pettendriech, on the Esk. His example was followed by various other persons of equal piety, in giving lands in the country, tofts in the towns, and churches in several shires. Alexander II., who delighted to dwell at Newbotle, gave them various donations; and the monks, in return, gave Mary, his wife, a grave (*b*). Pope Innocent, in 1203, by a bull, confirmed all their possessions and privileges; and by another bull he prohibited all persons from extorting teinds from their lands, which they held or cultivated (*c*). In 1293 William de Lindsay gave the monks an annuity of £20 sterling, which he received from Symonstoun, in Kyle, and which he directed to be distributed in specified modes, that exhibit the manners of a rude age (*d*); and David II. gave the monks a charter, enabling them to hold their lands within the valley

(*x*) Several places in England are named *Newbotle*. There are two in Northampton, one in Durham, one in Rutland, exclusive of several on *the wall*, near Newcastle.

(*y*) Chart. Newbot., 12. (*z*) Ib., 27-28-11.

(*a*) Ib., 28. He gave them another salt-work in the Carse of Callander, in Stirlingshire, with some lands and easements of pasturage and of wood-cutting. Ib., 182.

(*b*) Ib., 129. He gave them all those rights for the salvation of his predecessors, for his own, and for the salvation of Mary, his spouse, "que corpus suum apud Newbotle sepeliendum reliquit." Id.; and they acquired much property and many privileges by purchase.

(*c*) Ib., 243-4.

(*d*) The grant directed that, on St. Andrew's day, 104 shillings sterling should be given yearly to the monks "ad pitancias," a small portion of meat and drink extra on some festival; and that two shillings should be distributed every Sunday among the monks to amend their usual diet, for their solace; and that the abbot should be bound under a penalty to bestow certain charities on the poor of Haddington and Ormiston on stated days. Chart. Newbotle, 195.

of Lothian, in a *free forest*, with the various privileges which belonged to a forestry (*e*).

The first abbot of Newbotle was Radulph, who came, with the monks, from Melrose in 1140. The eighteenth abbot was John, who had to sustain the difficult transactions of the disputed succession to Alexander III. He sat in the great parliament of Brigham, in March 1290 (*f*). In July 1291, he swore fealty to Edward I., in the chapel of the Maiden castle (*g*). John again swore fealty, with his monks, to Edward in 1296; and thereupon obtained writs to several sheriffs for the return of his property (*h*). In January 1296-7, Edward directed his treasurer, Cressingham, to settle with the abbot for the *firm* due by the abbey of Newbotle for the lands of Bothkennar (*i*). Whether Abbot John witnessed the accession of Robert Bruce, is uncertain. In 1385, the monastery of Newbotle was burnt during the furious inroad of Richard II. (*k*); and the monks were employed during forty years in re-edifying their house (*l*). Patrick Madour, who was abbot in April 1462, had the merit of collecting the documents which form at present the Chartulary of Newbotle; and he had the spirit, in October 1466, to institute a suit in parliament against James, Lord Hamilton, "for the spoliation of *a stone of lead ore*," taken from the abbot's lands of Fremure, in Clydesdale; and the lords' auditors found in the abbot's favour (*m*). Andrew, the abbot, in May 1499, granted his lands of Kinnaird, in Stirlingshire, to Edward Brus, his well-deserving armiger, rendering for the same sixteen marks yearly (*n*); and in December 1500, he gave to Robert Brus of Binning, and Mary Preston, his spouse, the monastery's lands, called the abbot's lands of West-Binning, in Linlithgowshire, rendering for the same four shillings yearly (*o*). James Hasmall was probably the last abbot, in whose time the monastery was burnt during the Earl of Hertford's invasion (*p*). Mark Ker, the second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, becoming a protestant in 1560, obtained the vicarage of Linton; and in 1564 was made the first commendator of Newbotle (*q*). He was succeeded by his son Mark, who had a reversion of the

(*e*) Regist. David II., l. i., 178. (*f*) Rym. ii., 471. (*g*) Ib., 572.
(*h*) Prynne, iii., 653; Rym. ii., 723. (*i*) Rot. Scotiæ, 38. (*k*) Bower, l. xiv., 50.
(*l*) In September 1419, there was a transaction with Edward de Crichton, in which the rebuilding of the monastery is mentioned. Chart. Newbotle, 5.
(*m*) Parl. Rec. 143. (*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 307-8-9 . (*o*) Ib., 310.
(*p*) Printed account of that expedition, p. 11. The abbot was present in the parliament of November, 1558. Parl. Rec., 279.
(*q*) Keith, x.; Hist., 305. In 1581 he obtained a ratification of parliament for the abbey of Newbotle. Unprinted Act. He gave in the following statement of the revenues of the abbey: In

commendatorship, which was confirmed to him. In 1587, he obtained from the facility of James VI., a grant of the whole estates of the monastery as a temporal barony; and this was ratified in the parliament of 1587 *(r)*. In October 1591, the barony was converted for him into a temporal lordship, by the title of Lord Newbotle, which was ratified by the parliament of 1592 (*s*). In this manner, then, were the pious donations of ancient times converted into private property. The abbey was changed into a commendatory, which was again transformed into a barony, and this was erected into a lordship, that was elevated to an earldom by the grants of the king and the ratifications of parliament (*t*).

In Edinburgh city and shire, there were other pious donations which met a similar fate, when piety assumed a different fashion, and when zealots were more active to destroy than to save. In 1230, Alexander II. founded in Edinburgh, a convent of Black Friars of the order of St. Dominic, and were called in ancient charters, the *Fratres Predicatores*, the preaching friars. This house, which stood on the site of the present High School, is called in their foundation charters, *Mansio Regis*, which intimates that the king had dwelled in this royal mansion when he occasionally resided at Edinburgh. Alexander II. granted those monks 10 marbs "de firmis burgalibus de Edinburgh (*u*)." Robert I gave them an annual rent of five marks from his mill

money, £1,334 Scots; in victual, 12 bolls of wheat, 15 bolls of bear, 5 chalders 10 bolls of oats. Col. Books of the Thirds; and Books of Assumption. There was a more accurate specification given in, as follows: In money, £1,413 1s. 2d. Scots; in victual, 99 bolls of wheat, 53 bolls 2 pecks of bear, 250 bolls 2 firlots of white oats. From this, several disbursements are claimed; particularly, £240 Scots paid to six aged, decrepid, and recanted monks. Books of Assumption. Mark Ker died in 1584, an extraordinary lord of the Court of Session.

(*r*) Unprinted Act.

(*s*) Unprinted Act. He was created Earl of Lothian in 1606, and died in 1609. Crawfurd's Peer., 269.

(*t*) The monastery of Newbotle was surrounded by a wall, which remained entire to our own times, and which is usually called *Monkland Wall;* but the buildings of the abbey have been long obliterated by the erection on their site of the modern mansion of the Marquis of Lothian, that is called Newbattle Abbey. This stands on a level lawn of 30 acres, which is washed by the South Esk, and is adorned by ancient trees. Stat. Acco., x., 216.

(*u*) MS. Book of Donations: And he granted to them the lane, which from their name has been called the *Blackfriars Wynd.* The English have preserved from the Saxon the verb, to wind, "to move round," to "proceed in flexures;" and Milton speaks of "a rock *winding* with one ascent;" but they have not, like the Scots, a *wind,* for a lane or alley. We also learn, from Spottiswoode, 487,

of Liberton (*x*). They obtained from James III. an annual rent of twenty-four marks from the lands of Gosford in East-Lothian (*y*). From a variety of pious persons, the Black friars obtained many donations, which were confirmed by James III. in 1473 (*z*). It was in the house of those Black friars that Bagimont, in 1275, assembled the Scottish clergy (*a*). The house of the Black friars was burnt in 1528. It was almost rebuilt when the reforming insurgents demolished it in 1559. The magistrates of Edinburgh asked, and received, from Queen Mary, a grant of this monastery, with its revenues and pertinents, for the pretended purpose of erecting on its site an hospital for the aged poor, which was never built; and which was dispensed with by the regent Murray (*b*).

The *Gray friars* were introduced by James I., who built for them a convent in Edinburgh; and it is said to have been so magnificent that the foreign leader of *the Observantines* could scarcely be prevailed on to settle them in their appropriate house. But they were at length fully settled here in 1446. The Gray friars continued a distinguished seminary of useful learning till it was reformed by the insurrection of 1559 (*c*).

The *Carmelites*, or White friars, who were introduced into Scotland in 1260, acquired an establishment at Edinburgh under James V. John Malcolm, the provincial of the order, obtained from the magistrates the lands of *Greenside*, at the foot of the Calton, with the church of the Holyrood at this place, for the purpose of establishing a convent; and that grant was confirmed on the

that the *Vennel*, crossing the Blackfriars Wynd, was also granted by the same king to the Black friars. The palace, belonging to the see of St. Andrews, stood at the south-east corner of the Blackfriars Wynd. Maitl. Edin., 169.

(*x*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*y*) MS. Donations. In 1473, John Laing, the king's treasurer, and bishop elect of Glasgow, granted them the annual rent of certain tenements in Edinburgh, "pro sustentatione lampadis in Choro." Id. Spottiswoode, 487.

(*z*) MS. Donations.

(*a*) See Caledonia, i., 688-9; and Lesley, 356, by a strange hallucination, placed the same event in 1512. Yet the 4th Parl. Ja. IV., ch. 39, directed benefices to be rated, according to "the auld taxation of Bagimont."

(*b*) Maitl. Edin., 182, speaks indignantly of such deceptive pretences. The magistrates were, by the regent, allowed to lease the site of the Black friars on ground-rent. The revenues of the Black friars house became considerable. The rental contains 234 articles of their rents. The grants which were given to them, and the anniversary obits which were made in return, for lands and benefactions, were no fewer than 97. Maitl. Edin., 182.

(*c*) Spottiswoode, 499. That convent stood on the south side of the grass market, with fine gardens annexed. The magistrates of Edinburgh in 1562, with the queen's consent, converted those gardens into a spacious cemetery. Maitl. Edin., 23-4.

13th of April (*e*). Here a colony of *Carmelites* was settled. After the Reformation had exploded such establishments, John Robertson, a beneficent merchant, settled on the same site a hospital for leprous persons (*f*).

There seem to have never been many *nunneries* in Edinburgh. There was a convent of Cistercian nuns established in St. Mary's Wynd by the uncertain piety of the 12th century (*g*). On the south side of Edinburgh, near the city wall, a convent of nuns was dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia; and the place of its foundation was called from it, by corruption, *the Pleasance* (*h*). On the burgh-moor, there was a convent of Dominican nuns, which was founded by Lady Saint Clair of Roslin, the Countess of Caithness, in the 15th century; and dedicated to Saint Catherine of Sienna, the reformer of such nuns. They obtained some lands in the vicinity, and some tenements in Edinburgh (*i*). There was a priest who was attached to this convent (*k*). The place where this convent stood was called *Siennes*, and by corruption *Sheens*. The poet Lyndsay, in his Satire of the Three Estates, alludes to the honest and industrious lives of those nuns; and he sends Chastity to their convent as a proper asylum. After the Reformation had involved such establishments in discredit, the magistrates of Edinburgh seized the revenues of the worthy nuns; and Dame Christian Ballenden, the prioress, was thereby induced to apply to the queen, in order to oblige them to pay Beatrice Blackadder, an aged sister, the small portion of victual which had been allotted for her subsistence, being the rent of a tenement which her father had granted to the convent, and was now appropriated by the magistrates (*l*).

Collegiate churches in the proper sense are but modern. In 1466 the magistrates of Edinburgh procured a charter from James III. for erecting their ancient church of St. Giles into a collegiate form; and its establishment consisted of a provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacrist, a bedel, a minister of the choir and four choristers, which was the largest collegiate establishment in Scotland, except the chapel royal at Stirling. For the support of

(*e*) MS. Donations. (*f*) Maitl. Edin., 214.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 516. The lane, where the convent stood, was from it called St. Mary's Wynd, being consecrated to the Virgin.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin., 176. (*i*) MS. Donations. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Arnot's Edin.. 251, and Maitl. 24, vent their indignation at that specimen of uncharitableness. The revenues of this convent, which were given in at the suppression, were, in money, £129 6s. 8d. Scots; in victual, 8 bolls of wheat, 6 bolls of beer, and one barrel of salmon. Books of the Collectors of the Thirds. In the roll and rental of small benefices, *the priory of the Scheynes* is stated at 800 marks.

those officers were allotted the whole revenues of the numerous altars and chapelries, that pious people had founded within this church through several ages. To the king was reserved the nomination of the dean or provost of this collegiate establishment, who was to enjoy the tithes and other revenues of St. Giles's church, with the adjacent manse, and the provost had the right of choosing a curate, who was to be allowed yearly 25 marks, with a house adjoining (*m*). William Forbes, the provost of this college, was obliged in 1482 to institute a suit in parliament against the magistrates for recovering his salary of 220 marks. The lords auditors, on seeing the obligation of the magistrates with the king's confirmation, ordained them to pay the provost's salary on pain of imprisonment in Blackness castle (*n*). Gawin Douglas, the celebrated translator of Virgil, enjoyed this rich endowment under James IV. and James V. before he was raised to the bishopric of Dunkeld. In 1546 Robert Crichton, the provost of St. Giles's, was prosecuted in parliament for purchasing of the pope the bishopric of Dunkeld (*o*). Mary of Guelder, the widowed queen of James II., founded near Edinburgh in 1462, on the north, a collegiate church for a provost, eight chaplains, two choristers or singing boys, and an hospital adjoining for thirteen poor persons. For the support of this collegiate establishment she assigned by apostolic authority the various churches and revenues of the house of Soltre. Her foundation was confirmed in the same year by James, bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). Mary, the foundress, died on the 16th of November 1463, and was buried in her own foundation (*q*). Sir Edward Boncle was the first provost of the Trinity College, and he was soon obliged to apply to parliament for enforcing the payment of his rents in Teviotdale (*r*). James IV. in 1502 granted to the provost and prebendaries of this collegiate church, the lands of Powis and Camestoun, with a *walk-mill* in Stirlingshire (*s*). The provost of the Trinity College sat in the parliament of June 1526, and was appointed one of the auditors of causes (*t*). In 1567 the whole of this establishment was granted by the regent Murray to Sir Simon Preston, the provost of Edinburgh, and was by him given to the magistrates, and they were diligent to purchase of

(*m*) Maitl. Edin., 271, where the stipends of the several members of the collegiate church are specified for the illustration of manners.

(*n*) Parl. Rec., 285.

(*o*) Ib., 693. The simoniacal offence of Crichton was a breach of an act of parliament against such purchases of the pope.

(*p*) Maitl. Edin., 207-10. (*q*) Lesley, 314. (*r*) Parl. Rec., 174-256-7.

(*s*) MS. Donations. (*t*) Parl. Rec., 557.

Robert Pont, the last provost, his rights in the collegiate establishment, which were confirmed by King James in 1587 (*u*). On the site of the university of Edinburgh stood of old a collegiate church, which was consecrated to the Virgin, and called the church of St. Mary *in the field.* The age of this foundation and the piety of the founder are equally forgotten. It had a provost, eight chaplains, and two choristers. Two additional chaplainries were endowed under James V.; one by James Laing, a burgess of Edinburgh, and the other by Janet Kennedy, the Lady Bothwell (*x*). In 1562 the magistrates applied to the queen for the place, kirk, chambers, and houses of the kirk in the field, to build a school. The queen assented; and they purchased in 1563 the right of the provost, Penycuick, and in 1581 they acquired other rights, when they obtained a charter for erecting the college (*y*). In the meantime, at *Kirk of field*, was acted one of the most extraordinary tragedies that any age or any country has witnessed. In a lone house, standing at the Kirk in the field, in the night, between the 9th and 10th of February, 1567, was Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary, assassinated by Earl Bothwell, who was encouraged to perpetrate so odious a deed by the unscrupulous faction who then domineered in Scotland (*z*).

In this shire, without the contaminated walls of Edinburgh, there were other collegiate establishments. At Corstorphine, Sir John Forrester, who was appointed master of the household to James I. in 1424, and chamberlain of Scotland in 1425, founded, near the parish church of Corstorphine, a chapel which he dedicated to Saint John, with three chaplains, whom he endowed, for performing divine service in it. This establishment he enlarged in 1429 to a collegiate church, for a prior, six prebendaries, and two singing boys. For their support he assigned various rents, tithes, and churches. This foundation was confirmed by a bull of Eugene, by a charter of Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews in 1429, and by a charter of Bishop Kennedy in 1440 (*a*). Sir John Forrester died in 1440, and was buried in the choir of his collegiate church (*b*). In 1384 Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith founded near his castle a chapel, which he endowed with the lands of Lochurd and forty shillings out

(*u*) Maitl. Edin., 211. Pont had, for the assignment of his provostry, 300 marks and an annuity of £160 Scots. The revenues, which were reported at the suppression, were £362 6s. 8d. Scots. Ib., 210.

(*x*) MS. Donations, and Spottiswoode, 525.

(*y*) Maitl. Edin., 23-356.

(*z*) Birrel's Diary, 7.

(*a*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections.

(*b*) Crawfurd's Officers of State, 311. The revenue of this establishment, which was given in after the Reformation, was only £122 13s. 4d. Scots. Books of the Col. of the Thirds.

of the lands of Kirkurd, in Peebleshire (*b*). In 1406 Sir James Douglas, with the consent of Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, enlarged this establishment into a collegiate church, for a provost and several prebendaries, on whom he settled a competent endowment (*c*). Alexander Gifford, the parson of Newlands, founded two chaplainries in the church of Dalkeith. These foundations were confirmed by the king's charter in 1504 (*d*). At Roslin, in 1446, was founded a collegiate church by William Saint Clair, the Earl of Orkney and Lord of Roslin, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two choristers or singing boys; and he endowed it with various lands and revenues. It was consecrated to Saint Matthew the apostle. He here erected a splendid chapel, which is still admired by every eye for its elegant design and excellent workmanship (*e*). After all his efforts and a vast expense, he left Roslin chapel unfinished. It was founded on a height, which was called from it College hill, and which forms the northern bank of the Esk. Some additions were made to the endowment by the succeeding barons of Roslin. In 1523 Sir William Saint Clair granted some lands in the vicinity of the chapel for dwelling-houses and gardens, and other accommodations, to the provost and prebendaries. In his charter he mentions four altars in this chapel; one dedicated to Saint Matthew, another to the Virgin, a third to Saint Andrew, and a fourth to Saint Peter (*f*). The commencement of the Reformation by tumult was the signal for violence and spoliation. The provost and prebendaries of Roslin felt the effects of this spirit. They were despoiled of their appropriate revenues; and in 1572 they were obliged to relinquish their whole property,

(*b*) Dougl. Peer., 490.

(*c*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections. In May 1453, James Douglas, "prepositus de Dalkeith," had a safe conduct to go into England with Earl Douglas. Rym., xi., 326.

(*d*) MS. Donations. After the Reformation the revenues of this collegiate church was given in at only £36 13s. 4d. Books of the Col. of the King's Thirds.

(*e*) The founder succeeded his father Henry Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, in 1420. As admiral of the fleet, he conveyed the Princess Margaret to France in 1436. He was chancellor of Scotland from 1454 to 1458, and he was made Earl of Caithness in 1455. In 1470 he resigned the earldom of Orkney to the king, and obtained in return various lands in Fife. Having in 1459 settled the barony of Newburgh in Aberdeenshire, on William, his only son by his first wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, he, in 1476, settled the barony of Roslin and his other estates in Lothian, on Oliver Saint Clair, his eldest son by his second marriage, and he transferred the earldom of Caithness, to William, the second son of his second marriage. The eminent founder of Roslin chapel died soon after this settlement, which deranged his estates and degraded his family. Robertson's Index, 151.

(*f*) Hay's MS. Mem., ii., 350.

which, indeed, had been withheld from them during many revolutionary years (*g*). Beneath this chapel was the burial place of the barons of Roslin, a spacious vault, said Slezer, in 1693, so dry that the bodies have been found in it entire at the end of eighty years. Ten barons of the family of Roslin had been here buried before the Revolution. They were of old, says Hay, buried in their armour without any coffin; the late baron being the first that was buried in a coffin, against the opinion of the Duke of York, who was then in Scotland, and of several antiquaries; but his widow would not hearken to such a proposal, thinking it beggarly to be buried after that manner (*h*). There were other eminent personages who were collaterally connected with this respectable family buried in that silent vault. This chapel, of which a nation may boast, was defaced by the same ungoverned mob that pillaged the castle of Roslin on the night of the 11th of December 1688 (*i*). Roslin chapel, however, is frequently visited; and has been often delineated (*k*). The ingenious curiosity, perhaps, the piety, of the Countess of Sutherland and Marchioness of Stafford, led her lately to visit this celebrated chapel, of which she has given several very picturesque sketches (*l*).

The chancellor of Scotland, William Lord Crichton, in December 1449, with the consent of his son, converted the church of Crichton into a collegiate form, for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two singing boys; and with the assent of the bishop of St. Andrews, the founder assigned to this establishment the whole revenues of the churches of Crichton and Locherwart, a competent provision being made for the perpetual vicars, who were to serve in those churches. Sir Peter Crichton, the parson of Locherwart, gave his consent; and the foundation was confirmed by James, bishop of St. Andrews (*m*).

(*g*) Hay's MS. Mem., ii., 350. The collegiate officers who signed that deed of resignation were Dom. Johannes Robeson, Præpositus de Roslin, Johannes How, Vicarius Pensionarius de Pentland, Henricus Sinclair Prebendarius, and William Sinclair Prebendarius, and William Sinclair of Roslin, knight. Id. (*h*) Hay's MS. Mem., ii., 548-50.

(*i*) Ib., 477. The castle, after standing the several shocks of *the Reformation* and *the Revolution*, was at length resigned to time and chance. The chapel was, in the last century, repaired by General Saint Clair, and has since been renovated by his successors.

(*k*) In Hay's MS. Memoirs there are some views of it which were drawn with the pen, and are said to be more descriptive than those of Slezer in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693. In Grose's Antiq. of Scot., i., 43-47, there is a *good view* but his historical account is erroneous.

(*l*) Views etc. taken in 1805 and etched in 1807, which her ladyship had the condescension to present her friends.

(*m*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Col., 2; Miscel. Col. of Charters, 215-24. In 1597, Gideon Murray of Elibank, the provost of Crichton, applied to the lords of Council and Session, requiring

The provost of Crichton was chosen in October 1213, one of the council, who was to assist the queen dowager in the government (*n*). The parliament of April 1567, ratified to David Chalmers, *the provost of Crichton*, a grant of several lands in Ross-shire (*o*). The parliament of August 1568, attainted the same provost of Crichton and others for supporting the queen's rights (*p*).

The parish church of Restalrig was, by James III., erected into a collegiate church for a dean and canons; it was consecrated to the Trinity and the Virgin; and he annexed to his foundation the parish church of Lasswade, with all its revenues and pertinents. This foundation was confirmed by a bull of Innocent in 1487 (*q*). John Fraser, master of arts, the first dean and canon of Glasgow, was clerk of the rolls and registers in 1492 and 1497. James IV. in October 1511, confirmed a grant to Thomas Dibson, the dean of Restalrig, of two acres of land lying adjacent to the south side of the church of Restalrig, paying to John Logan of Restalrig thirty-six shillings yearly (*r*).

John Arthur, advocate, to produce the Register of St. Andrews in order to obtain from it a copy of the foundation charter of Crichton. The lords granted a warrant, as prayed. for whatever person might have the Register of St. Andrews to bring it into court, and they ordained Sir Walter Scot of Brankholm, the patron of the provostry of Crichton, and the parishioners, to appear for their several interests. Upon the appearance of these several parties, and *the production of the Register*, the Lords declared it to be an *authentic Register Book of the bishopric of Saint Andrews*, and directed the said foundation charter and confirmation thereof to be transumed. Miscel. Col. of Charters, 215. There was a ratification, in the parliament of June 1617, to Sir Gideon Murray, of the provostry of Crichton. Unprinted Act.

(*n*) Parl. Rec., 529. After the Reformation the revenue of the collegiate church of Crichton was given in at £133 6s. 8d. Books of the Col. of the Thirds.

(*o*) Parl. Rec., 753.

(*p*) Ib., 807-8. On the 26th of January 1564, David Chalmers of Ormond was appointed a senator of the College of Justice, in the room of the bishop of Ross. He was obliged to flee to France from the fury of triumphant faction. He published several books of no great value on Scottish antiquities. Lord Hailes's Notes on his Cat. of the Lords of Session, p. 6. On the 21st of June 1586, David Chalmers was restored to his seat on the bench in consequence of the act of pacification. Id.

(*q*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*r*) MS. Donations. In October 1512, James IV. confirmed an annual rent of £20 from the king's new works in Leith for an additional prebendary, and he empowered the abbots of Holyrood and Newbotle to erect into a new prebendary the chapelry of St. Tridnan's isle, founded in the collegiate church of Restalrig by James Ross, the bishop of Ross; and the king further granted the parsonage of Bute, with all its revenues, to be equally divided into six free prebendaries. In this manner then was this collegiate establishment raised to a dean and eight prebendaries. James V., in October 1515, added to this college two singing boys; and the endowment was enlarged by the grant of the £10 land in the parish of Strabrock, which was

There were respectable men connected with this collegiate establishment. Patrick Covyntre, the dean of Restalrig, was one of the Scottish ambassadors who went to England in February 1516 (*s*). In June 1526, the dean of Restalrig was present in parliament, and chosen one of the auditors of causes (*t*). Thus useful to the state were the able men who thus appear at the head of the collegiate church of Restalrig.

Such, then, were the collegiate churches of Mid-Lothian. The *templars* had their principal establishment in this shire. The *knights of the temple* were introduced into Scotland by David I., the munificent founder of so many fanes. He gave those knights, with other possessions, *Balantrodach*, on the South-Esk, where they made their chief seat; and it was called, "domus templi de Balantrodach (*u*)." From David I. and his successors, those famous

called Kirkhill, and by the addition of some rents and tenements in the Canongate. This charter in 1515 specifies the functions of the several members of this establishments with the provision allotted to them. The dean was to have the parsonage of Lasswade, with the ten pound land of Kirkhill for a glebe and a manse, and also a yard lying adjacent to the college, and for all those provisions, he was bound to slate the college, and to provide windows, lights, chalices, and other ornaments, with books, and maintain two singing boys in the church of Lasswade. The first prebendary was required to make a descant and play on the organ, and was to have his salary, £20 yearly, from the king's work in Leith, with a chamber, a yard and *a singing school*; and he was also required to sustain two boys daily in the choir, who should sing, light the candles, and sweep the church, and to those the dean was required to pay £8 yearly. The second prebendary or sacrist was to enjoy the one sixth of the parsonage of St. Mary of Rothesay, in Bute, with £4 from the dean, a chamber and a yard, and he was required to attend daily on the church, and to keep the jewels, ornaments, books, chalices, and keys, and four times a-year to give an account thereof to the dean and chapter, to wash the ornaments of the altar at his own charge, and to keep two boys for ringing the bells, lighting the candles, sweeping the church, and also for *singing*. And so of the functions and salaries for the other prebendaries. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, and MS. Donations. It is very seldom, indeed, that we have such a detail of the establishment of a collegiate church, of the several officers with their duties and provisions.

(*s*) Rym., xiii., 532.

(*t*) Parl. Rec., 558. The revenue of this establishment was given in, after the Reformation, in money, £93 6s. 8d. Scots.; in victual, 53 bolls 2 firlots, 1½ peck of wheat, 108 bolls of beer, 373 bolls 3 firlots 3 pecks of oats, and 12 bolls 3 firlots 1½ peck of rye. Books of the Col. of the Thirds. In 1592 there was a disannexation of the deanery of Restalrig. Unprinted Act.

(*u*) Chart. Aberdon, 43. The place has been long distinguished by the name of *Temple*, which has supplanted the ancient appellation of Balantrodach. The knight who presided over this establishment was stiled "magister domus Templi in Scotia." Ib., 46. And he was also called "magister militii Templi in Scotia." Rym., ii., 724.

knights obtained many lands, various revenues, and important privileges (*x*). In consequence of these grants, they formed in various parts of Scotland, establishments which were all subordinate to the chief one at Balantrodach (*y*). "Brianus, preceptor templi, in Scotiæ," swore fealty to Edward I. in Edinburgh castle in July 1291 (*z*). "John de Sautre, maister de la chivalerie de templi, en Eccosse," swore fealty to Edward in August 1296 (*a*). Edward immediately issued writs to the sheriffs of almost every shire in Scotland, commanding them to restore the Templars' property (*b*) ; and the universality of those precepts evinces the wide extent of their establishments throughout every district (*c*).

But the period of the existence of the Templars soon after arrived. In 1312, a general council was held by Pope Clement V., at Vienne in France, wherein this order, for whatever crimes, was suppressed ; and their estates and pro-

(*x*) In 1236, Alexander II. granted a charter to the knights of the Temple confirming the donations of his predecessors and by private subjects of lands, *men*, revenues, churches, and other property, to be held with ample jurisdiction ; and he granted that they should be free "de miseracordis" [arbitrary amercements] and "ab omni *Scotto* et *Gildo* et omnibus auxiliis regum "et vicecomitum et omnium ministrorum eorum, et wapenthak et exercitibus, placitis, et querilis, "warda, et relevis, et de omnibus operibus castellorum, portuum, clausurum, et omne carriagio, "finagio, et navigio, et domum regalium edificatione, et omnimode operatione." The king prohibited any of their woods from being taken for the said works, or any of their arms, men, or other things, for furnishing castles. He gave them the liberty to cultivate the woodlands which they had within his forests. He exempted them from all toll, in fairs, at the passage of bridges, roads, and seas, throughout his whole kingdom ; and he gave to them and their men various other privileges, exemptions, and special protections, for themselves, their lands, and goods. This instructive charter of Alexander II. is transcribed into the Chartulary of Aberdon, 29-34. During the 12th and 13th centuries the popes gave the Templars several bulls of protection, and exemption from ecclesiastical dues and rights. Ib., 24-26.

(*y*) They had an establishment at St. Germains in East-Lothian. They had another at Ogerstoun in Stirlingshire, which they had obtained from the favour of David I. They had one at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire. They had one at Culter on the Dee in Kincardineshire. They had another at Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, the church whereof they obtained from Radulph, the bishop of Aberdeen, from 1232-1248. Chart. Aberdon, 305. They had another at Tulloch in Aberdeenshire ; and they enjoyed several others in almost every shire within Scotland.

(*z*) Rym., ii., 572. (*a*) Prynne, 656. (*b*) Rym., ii., 724.

(*c*) In addition to their chief seat at Balantrodach, the Templars had a small establishment in this shire at Mount-Hooly on the burgh-moor of Edinburgh. In digging the cemetery of this establishment several skeletons were found lying cross-legged with their swords by their sides, in the manner of the Templars. Maitl. Edin., 176 ; Arnot, 251. The Templars had a number of houses in Edinburgh and in Leith, on which they placed conspicuously the cross of their order.

perty, were transferred to the rival order of St. John of Jerusalem (*s*). On that striking event, the knights of St. John took possession of their estates, which they long possessed. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem had their principal establishment at Torphichen in West-Lothian. These knights also in their turn were suppressed, when their whole lands were converted into a *temporal lordship*, which was granted by Queen Mary, in January 1563, to Sir James Sandilands, the preceptor of the same knights (*e*).

The *Preceptory* of St. Anthony of Leith was founded in 1435 by Robert Logan of Restalrig, and was confirmed by Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews (*f*). The canons of St. Anthony were introduced during the reign of James I., and they were brought from St. Anthony of Vienne in France, the seat of the order. They followed the rule of St. Augustine. In Scotland they had only one establishment at Leith (*g*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood in the reign of James V., the preceptory of St. Anthony at Leith was taxed at £6 13s. 4d. The same preceptory appears in a tax-roll of the archbishopric in 1547 (*h*). The canons of St. Anthony had a church, a cemetery, a

(*d*) Spottiswoode, in his Account of the Religious Houses, 480, informs us that he had seen a folio MS., containing an enumeration of all the lands and revenues which belonged to this order. That MS. belonged to Patrick Murray of Deuchar.

(*e*) From the similarity of those orders and the union of their establishments, the *knights of the Temple* have been generally confounded with the *knights of St. John.* The patroness of the former was the Virgin Mary ; the patron of the latter was St. John. The two orders and their several chiefs in Scotland are clearly distinguished in the several submissions which they made to Edward I. in 1291 and in 1296. Rym., ii., 572 ; Prynne, iii., 724-5.

(*f*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., No. 6. Tbe church of Hailes, in East-Lothian, which belonged to the monks of Holyrood, was given to the *canons* of St. Anthony, at Leith, and confirmed to them by a charter of Kennedy, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1445. The bishop's charter mentions that the church of St. Anthony, at Leith, edificari cepit per Jacobum primum Scotiæ regni." Ib., No. 5.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 425. By a charter of Humbert, the chief of the order, in 1446, it appears that the canons of St. Anthony, at Leith, did not live very peaceably together. Ib., 426. They seem to have been a sort of religious knights, but not *Templars.* The only document in which they are called *Knights Templars* is the charter of James VI., in 1614, giving away their establishment and revenues. And this idle mistake of an ignorant clerk is wildly repeated in Arnot's Edin., 255.

(*h*) The seal of the convent is preserved in the Advocates' Library, whence it appears to have borne Saint Anthony, in a hermit's mantle, with a book in one hand and a staff in the other, and at his foot is a sow, with a bell about her neck. Over his head there is a T, which the brothers wore on their black gowns. The legend is : S. COMMUNE PRECEPTORIÆ SANCTI ANTHONII PROPE LEICHT. Arnot's Edin., 255. Lyndsay, the satirist, laughs at St. Anthony and his sow. One of the relics of his Pardoner is, "The gruntil of Sanct Anthony's sow—quilk bare his haly bell." See Lyndsay's Works, 1806.

monastery and gardens, at Leith, on the south-west corner of the alley which was named from them *Saint Anthony's Wynd.* Besides various lands, tenements, and rents about Edinburgh and in Leith, they were entitled to a Scottish quart from every tun of wine which was imported into Leith and Edinburgh (*i*). In 1482, Sir Alexander Halliday, the preceptor, was heard before the auditors in parliament, with regard to the teinds, the rents, and other rights of the church of Hailes (*k*). In 1488, Thomas Turing, a burgess of Edinburgh, founded a chaplainry in the church of St. Anthony, for the maintenance whereof he gave certain rents in Leith, amounting to £10 yearly (*l*). At the Reformation this preceptory was suppressed; and in 1614 it was granted, with all its rights, to the kirk-session of South Leith, for endowing *King James' hospital* at Leith (*m*).

In the King's [Queen's] Park, on the declivity of Arthur's Seat, there was a beautiful chapel of Gothic architecture, consecrated to St. Anthony, and there was a hermitage adjoining to it, wherein a succession of anchorites, who here rested their weary age, lived remote from all the pleasures of a guilty world (*u*).

The charity of elder times, in addition to all those *religious houses*, founded various *hospitals* in this shire, which mark the people's piety, and exhibit the religious manners of successive times. At the west end of the Greyfriars in Edinburgh, there was of old a *maison dieu*, which, having fallen into decay, was refounded under James V., when the hospital and its chapel were dedicated to Mary Magdalene (*o*). At the head of Bell's Wynd, in Edinburgh, there was, anciently, a hospital with its chapel; but the piety of the founder is forgotten, while his property has been appropriated. This *maison dieu* still remains, and is known by the unmeaning name of the *Clamsbell turnpike* (*p*).

(*i*) The provost of the city and the preceptor of the canons had their rights to care for, and their wrongs to settle, with regard to the duty on wine. Maitl. Edin., 12. After the Reformation, the magistrates obtained a grant of that duty, and farmed it.

(*k*) Parl. Rec., 288.

(*l*) MS. Donations. James IV. confirmed this liberality of Turing on the 17th of January, 1448-9. Id.

(*m*) Maitl. Edin., 489-95. (*n*) Maitl. Edin., 152; Arnot, 255.

(*n*) Michael Macquean, a citizen of Edinburgh, contributed much to the restoration of this charity, and his widow also gave £2,000 Scots for this worthy end. She further granted for its support the rents of some tenements, amounting to 138 marks Scots: and by her will, in 1547, she bequeathed her donations to the corporation of hammermen in Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin., 189. Hugh Lord Somerville gave to this hospital a rent of £40, and another of £20, by two several charters, in 1541, from his barony of Carnwath. MS. Donations.

(*p*) Spottiswoode, 531; Arnot, 246.

Near the head of St. Mary's Wynd there was of old a hospital, with its chapel, which was consecrated to the Virgin, but when, or by whose piety it was founded, is unknown. Its revenues failed, owing to mismanagement, before the end of the fifteenth century (*q*). In 1479, Thomas Spence, the bishop of Aberdeen, founded in Leith, a hospital for the reception of twelve poor men; and it was dedicated to the Virgin, and was from this circumstance called the *hospital of our lady.* At the Reformation, the magistrates of Edinburgh acquired this hospital, with its revenues, from Mary Stewart, under her general grant of March 1567; and in 1619, they converted this hospital into a workhouse, which they called *Paul's work,* a name that it still retains (*r*). In the Canongate, near the abbey of Holyrood, was founded, in 1541, St. Thomas's hospital, by George Crichton, the bishop of Dunkeld, who had been abbot of Holyrood. His foundation was intended for the maintenance of seven poor old men, and he established two chaplains to perform service at the altars of St. Andrew and St. Catherine within the Abbey Church. For the support of those establishments, the worthy bishop granted the lands of Lochflat in Edinburghshire, with their pertinents, from which were yearly to be paid £8, as a ground rent to the abbot and canons of Holyrood, and various other sums, amounting to £8 1s. 8d., for expenses and for alms to thirty poor persons, at the celebration of the founder's anniversary. The patronage he settled on himself and a series of heirs of the name of Crichton (*s*). In 1617 the patron and beadmen disposed of this hospital, with its pertinents, to the magistrates of the Canongate, who converted it into an hospital for their poor, by the same name of *St. Thomas;* yet have its revenues been completely embezzled (*t*). On the site of the Citadel, at North Leith, there was of old a

(*q*) In 1499, the chaplain's salary was only 16s. 8d. sterling; and the paupers were chiefly supported by voluntary contribution. Arnot, 247.

(*r*) Ib., 247. (*s*) Maitland, 154.

(*t*) Ib., 155. The detail of the constitutions of the hospital of St. Thomas' may illustrate the manners of the age preceding the Reformation. The beadmen were required to rise about eight of the clock, and say fifteen *paternosters,* the same number of *ave marias,* and three credos in deum patrem, in honour of God, the Virgin, of St. Andrew, and St. Catharine. They were also required to sit, and pray before the altars, for the soul of the founder and the other persons who were specified in the foundation. On Sundays and festivals it was required of the beadmen, as often as they entered the church for divine service, to put on their *red gowns*; and at high mass sit before the altar of the chapel, and there repeat fifty *ave marias,* five *paternosters,* and one *credo*; and in time of Vespers it was expected of them that they should say two *rosarys.* They were required to walk in their red gowns at all public processions, and it was expected that they should leave their gowns to their successors, and not beg under pain of ejection.

hospital and a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas; and from this foundation St. Nicholas's Wynd in this town derived its name (*u*). There was an hospital and chapel dedicated to St. Paul in Edinburgh, and there was in the chapel an altar and chaplainry consecrated to the Virgin, of which Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, claimed the patronage before the privy council in 1495 (*x*). In 1396, Sir James Douglas founded, near the chapel of Dalkeith, a hospital of six paupers; and for the support of the whole, he granted, with the king's consent, £6 13s. 4d. sterling from the lands of Easterhope-Kaillie, £4 sterling from the lands of Newby in Peeblesshire, and £3 6s. 8d. sterling from Morton in the barony of Dalkeith (*y*). Various hospitals of a less religious, but perhaps of a more useful sort, and charity houses, have been more recently established in Edinburgh and Leith; but as they belong not to the religious establishments, they fall not within the plan of this inquiry (*z*).

The ancient regimen of a *bishopric*, and *archdeaconry*, and a *deanry*, gave way at the Reformation to a synod, a presbytery, and even a superintendency. John Spottiswoode, of the house of Spottiswoode, the minister of Calder, was the first superintendent of Lothian (*a*); yet it was not till May 1581, that some fifteen or sixteen ministers of the circumjacent kirks, with a lay elder from each congregation, were constituted the presbytery of Edinburgh. Before the year 1593, the churches of Lothian had been formed into five presbyteries, consisting of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Haddington, and Dunbar; and these five, with the presbyteries of Peebles and Biggar, formed the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale (*b*).

At the dawn of record, the appropriate church of EDINBURGH is obscure. In David I.'s charter to Holyrood, we see the church of the Holy Cross, on the east of *the burgh* or *castellum*, St. Cuthbert's on the west, and the chapel of the castle. The town certainly existed, however, and it even then had a kirk

(*u*) Maitland, 498.

(*x*) Parl. Rec., 472.

(*y*) Foundation charter belonging to the Earl of Morton, in Macfarlane's MS. Collections.

(*z*) They may be seen, however, in Maitland's Edin., and Arnot, and more recent accounts of that metropolis.

(*a*) He seems to have been appointed to this charge in July 1560. He sustained the burden of this charge during twenty years without satisfaction or profit. He died on the 5th of December 1585, aged 76, and was the father of the worthy archbishop. Spots. Hist., 344.

(*b*) The presbytery of Edinburgh now contains two-and-twenty parishes, including the ten of Edinburgh.

which, in elder times, was dedicated to St. Giles (*z*); but the burgh of Edwin had not the honour, like Linlithgow and Haddington, of being the seat of the archdeacon or dean, and in the ancient *Taxatio*, we may see "Ecclesia de "Sancti Ægidii de Edenburgh, in decanatu de Linlithgow." The reason of such neglect or degradation may have been that the abbot of Holyrood was too near to admit of the easy residence of an archdeacon or dean in Edinburgh.

The burgh of Edwin, according to its narrow limits of ancient times, formed only one parish, even as low down as King James's reign. The church of this urban district was originally consecrated to St. Giles, who flourished, according to the Benedictine chronologists, in the sixth century (*d*). Why the founders of Edinburgh church chose St. Giles for a tutelary guardian, it is idle to ask and vain to inquire. In the *Analecta* of Mabillon, wherein there is an English calendar of the seventh century, St. Giles does not appear. Under James II., an arm of St. Giles was brought to Edinburgh, by Preston of Gorton, which was thankfully received, and honourably requited (*e*). In the twelfth century, there was, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, a farm which was called *St. Giles's grange*, and which David I. conferred on the monks of Holmcultram (*f*). This had probably been the appropriate grange of the parson of St. Giles's church. As the *parish church* of the town of Edinburgh, St. Giles's church is often mentioned, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century; and as the parish did not extend into the country beyond the walls, it appears in those times to have been of little value (*g*). In 1384, the Scottish barons

(*c*) The town and its parish were then co-extensive, and their circumscribed limits consisted of the Nor-loch, the Castle-hill, the Cowgate, and St. Mary's Wynd.

(*d*) L'Art de Verifier les Dates. His festival was the 1st of September. His constant companion was a *hind*. In the Lives of the Saints, published at Leyden, 1519, there is a print of St. Giles sitting with *his hind*. The *hind* of Giles is one of the heraldic supporters of the Edinburgh arms, to the present times; yet is the city *motto*, "Nisi dominus frustra."

(*e*) Arnot's Edin., 268. On the 1st of September 1558, the festival of St. Giles, a protestant mob raised a tumult, in the midst of which the sanctity of St. Giles was violated, and his images broken, and his arm derided. In June 1562, the magistrates directed the portraiture of St. Giles to be cut out of the city standard, as *an idol*, and the thistle, as more emblematical of rude reform, to be inserted. Maitl. Edin., 23.

(*f*) Fordun, l. xi. c., 21. In 1512, Sir John Crawford, one of the prebendaries of St. Giles's college, granted 33 acres of land in the burgh moor to a chapel which he had built at Saint Geilie grange. MS. Donations. This is the place that is called in modern maps *Giliegrange*.

(*g*) In the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at only 26 marks.

met in St. Giles's church, and resolved on war with England (*h*). In 1385, St. Giles's church and the town were burnt by Richard II. (*i*). It was probably damaged rather than destroyed, and it was soon repaired (*d*). The advowson of St. Giles church appears to have been always in the king; and in December 1393, Robert III. granted to the monks of Scone the right of patronage in the church of St. Giles, and every other right which he or his predecessors had in the same church (*d*). During the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the sixteenth centuries, it was the practice at Edinburgh, as in other considererable towns, to appropriate the penalties which were imposed for faults, to the use of St. Giles's church. The domestic companies or *crafts* used to impose fines for the breaches of their bye-laws, which were made payable to the use of St. Giles's church; and thus a fund was gradually established for the useful objects of repairing the church and its chapels, and supporting the vicar.

Before the reign of James III. many altars and chaplainries were founded by persons and corporations, and were consecrated to their favourite saints (*m*). Besides the endowments of the founders, for those altars and chaplains, many persons gave private donations, which were occasionally granted by well-meaning

(*h*) Lord Berners, fo. 317. St. Giles's church became the frequent place for the solemn meetings of the general councils and the *Three Estates.*

(*i*) Bower, l. xiv. c., 50.

(*k*) In November 1387, there was an indenture between the provost of Edinburgh and several masons, for building and vaulting five chapels, with altars, on the *south side* of the parish church of Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin., 270. This is one of the very earliest specimens of the Scoto-Saxon language: "Alsua it is accordyt, yat ye foresayde communitie shall gyf to ye foresayde masounys, for the forsayde work, as it is before spokyn, sex hundreth mark of sterling, of the payment of Scotlande."

(*l*) Chart. Scone, 95. This grant of Robert III. was confirmed, in 1395, by Walter, the bishop of St. Andrews. Ib., 98. In the same year both these grants were confirmed by a bull of Benedict. Ib., 99-124. From this epoch of degradation St. Giles's church was served by a *vicar*, while the monks of Scone drew the parsonage dues. In 1451 John Methven, a doctor of laws, was *vicar* of Edinburgh and clerk of the rolls and registers. Rym., xi., 287. From 1454 to 1459 Nicolas Otterburn, the *vicar* of Edinburgh, was a frequent ambassador, and clerk of the rolls and registers. Ib., 349, 404, 423. There is a remarkable charter of James II. in 1452, entailing the lands of Barntoun on George Earl of Cathness, and his heirs and *assigns*, and his *natural* daughter; with this proviso, that he, or his assigns, should cause to be paid to his bastard daughter Janet, on a particular day, between the rising and setting of the sun, in the *parish church* of St. Giles, in his burgh of Edinburgh, upon the high altar of the same, three hundred marks usual money. Hay's Vindication of Eliz. More, 6.

(*m*) Maitl. Edin., 271, has transcribed a long list of a thousand altars and chapels, which piety had founded in St. Giles's church, and fanaticism demolished. In 1213 Walter Chepman, the early printer, endowed a chaplainry with 20 marks, which he dedicated to St. John.

individuals (*n*). When St. Giles's church was made collegiate in 1466, the revenues of those altars and chaplainries were allotted for the new establishment. Besides all those chaplainries in St. Giles's, there were in Edinburgh various other chapels and oratories (*o*). In 1559, all those altars were demolished, and the chaplainries were disused (*p*). After this ancient church had been thus despoiled, it was mechanically divided into various departments, which were set aside for different purposes; either for preaching; for the administration of justice; for teaching; for a prison; for a work-house; for the town clerk's office; and for other purposes of less importance and dignity. The principal division, which had been formed out of the choir, was fitted up in 1663, and called the *New Church*. In it were erected the seats for the king, for the magistrates, for the judges; and from such appropriations it was denominated afterward the *High Church*.

On the first distribution of the protestant preachers in July 1650, one only was allowed to Edinburgh, which, in fact, was at that epoch merely one parish; and Knox himself was the appropriate minister. He soon obtained a colleague in so populous a charge, and after experience had shown that these were too few for so many people and so much duty, two more were added; and four continued to be the number who administered to the good people of Edinburgh throughout the 16th century; and they preached in two of the divisions of St. Giles's church, which were called, the *New Church* and *St. Giles's Church*. It was the policy of King James, while he continued in Scotland, to have Edinburgh divided into four parishes, but without accomplishing his object, as he seems not to have known how to obtain his end. The town council in October 1853, ordered Edinburgh to be divided into four quarters, corresponding to four parishes (*q*). The ancient rights of the parish had been abolished, and it seems not to have then occurred, amidst the anarchy of the times, that an act of parliament was the legal mode of establishing new parishes with new privileges. The order of the town council remained unexecuted, and when the guilty magistrates obtained the king's pardon for the treasonous riot of 1506, it was stipulated as one of the articles of reconcilement, that the four ministers who had hitherto lodged together in St. Giles's church-yard should

(*n*) MS. Donations; Roberts. Index; and Maitland.

(*o*) Maitl. Edin., 185, 189, 106; Arnot's Edin., 145-7—248.

(*p*) The magistrates of the town on that occasion appropriated the jewels and other valuables. Maitl., 272-3. They took down St. Mary's bell and the brazen pillars of St. Giles's church, which were converted into money. Id.

(*q*) Maitl., 42.

live separately in their several divisions (*r*). The year 1598 may be deemed the epoch of the division of Edinburgh into *four parishes*, though they were not formally established for some years (*s*). In 1620, four new ministers, who had been often promised, were added to the four old ones, that were supposed to be insufficient (*t*). The town council was either unable or unwilling to provide stipends for so many ministers (*u*) ; and it was not till 1625, after the accession of Charles I., that the reiterated wishes of James VI. were carried into effect by the pious solicitude of his son. In September 1625, the city council passed an ordinance, dividing Edinburgh, with the West Port, the Cowgate, and the head of the Canongate, as annexed by a late act of parliament, into four parishes, with two ministers to each district, so that the town should have eight ministers, exclusive of the principal of the college (*x*). Here, then, was a great object well effected ; and thenceforth the magistrates of the town became patrons of its ministers.

(*r*) Maitl. Edin., 53. The four ministers' houses in St. Giles's church-yard, which now forms the Parliament Square, were given to the king ; but for what purpose is not obvious.

(*s*) Birrel's Diary. On the 20th November 1598, the Lord's supper was administered in all the four several parish kirks of Edinburgh. Id. The four churches were St. Giles, New Church, Trinity College Church, and the Tolbooth Church. Maitl., 24.

(*t*) Spottiswoode's Hist., 541. In the parliament of 1621, an act passed, ratifying diverse infeftments to the town of Edinburgh, for sustentation of the *college, ministers,* and *hospitals* ; and another passed, disjoining the parts lying within the ports of Edinburgh, from *St. Cuthbert's* and *Holyroodhouse.* Unprinted Acts, 1621, Nos. 48-49. Here, then, is business. Revenues are provided, and the urban parishes are enlarged, by disjoining certain parts of the circumjacent parishes of St. Cuthbert and Holyrood. But nothing was said of the right of patronage, which remained *in the king.*

(*u*) Calderwood, 815, breaks out into indignation on that occasion at the magistrates' ambition, and avarice, and malice, which prevented them from providing stipends for *honest men* and *godly professors.* He might have said, in few words, that the magistrates continually dissipated their revenues on the frivolity of feasting or the baseness of corruption.

(*x*) Maitl. Edin., 277. In that ordinance there was an express proviso, that the magistrates should resort to the *High Church,* called *St. Giles ;* and further regulations were made for effecting that desirable measure, in presence of the ministers and *the archbishop of St. Andrews.* The king directed his privy council to ratify that ordinance, giving the right of patronage to the magistrates ; and in November 1625, the privy council passed an act, ratifying the whole measure. Ib., 279. The historians of Edinburgh do not inform us what churches were then assigned to those four parishes ; but they pretty plainly appear to have been : 1-2, Two of the divisions of St. Giles's church ; 3, The Trinity Church, which had been fitted up some time before ; and 4, The Old Gray Friars Church, which the magistrates had built, in 1612, in the midst of the cemetery, which had been laid out, in 1562, on the site of the Gray friars convent and gardens.

When the ill-fated episcopate of Edinburgh was established in 1633, St. Giles's kirk was erected into the cathedral church of this see with the usual privileges. The principal minister of St. Giles's church was constituted the *dean* of the diocese of Edinburgh, and the chief ministers of the other three churches were to be three of the twelve prebendaries (*y*). This establishment was torn down in 1638; was re-established in 1662 by parliament; and in 1689, was finally abolished by the Revolution (*z*).

When zeal in its progress made every

> "One speak much of right and wrong,
> Of justice, of *religion*, truth, and peace,
> And judgment from above;"

the *four* parish churches were found insufficient to accommodate the people of Edinburgh, and the common council in 1641, resolved to divide the town into six parishes (*a*). Yet, amidst a thousand distractions and infinite waste, it required more than twenty years to carry that necessary measure into full effect (*b*).

The zeal of 1699 discovered that those six churches were insufficient to accommodate the augmented numbers of the religious people of Edinburgh, and a *seventh* parish was laid out by the name of the *New North Church* parish (*c*).

(*y*) Charter of Erection, in Keith. In pursuance of this establishment, Charles I., in October 1633, wrote the magistrates, to remove the partition walls within the church, and to make it altogether fit for a cathedral; but there is reason to think that they did not comply. Maitl. Edin., 281.

(*z*) Lachlan Shaw's MS. Hist. of the Scot. Church.

(*a*) Maitl. Edin., 141, 281.

(*b*) The building of the *Tron Church* was begun in 1641; divine service was performed in it in 1647; but it was not quite finished till 1663. The proper name was *Christ's* Kirk; but the ancient *tron* standing near the site, as we may see in the old maps of Edinburgh, the popular voice over-ruled the consecration to God. Maitl. Edin., 110. The building of this church, which has since been new-modelled, to accommodate the transverse street, by the North and South Bridges, cost £36,000. In 1641, the magistrates began to build another church on the Castle hill; but, finding other employment for their revenues, they pulled down what they had built. Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, now came to their aid. She bequeathed the magistrates £15,000 for building a new church, which was finished in 1655; and she gave £5,000 for supporting the minister of it. Maitl. Edin., 181, who describes the limits of Lady Yester's parish; and in this manner were the magistrates enabled, in 1662, to complete the establishment of six churches, which they had projected in 1641. In 1663, such had been the changes of revolutionary times, the magistrates enlarged and new-modelled the stipends of their twelve ministers. Maitl., 141.

(*c*) Maitl., 180, describes it as containing "all the *Luchen*-booth Row, and other closes, wynds, and streets;" and he, in order to show his antiquarian learning, informs his reader

The *north-west* compartment of St. Giles's church, which had been a prison, was now fitted up as a church, by the name of Haddo's Hole; as one Haddo had been herein long confined for whatever crime of treason against the covenant or the king. The historian of Edinburgh gives vent to his indignation at the irreverent names which were appropriately given to its churches (*d*). There is certainly nothing very promotive of devotion in the names of the *Tolbooth* kirk, *Haddo's Hole*, or the *Tron*. Sarcasm has said that under the ancient regimen, ignorance supposed the *paternoster* to be a saint. It may be suspected of the fanaticism of 1641, without much uncharitableness, that the folly which could substitute the name of *the Tron* for *Christ Church*, might suppose *some saint* to be couched under the consecration to *Jesus Christ*. When the increased population of the *New Town* required an additional place of worship, the magistrates, with great propriety, dedicated this church *to St. Andrew;* their city being the *domicile* of all Scotsmen in foreign parts. In whatever quarter of the globe Scotsmen reside, the name of *Saint Andrew* collects them into a society, promotes their sociability, incites their charity, and inspires their patriotism.

Edinburgh has always been the pious seat of many *chapels*. Though *the Revolution* abolished the *temporal* rights of episcopacy, it did not take away its *spirituality*; and in 1709, James Greenshields, clerk, opened a chapel in Edinburgh, wherein he administered to several persons who were of the English church. The presbytery of Edinburgh, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the Court of Session, concurred in thinking his conduct punishable as illegal. He appealed to the supreme judicatory of the Peers in parliament, who reversed

that the Flemings, who usually brought woollen cloth, which they called *Lacken*, gave this name to the row of shops where the *Lacken* was sold; and yet *Lucken*, in the Saxon, means shut; covered booths, in contradistinction to the open booths, of the street.

(*d*) Maitl. Edin., 179-80, describes the new parish of *Haddo's Hole*. There was a new parish laid out in 1722, with an additional church, which was called the *New Gray Friars Church;* and in the subsequent year Edinburgh was divided into *nine* parishes. Ib., 188. And St. Giles's church was now formed into four places of worship: 1st, The High Church, or New Church; 2nd, The Old Church; 3rd, The Tolbooth Church; and 4th, Haddo's Hole, or the Little Church. In addition to all those services, the *aisle* of St. Giles's church, which is venerable for its antiquity and dignified by its retrospections, is fitted up for the annual meetings of the General Assembly of the Scottish church, with a throne for the royal representative. When St. Andrew's church was erected in the New Town, the *ten* parishes of the present time were established, though without precluding the new arrangements, which an augmented population and sound piety might thereafter dictate.

the sentence of the magistrates and the decree of the College of Justice (*e*). It is not easy to express how much true charity was now extended by this reversal. In 1722, the chief baron Smith endowed a chapel at the foot of the Gray Friars Wynd, for those holding communion with the church of England (*f*). In 1771 was founded in the Cowgate a capacious chapel for the English communion, which was properly ornamented and even painted by Runciman. Arnot delights to describe this elegant chapel, with its altar, its organ, and its spire, which is accommodated by the bell which had belonged to the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse (*g*). Before the year 1802, a great variety of other chapels were erected in this metropolis, which shows the progress of its population, of its opulence, and its freedom of thought, as well as its universal charity (*h*).

(*e*) Robertson's Cases, 15. This adjudication was immediately followed by the 10th Anne, ch. 7, to prevent disturbing the episcopal communion in Scotland.

(*f*) Arnot's Edin., 287. An intolerant populace did not regard this chapel with a favourable eye, and they demolished several of its windows. Caledonian Mercury, No. 347. In December 1723, the episcopal ministers of several meeting-houses were brought before the magistrates, for not being qualified according to law, and not praying for the king. Ib., 577. Two other episcopal chapels were built in 1747. Arnot, 284; and before 1750 there were settled five other chapels; a Roman Catholic chapel, a French chapel, and several meeting-houses of Independents and Quakers. Maitl. Edin., 215.

(*g*) Arnot, 284-6.

(*h*) The subjoined detail not only shows the number of churches and chapels in Edinburgh, but the comparative wealth of their several congregations; being an extraordinary collection which was made on the 3rd of January 1802, for the Charity Work-house, in the following

Churches:				Chapels:			
In St. Andrew's Church	£63	9	3	New Episcopal Chapel	£37	7	8½
The High Church	29	4	5	Charlotte Chapel	27	4	6
Lady Yester's Church	28	5	5	Relief Meeting	24	14	9
The Tron Church	23	17	11	The Tabernacle	15	5	11¼
The Tolbooth Church	23	12	7¼	Lady Glenorchy's Chapel	14	8	9½
The New North Church	19	5	9	Peddie's Congregation	12	12	8
The New Gray Friars Church	14	7	3¼	Nicholson's Street Meeting	12	3	0
The Old Gray Friars Church	14	1	0	Hall's Meeting	10	10	6
The Old Church	8	3	8½	Baptist Congregation	10	1	11
The College Church	3	17	6½	Drummond's Chapel	6	18	0
				Independent Meeting	4	6	0
	£228	8	4¼	Universalists' Society	1	14	6¾
	177	8	4		£177	8	4
	£405	16	8¼				

In the castle of Edinburgh, even before the accession of David I., there was an appropriate chapel which was probably built by Margaret, the pious queen of Malcolm Canmore (*i*). In 1291, many persons swore fealty to Edward I. "in capella castri puellarum (*k*)." Robert II. granted to St. Margaret's chapel in the castle, an annuity of £8 out of the customs of Edinburgh (*l*). The chapel of the castle formed a conspicuous object in the ancient maps of Edinburgh. In August 1704, Walter Smith, clerk, the minister of the castle, petitioned the parliament, "craving payment of £75 sterling, owing to him for his stipend, free of poundage and invalid money;" but he was remitted to the committee of public accounts for his debts, and to the treasury for what might become due (*m*). This chapel seems to be extra-parochial, having its own district with peculiar privileges (*n*).

The church of St. Cuthbert is unquestionably ancient, perhaps as old as the age which followed the demise of the worthy Cuthbert, towards the end of the seventh century. It is older than record in Scotland. It had several grants before the charter of Holyrood (*o*). St. Cuthbert's church, with its parish and its kirk-town and all its rights were granted, as we have seen, by David I. to the monks of Holyrood. He also granted to them the two chapels which belonged to St. Cuthbert's church, *Corstorphine*, with two bovates and six acres of land, and the chapel of Liberton, with two bovates of land and all its rights; and he moreover conferred on those monks the tithes of all the fishings which belonged to St. Cuthbert's church on the Forth,

There was a Gaelic chapel founded on the south side of the Castle-hill in 1767, and finished in 1779. Arnot, 283. A Roman Catholic chapel was built in 1778, and burnt in 1779. Ib., 288; Edin. Guide, 32-3.

(*i*) David I. granted to the monks of Holyrood, as we know from his charter, *ecclesiam castelli*, with all its rights.

(*k*) Rym., ii., 569-71.

(*l*) Robert III., on his accession in 1390, confirmed this grant. Regist. Rob. III. Rot., x. 9.

(*m*) Minutes of the 25th August 1704; and the unprinted acts of that date.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin., 142-65.

(*o*) Macbeth of Liberton, who flourished early in David's reign, granted to the church of St. Cuthbert the tithes and oblations of Legbernard, a church which cannot now be traced. Chart. St. Crucis. David I., soon after his accession, granted to St. Cuthbert's church, "juxta castellum," the whole land, under the same castle, viz., "a fonte qui oritur juxta angulum gardini reg. per *viam*," which went to the same church; on the other side, from the castle, to another way, which is under the castle, towards the east. MS. Col. of Charters from the Autograph. This description seems to be imperfect; yet the limits of St. Cuthbert's parish surrounded almost the whole town, and included the burgh-moor.

including Newhaven (*p*). At that epoch, St. Cuthbert's, as it was the oldest, was the most extensive parish in the lowlands of Mid-Lothian. At that period St. Cuthbert's was the most valuable church in Scotland except Dunbar. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of St. Cuthbert "sub castro," in the deanery of Linlithgow was rated at 160 marks. Yet from that epoch, St. Cuthbert's, from being a mother church, with subordinate chapels and other rights, became a vicarage (*q*). Besides the high altar there were in St. Cuthbert's church several other altars which had been consecrated to various saints by pious votaries, with appropriate chaplains (*r*). St. Cuthbert's church had of old other chapels belonging to it. It had St. Mary's chapel at the foot of Chapel Wynd. On the burgh-moor it had St. John's chapel and St. Rogue's chapel. This last had a cemetery, to which leprous persons were sent from Edinburgh during the prevalence of the plague; and in 1532, the magistrates granted to Sir John Young, the chaplain, four acres in the burgh-moor, for keeping in repair the chapel and praying for the souls of those who were buried in its cemetery. St. Rogue's chapel and its pertinents were converted after the Reformation into private property, by those men who could deride the piety of their fathers, and had little other pretensions to religion than grimace and zeal (*s*). At Newhaven there was a chapel which also belonged to St. Cuthbert's, and served for the worship of the fishers, while the monks of Holyrood enjoyed the tithes. In 1606, Newhaven and North-Leith were formed into a separate parish by dilapidating St. Cuthbert's. In 1633, this very ancient church and its patronage were conferred on the bishopric of Edinburgh (*t*); but when this episcopate ceased at the Revolution, the patronage returned to the crown. *

(*p*) Chart. of Holyrood in Maitl. Edin. That grant of David I. was confirmed by several charters of the bishops of St. Andrews.

(*q*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the vicarage of St. Cuthbert's, in the deanery of Linlithgow, was taxed at £6 6s. 8d. The same vicarage appears in the Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*r*) MS. Donations. In October 1487, William Towers of Inverleith, granted an annuity of 14 marks for supporting a chaplain to officiate at St. Anne's altar in St. Cuthbert's church. Id. In January 1489, Alexander Currier, vicar of Haddington, granted various rents from tenements in Edinburgh, to support a chaplain to officiate at the Trinity altar in the same altar. Id.

(*s*) Arnot, 250, expresses his indignation at the improvidence and impiety of allowing the private appropriation of a burial ground, which might have been made so commodious to the city, for the same necessary purpose.

(*t*) Charter of Erection.

[* See "Church and Parish of St. Cuthbert," 1829].

The *Canongate* parish is of very recent establishment. This suburb did not exist at the foundation of Holyrood Abbey, The *canons* were empowered to settle here a village, and from them the *street* of this settlement was called the Canon*gate*, from the Saxon *gaet*, a way or street, according to the practice of the 12th and 13th centuries in Scotland and in England. The immunities which the canons and their villagers enjoyed from David's grant soon raised up a town, which extended from the abbey to the Nether-Port of Edinburgh; and the townsmen performed their usual devotions in the church of the abbey till the Reformation reversed all this regimen. In the room of the abbot was now introduced by the king's grant a *commendator*, who enjoyed some of his privileges, and held as a trustee all his property. The temporal superiority of the Canongate was now transferred by the facility of James VI. to the Earl of Roxburgh, who sold it in 1636 to the magistrates of Edinburgh, and this bargain was confirmed by the charter of Charles I. in 1639 (*u*). In this manner then did the *Canongate*, as it was already a suburb, like Leith and other districts, become the dependency of Edinburgh, having resident magistrates, who were annually appointed by the town council of Edinburgh. Amidst this scramble for patronage, the abbey church of Holyrood continued to be used as the parish church of the Canongate with appropriate ministers (*x*). In 1672, however, the privy council, in pursuance of the king's order. directed the abbey church to be used in future as the chapel royal (*y*); yet was it still enjoyed by the parishioners for divine service, and it was not till 1687 that James VII. directed them to be excluded, and this chapel be appropriated to the *Order of the Thistle* (*z*). Owing to a pious bequest of Thomas Moodie, a merchant in Edinburgh, a fund had existed almost forty years for building a parish church, but amidst the public distractions and private mismanage-

(*u*) Maitl. Edin., 148. In 1633 the bishop of Edinburgh was invested with the patronage of the abbey church; and the parson of Holyrood was created, by the act of erection, one of the prebendaries of the new episcopate. When this establishment was cast down in 1638, the magistrates of Edinburgh acquired the patronage of the abbey church, and obtained an act of confirmation from the rescinded parliament of 1640.

(*x*) In 1640, the magistrates obtained a parliamentary ratification of the patronage of the abbey church. In 1663, the parliament passed an act concerning the stipends of the Canongate ministers. Unprinted Act.

(*y*) Arnot, 253.

(*z*) Fountainhall gives an account of that appropriation, i. 466. The inhabitants of the Canongate, whose church this was not of old, were ordained to go to Lady Yester's church, and the French minister and his congregation were sent to the High School. "So this," he adds, "is the first *protestant* church taken away from us." If James VII. had done nothing worse than this!

ment, that trust had remained unexecuted (*a*). The Canongate parish has two ministers. The patronage of the first belongs to the king, and of the second to the magistrates, the kirk-session, the heritors, and deacons of the eight incorporated crafts of the Canongate (*b*).* [In 1887, there were in the city of Edinburgh 37 churches in communion with the Church of Scotland; 42 in communion with the Free Church; 27 United Presbyterian Churches; 22 Scottish Episcopal Churches and Missions; 4 Roman Catholic Churches; 7 Congregational Churches; 3 Evangelical Union Churches; 4 Baptist Churches; 1 United Original Seceders Church; and 1 Wesleyan Methodist Church.]

The influx of Leith water into the Forth was called of old *Inver*-leith, which has been abridged to LEITH, like other towns in Scotland having similar names; and a consideration of the Gaelic name carries the mind back to Celtic times, before the consecutive accessions to the throne of Malcolm Canmore's children. The *inver*, or issue of Leith, was a port and had a fishery, even before David I. became king. At that epoch, the port and one half of the fishery of Inverleith, with the village of Newhaven and the adjacent fields, which were all included in St. Cuthbert's parish, were conveyed by David I. to the canons of Holyrood (*c*). North-Leith with the Castle-hill lying on the southern side of the river were parochially attached to the abbey church, where the inhabitants long performed their devotions. Under James IV., Robert Ballenden, the abbot of Holyrood, endowed a chapel in North-Leith, which he dedicated to St. Ninian, for the convenient worship of the people; and he gave them an additional convenience by building a bridge of three arches, that connected the northern and southern sides of the port. This endowment, which comprehended some benefactions to the poor, was confirmed by James IV. in January 1494 (*d*). This chapel was subordinate to the abbey church of Holyrood, till it was converted into a parish church in 1606. The patronage of old belonged to the abbots, and afterwards to the commen-

(*a*) In 1649, Moodie bequeathed to the magistrates of Edinburgh 20,000 marks for building a church. In 1672, the people of the Canongate foreseeing their want of a church, informed the king of Moodie's legacy and of its fitness for building them a church. Maitl. Edin., 142. In 1681, that sum and its accumulations of interest were placed by parliament at the king's disposal. Unprinted Act; and the whole was now assigned by James VII. to the original purpose of the pious Moodie, by building a church in the Canongate, wherein the old rights of individuals should be preserved. In pursuance of that direction, ground was purchased, and a church was built in 1688-9 at the expense of 43,000 marks Scots. It was built in form of a cross, and on the front were placed, in obvious allusion to the ancient legend, the figures of the head and horns of a stag, with a cross erect. Maitl. Edin., 142-60. We may easily suppose that these emblems were set up before the Revolution, since "they figured the nature of the times deceased."

(*b*) The greater part of the area and lofts of the Canongate church belongs either to the incorporated trades, or to various noble families who were formerly connected with the king's household. Stat. Acco., vi., 566. [* See also Mackay's "Burgh of Canongate," 1879].

(*c*) Charter of Holyrood in Maitland. (*d*) MS. Donations; Maitl. Edin., 497.

dators of Holyrood. From John Bothwell, the commendator of Holyrood, the people of North-Leith purchased St. Ninian's chapel, with the chaplain's house, the tithes, and other pertinents belonging to it. They now rebuilt the chapel and the chaplain's house, and they obtained from the parliament of 1606 an act, erecting the district belonging to it into an appropriate parish (*e*), and investing in the kirk-session the revenues for the minister's stipend, which was then settled at 800 marks Scots, and which was afterward augmented to double the amount (*f*). In 1630, Newhaven, with the adjacent lands and the chapel, were annexed to the parish of North-Leith, which since 1606, comprehended little more than the town (*g*). In 1633, the parish of North-Leith thus enlarged was annexed to the episcopate of Edinburgh. George Wishart was minister of North-Leith at the epoch of the Covenant, and refusing to adopt what he could not approve, was imprisoned as a felon and deprived of his charge. He retired into countries of more charity, where he became chaplain, first to the great Montrose, and afterwards to the queen of Bohemia, and returning to England at the Restoration, he obtained the rectory of Newcastle, and soon after the bishopric of Edinburgh (*h*). The magistrates of Edinburgh, who were studious to purchase every right within their reach, bought from the Earl of Roxburgh the superiority of North-Leith with its dependencies (*i*), and they wrested from the people the patronage of the church, which was theirs by purchase and possession (*k*). When the bishopric of Edinburgh was restored in 1662, the magistrates of Edinburgh were deprived of what they had usurped, and in 1689, when episcopacy was abolished, the parishioners were restored to their right of patronage, which they still enjoy (*l*). [In 1888 there were in Leith 7 Established Churches; 6 Free Churches; 7 United Presbyterian Churches; 1 Scottish Episcopal Church; 1

(*e*) Unprinted Act. (*f*) Maitl., 498; Unprinted Act, 1640.

(*g*) The place was called *Newhaven*, in contradistinction to the old haven of Leith, when James IV. established a dock-yard here for building ships. In April 1508, Sir James Cowie formally resigned the chaplainry of Newhaven to the king, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, fearful of some evil from that establishment, purchased it from the king. Maitl., 500.

(*h*) Keith, 39. He was consecrated bishop in 1662, and died in 1671. Id.

(*i*) Maitl., 148.

(*k*) The violence of the magistrates was ratified in the reprobated parliament of 1640, whose conduct was congenial with their own. Unprinted Act, 1640.

(*l*) When Cromwell built the Citadel at North-Leith he deprived the parishioners of their burying-ground. John Ray, when he came to Leith in 1661, saw the Citadel which Cromwell built on the site of the cemetery at the expense of £100,000. There were three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms. The works round about were faced with free-stone towards the ditch, and were almost as high as the highest buildings within. Ray's Itinerary, 195. Upon its demolition the Duke of Lauderdale, knowing the passion of the magistrates of Edinburgh for

Roman Catholic Church; 1 Congregational Church; 1 Evangelical Union Church; 1 Baptist Church; and 1 Wesleyan Methodist Church.]

The parish of RESTALRIG, which is merely a corruption of *Lestalric*, is not so ancient as the former; at least, it does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*. The meaning of the name, which seems to be Saxon, is as obscure as the origin of the parish. At the demise of William the Lion, this district of *Lestalric* was possessed by a family of the same name (*m*). There was undoubtedly a church and parish of Restalrig, lying between Duddingston and Leith, at the demise of Alexander III. (*n*). During the reign of Robert I., a family of the name of Logan obtained a right to Restalrig with its pertinents (*o*), and the Logans continued to be the barons of Restalrig till the year 1604, before they became forfeited for their participation in Gowrie's conspiracy (*p*). The patronage of

pre-eminence, procured a grant of the site of the Citadel with the privileges of a burgh of barony. The magistrates, perceiving the danger of such a neighbour, purchased his right at an exorbitant price. Maitl., 499.

(*m*) In 1214, Thomas de *Lestalric* granted some tenements in Leith, which he describes as lying southward of the *High Street* between Edinburgh and Leith. Chart. Inchcolm, 16. This *street* seems to be the same as the road which is now called Leith *Walk*.

(*n*) In 1291. Adam of St. Edmunds was *parson* of *Lestalric*, and he had a right to the sheriff of Edinburgh to deliver him his lands and rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 6. The same Adam, the parson of the church of Lestalric, swore fealty to Edward in 1296. Prynne, iii., 656; and he had a precept for delivery of all his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 29. John de Lestalric was then baron of Lestalric. Prynne, iii., 654.

(*o*) In 1398, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, sold to the magistrates of Edinburgh some ground, lying between the river and the houses of South-Leith, for the convenience of lading and unlading their ships, and the use of a passage or road between Edinburgh and Leith through his barony of Restalrig, and he gave them also the right of erecting granaries for corn, and of keeping shops for the sale of commodities in the town of Leith. Such is the origin of the rights of Edinburgh in South-Leith. In 1555 the queen regent purchased from Robert Logan of Lestalrig, the superiority of the town and *links* of South-Leith: and the inhabitants of the town of South-Leith advanced £3,000 Scots of the price, on an engagement, however, that she would erect South-Leith into a royal burgh, and this the regent queen in some measure carried into effect. Maitl. Edin., 486. She even erected a house for her residence at Leith, and she thus attracted several nobles to follow her example. Ib., 496. But the Reformation darkened all their prospects, and the siege of Leith in 1560 ruined all. In 1566, Queen Mary, amidst her distresses, borrowed 10,000 marks of Edinburgh, and *mortgayed the superiority* of Leith for the repayment. Ib., 27. When the queen was dethroned in 1567, the town council of Edinburgh, taking advantage of the existing anarchy, took possession of Leith by an armed force. Ib., 31. After a thousand oppressions the magistrates of Edinburgh, by watching occasions, at length obtained a complete title to the superiority of Leith. See Maitland throughout.

(*p*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 46-60; Unprinted Act, 20th Parl. Ja. VI.

the church of Restalrig was confirmed to Thomas Logan in 1435, by William, bishop of St. Andrews (*q*). A collegiate establishment was made in this parish of Restalrig by James III., improved by James IV., and completed by James V., But this collegiate erection seems not to have interfered with the parsonage, which remained entire till the Reformation (*r*). The first general assembly of the reformed church, which met, without authority, at Edinburgh, in December 1560, ordained the kirk of Restalrig to be utterly destroyed as *a monument of idolatry;* and the parishioners were ordered to perform their future devotions in Leith chapel (*s*). It was the chapel of *the Virgin* in Leith to which the parishioners of Restalrig were thus transferred by that violent decree of a fanatical assembly (*t*). The revenues of the chaplainries were now appropriated as a stipend for the officiating ministers of Restalrig parish (*u*). Robert Logan, the profligate baron of Restalrig, sold this barony in 1604, to the first Lord Balmerino, the secretary of state (*x*). In 1609, the parliament divested the church and parish of Restalrig of their legal rights, which were conferred on Mary's chapel in Leith, with the whole revenues and pertinents; and South-Leith was now made a separate parish, and the patronage of the new church was declared to belong to the patron of the old (*y*). The church-yard which

(*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*r*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the *rectory* of Restalrig, in the deanery of Linlithgow, was taxed at £20 Scots. The rectory of Restalrig also appears in the Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*s*) Keith's Hist., 499.

(*t*) This chapel had been founded a century and a half before, and it had been enriched by many donations. MS. Col. of Donations. In 1490 Peter Falconer of Leith granted an annuity of 13 marks for supporting a chaplain at St. Peter's altar in the Virgin Mary's Kirk. Id. In 1499, Gilbert Edmiston of Leith granted a rent of 12 marks to St. Barbara's altar in the same kirk. Id. The choir of this chapel was destroyed by the English invaders, under the Earl of Hertford, in 1544.

(*u*) Maitl., 487. In 1593 the people of Leith added another minister at their own expense. Id.

(*x*) Dougl. Peer., 65. Robert Logan of Lestalrig, who was concerned in Gowrie's conspiracy. 1600, seems to have died a bankrupt about the year 1607. He sold, in 1596, his estate of Nether-Gogar to Andrew Logan of Coatfield. In 1602 he sold his lands of Fastcastle to Archibald Douglas. His barony of Restalrig he sold to Lord Balmerino in 1604, and his lands of Quarrel-holes he disposed of in 1605. Douglas Peer., 65, who quotes charters in the Pub. Archives.

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 1609, No. 5; Maitl., 488. The patronage of this parish was acquired in 1604 by Lord Balmerino, and his descendant forfeited it in 1746. The patronage of the first minister now belongs to the king after so many forfeitures, and the patronage of the second

surrounds the ancient church of Restalrig continues to be the cemetery of the parish; and many pious christians, who do not concur in thinking the ancient fabric to have been an idolatrous fane, continue to bury their dead among their respected progenitors (*z*).

The ancient parishes of Corstorphine and Gogar form the present parish. CORSTORPHINE is a mere corruption of *Crostorphin*, as appears from the original orthography of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. The change of *Cros* for *Cors* is very common in the vulgar practice of Scottish topography. It obtained, doubtless, that name from a *cross* which may have been erected in memory of some person having the dignified name of Torfin. But it is not easy to connect it by historical retrospection with *Torfin*, the grandson of Malcolm II., the son of Sigurd, one of the reguli of Caithness, who fell at the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1014 A.D. In the 12th century, the manor of Corstorphine had a chapel which was subordinate to the Church of St. Cuthbert. This chapel had then a glebe of two oxgates, and six acres of land; and it was granted by David I., with St. Cuthbert's church, to the canons of Holyrood (*a*). Corstorphine remained a chapelry during the reign of Alexander II. (*b*). It was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's, and erected into a separate parish by the bishop of St. Andrews. The parish church of Corstorphine, with its lands and tithes, continued to belong to the canons of Holyrood till the Reformation altered the old regimen. Under James I., Sir John Forester founded a chapel to St. John in the church-yard of Corstorphine, and this he formed into a collegiate church in 1429, which became the parish church after the Reforma-

belongs to the kirk-session and incorporated trades. In 1750 there was, in South Leith, a chapel of the church of England, wherein those performed their devotions who prefer a *service book* to extemporary prayers. Maitl., 495.

(*z*) Maitl., 503. In 1720 Alexander Rose, the last bishop of Edinburgh, who witnessed the suppression of his church in 1689, was interred amid the ruins of the church of Restalrig. Keith, 41.

(*a*) Chart. of Holyrood.

(*b*) In that reign David, the king's marshal, granted to the canons of that house the meadow called *Hardmedwe*, which lay within the limits of Salchtun, in exchange for two acres of land belonging to the chapel of Corstorphine, which were between his corn-land. Macfarlane's MS. Collections. The Marshals continued to hold the lands of Corstorphine at the end of the 13th century. Thomas le Marshal of *Corstorfin* swore fealty to Edward I. in August 1296. Prynne, iii., 660. Sir David Marshal forfeited those lands under David II., who granted them to Malcolm de Ramsay. From him Corstorphine passed to Sir William More of Abercorn, who sold the same property, in the reign of Robert II., to Adam Forrester, whose descendants held Corstorphine till the recent reign of Charles II.

tion (*c*). The church of Gogar is older than that of Corstorphine. It was, however, of less extent and of little value. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Gogar, in the deanery of Linlithgow, was rated at 12 marks. The canons of Holyrood early acquired the church of Gogar, which was confirmed to them by David, bishop of St. Andrews, in 1240 (*d*). In 1269, Andrew, the parson of Gogar, swore fealty to Edward I.; and, by a writ to the sheriff of Edinburgh, was restored to his revenues (*e*). Gogar seems, however, to have been detached afterward from Holyrood abbey. For in Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Gogar was taxed at £5 6s. 8d., and none of the monastic churches were taxed in that Roll. In 1429, the tithes of Upper-Gogar were granted by Sir John Forrester to the collegiate church which he founded at that time at Corstorphine, and Gogar was one of the prebends of his collegiate establishments (*f*). After the Reformation had thrown such erections, the parishes of Corstorphine and Gogar were united, and the college church of Corstorphine became the parish church (*g*). In 1633, an act was passed uniting certain lands to the kirk of Corstorphine, and another for disuniting the prebends from the collegiate church (*h*). At that ill omened epoch, the church of Corstorphine and its pertinents were annexed to the bishopric of Edinburgh; but upon its final abolition in 1689, the patronage was granted to Sir James Dick, whose descendants enjoy it. [In 1888 the Parish Church had 520 commmunicants, stipend £350. A Free Church of 1884 has 236 members.]

The name of the parish of LIBERTON, which was anciently written *Libertun*, is obviously of Saxon original, though its real etymology be somewhat doubtful. It is, probably, a corruption of *Leper-tun*, which, perhaps, may derive some support from the consideration that of old a hospital existed at Upper-Liberton where the church stands, whence the place may have been called *Spital-town* (*i*). At the epoch of record, *Liberton* was a chapelry subordinate to the church of

(*c*) In 1477 William Chalmer, the vicar of Kirkurd, granted some lands in the manor of Corstorphine, and various annual-rents, for supporting a chaplain to officiate at *St. Ninian's* altar, in Corstorphine church. This endowment was confirmed, in 1477, by James III. MS. Donations.

(*d*) Register of St. Andrews. (*e*) Rym., ii., 724.

(*f*) Charter in Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*g*) It is still the parish church, and it is a respectable building of Gothic architecture, in the form of a Jerusalem cross. The arms of the founder are exhibited on various parts of the church, and several monuments of this family are placed in niches within the church. The figures sculptured in stone are as large as life, and are executed with skill. The male figures are represented in armour, and the female figures in the costume of the age. The roof of this church is formed of large flagstones, which are supported by strong arches. Stat. Acco., xiv., 448-50.

(*h*) Unprinted Act, of that session.

(*i*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 293.

St. Cuthbert ; and there belonged to the chapel a glebe of two oxgates of land, and this chapel was probably dedicated to the Virgin, as there is a spring in the vicinity which is called *our Lady's well.* The earliest notice of this chapel has been mistakingly carried back to the age of the renowned MacBeth, by confounding Macbeth of Liberton, who flourished under David I., with MacBeth who fell at Lumphanan, in December 1056, by mistaking a grant of MacBeth of Liberton to the church of St. Cuthbert for a grant of his to the chapel of Liberton (*k*). With St. Cuthbert's church, David I. granted the chapel of Liberton to the canons of Holyrood. He gave them also thirty cart-loads of brushwood from his woodlands of Liberton, and to these grants he added the tenth of the multure of his mill of Liberton (*l*). At that epoch Upper-Liberton, where stood the chapel, belonged to MacBeth, while Nether-Liberton, the mill, and other demises, were held by the king (*m*). At the request of the abbot of Holyrood, the chapelry of Liberton was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's church by the bishop of St. Andrews some time after the year 1240 (*n*). The church of Liberton, thus constituted, continued with the canons of Holyrood till the Reformation. As the rectory belonged to those canons before that epoch, the cure was served by a vicar (*o*). There were in this parish of old two chapels which were subordinate to the church. The most ancient was St. Catherine's chapel, near which there is a remarkable spring, called the Oily Well, and dedicated to St. Catherine. In former times

(*k*) Arnot's Edin., 5, fell into those mistakes ; and he was followed by the Rev. Thomas Whyte in his account of this parish for the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 298. MacBeth held a considerable part of the lands of Liberton during David I's reign, and he had the honour of witnessing some of David's Charters. Diplom. Scotiæ, fol. xvi. ; Chart. Newbotle, No. 11 ; Dalrym. Cal., 429 ; Chart. Holyrood. Those charters leave no doubt whether MacBeth of Liberton flourished under David I.

(*l*) Chart. of Holyrood. The mill of Liberton came down from David I. to Robert I., who granted from it five marks sterling yearly to the preaching friars of Edinburgh. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 68.

(*m*) In August 1296, Alan de Libertoun and David de Libertoun, the tenants of the king in Edinburghshire, swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii., 656. This notice, with others of a similar kind, evince the import of the terms "tenants of the king" in this roll. They were tenants of the king in his demesne and not his tenants in chief ; and we have just seen that the king's demesnes in Libertoun descended to Robert Bruce.

(*n*) There are several notices of the parson of Libertoun in the long reign of William the Lion, in the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 299, by the Rev. Thomas Whyte ; but these and other intimations unhappily apply to Libertoun in Lanarkshire.

(*o*) There belonged to the vicarage of Liberton a husband-land in the manor of Gilmerton. Inquisit. Special, 1607, iv., 93.

St. Catherine's Well was resorted to by persons having cutaneous complaints, with some salutary effects (*p*). Around the chapel was a consecrated burying-ground. After the Reformation, St. Catherine's chapel became a ruin, and was completely demolished, early in the last century, by some sacrilegious person, who was remarked by the neighbouring people not to have afterward prospered (*q*). Near that holy site there is a mansion, which continues to bear the name of St. Catherines. The other chapel in this parish was dedicated to the Virgin by Wauchope of Nidderie, the lord of the manor, in 1389. The descendant of the founder re-endowed this chapel with a manse and glebe for the chaplain, reserving the patronage to his family, and James IV. confirmed this endowment (*r*). At the Reformation this chapelry and its revenues were annexed to Liberton church. Nidderie chapel was demolished at the Revolution by the same zealots who defaced the chapel of Holyrood (*s*). After the Reformation, the patronage of the church of Liberton was enjoyed incidentally by the commendators of Holyrood, and was granted in 1607 to John Bothwell, the last of the commendators, as a pertinent of his temporal barony (*t*). The church of Liberton in 1633 was constituted a prebend of the bishopric of Edinburgh. But upon the ultimate abolition of episcopacy, the patronage of the church of Liberton devolved on the king, who conceded a share of the forfeiture to the descendants of the original founders of Nidderie chapel (*u*). [The present Parish Church, erected in 1815 on the site of an ancient church, has 801 communicants ; stipend £550. A Free Church of 1870 has 245 members.]

The name of DUDDINGSTON parish was written in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries *Dodinestun*. It appears to have obtained its designation, like other district, from the name of *Dodin*, whose *tun* it was, during the

(*p*) Of the supposed miracles of St. Catherine's well Boece delighted to tell. The nuns of the Sheens, on the burgh-moor, made an annual procession to St. Catherine's chapel and well. When King James returned to Scotland in 1617, he visited the *Balm Well* of St. Catherine, and caused it to enclosed with a stone wall, with a door and steps for the accommodation of the afflicted patients, but in 1650 this charitable building was demolished and the well choked up by Cromwell's soldiers, who did not regard its medicinal use.

(*q*) Trans. Antiq. Soc., 324. (*r*) Ib., 368 ; MS. Donations.

(*s*) Of the chapel there remains now only the burial-place of the family of Nidderie Marishal. Trans. Ant. Soc., 345.

(*t*) Crawfurd's Peer., 185.

(*u*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., where may be seen an elaborate account of this parish with some mistakes. Under the insidious toleration of James VII. a dissenting meeting-house was established at Craigmillar, but it was crushed by the Revolution. On the 22nd of May 1685, Little of Liberton's lady was imprisoned for harbouring *conventicklers*, but on his entering into prison for her she was liberated. Fountainhall, i., 363.

reigns of David I. and Malcolm IV. (*x*). This parish had been settled in prior times, though its more ancient name cannot now be known. During the reign of William the Lion, the monks of Kelso acquired the church and lands of Dodinston, but from whose bounty cannot accurately be told, since the chartulary is silent. As those lands lay at some distance from Kelso, the abbots let them on the most advantageous terms (*y*). Within the barony of Duddington, the abbots appointed their baron-bailies, who executed their jurisdiction within their proper limits (*z*). The church of Duddingston appears to have been of moderate value, and in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 25 marks. During the reign of Robert Bruce, the monks valued the rectory according to the established use, at £20 a-year (*a*). The rectory continued to belong to the monks of Kelso till the Reformation, and the cure was served by a vicar (*p*). After the Reformation, the patronage of Duddingston church, with the manor passed through successive proprietors to James, Earl of Abercorn, who purchased it in 1745 from the Duke of Argyle, and formed here an elegant seat. In 1630, the estate of Prestonfield was disjoined from the parish of

(*x*) In those early times there lived several persons of the name of *Dodin*. Chart. Kelso, 37, 272: Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24. Dodin gave to the monks of Kelso the church of Linton-Roderick, in the presence of Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Kelso, 433. Dodin, who gave his name to Dodingston parish, cannot be exactly ascertained; yet, "Hugo filius Dodini de Dodines-tun" appears in a charter of William de Vetereponte to the canons of Holyrood during the reign of William the Lion. Dalrymp. Col. Pref., lxvii.; and Dodin of Dodinestun lived under Malcolm IV., as we see him a witness in a charter of Simprin. Chart. Kelso, No. 272.

(*y*) Abbot Henry, from 1208 to 1218, at the end of the long reign of William, granted to Regenald de Bosco the lands of Easter-Dodineston, with the half of the peatery of Camberun, rendering for the same 10 marks yearly. Chart. Kelso, 453. Abbot Herbert confirmed to Thomas, the son of Reginald, the same lands and peatery for the same annual-rent; he performing to the king "forinsecum servitium." Ib., 241-454. Abbot Hugh granted to Emma, the widow of Thomas, the custody of her son and heir, till he should arrive at lawful age, for which she paid twenty pounds of silver, "quas nobis paccavit unacum maritagio sui ipsius libere." Ib., 455. During the reign of Robert I., Abbot William granted to Sir William de Tushelaw the half of the manor of Wester-Dodinston, for which he was bound to pay 12 marks of yearly rent. Ib., 547. From this manor, in that reign, the monks were paid 24 marks of silver. Ib., 26. In 1466, Abbot Allan granted to Cuthbert Knighston a part of the lands of Dodinston, in fee, for the yearly rent of four marks. Ib., 491.

(*z*) In the Chart. Kelso, 544, there is a deputation to Sir Simon Preston, knight, by Abbot Patrick, as baron-bailie.

(*a*) Ib., 31.

(*b*) In August 1296, John Comhale, the vicar of Dodinestun, swore fealty to Edward I., and received, in return, a restitution of his revenues from the sheriff of Edinburgh. Rym., ii., 724.

St. Cuthbert and annexed to Duddingston (*c*). The parish church stands at West-Duddingston, at the south-east base of Arthur's seat. It is a very ancient fabric, and its arches and ornaments, when examined with antiquarian eyes, may seem to be as antique as the days of Dodin. [In 1883 it had 287 communicants.]

The name of the parish of CRAMOND is merely a corruption of the British *Caer-amon*, the fort on the Almond (*d*); and the site of the Roman station and the place of the modern town, which are both the same, are on the eastern bank of the Almond river, at its influx into the Forth. David I., when he was studious to introduce English barons into Scotland, granted one half of the manor of Cramond with the church, to Robert Avenel, and among his other liberalities, Avenel transferred both to the bishop of Dunkeld (*e*). Nether-Cramond, whereon stood the church, at the mouth of the Almond, was from that transfer called Bishop's Cramond, while the other half of this manor, which long remained in the crown, was known by the name of King's Cramond. The bishops of Dunkeld had a residence at Cramond, and in 1210, Richard de Prebenda, the bishop, died here, and was buried in the neighbouring monastery of Inchcolm, to which he had granted 20 shillings a-year, from the church of Cramond (*f*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Cramond does not appear among the churches in the deanery of Linlithgow, as it was rated with the churches within the bishopric of Dunkeld. It continued a mensal church of the bishops of that diocese, till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The cure was served by a vicar, and he was appointed by the bishops, who drew the parsonage tithes, while the vicar enjoyed the small tithes. In Bagimont's Roll as it stood under James V., the vicarage of Cramond was taxed at £4 among the extra-benefices of the bishopric of Dunkeld. In the church of Cramond there were of old two altars. The one was consecrated to

(*c*) In 1631 the presbytery of Edinburgh ordained an aisle to be added to the church of Duddingston, at the expense of the proprietor of Prestonfield, for the use of himself and his tenants. Stat. Acco., xviii., 366.

(*d*) In the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, that name is written *Caramond*. Chart. Inchcolm; Dalrymp. Col.

(*e*) Dalrymple's Col., 397. Robert Avenel died in 1185. Chron. Melros.

(*f*) Chart. Inchcolm, No. 3; Fordun, l. viii. c., 75. In 1256, the dean and chapter of Dunkeld confirmed the pious donation of bishop Richard. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 17. In 1357, John, the bishop of Dunkeld issued a precept to Thomas, the perpetual vicar of Cramond, directing him to pay the monks of Inchcolm 40 shillings sterling from the revenues of his church. Ib. 4. In addition, the monks of Inchcolm had a rent of 23s. 4d., from the mills of Cramond. Inquisit. Speciales, xvii., 94. The abbey of Inchcolm became thus the convenient burial-place of the bishops of Dunkeld.

Columba, the patron saint of Dunkeld; and the other was dedicated to the Virgin, and both were endowed with lands and rents for the support of an appropriate chaplain (*g*). After the Reformation had exploded such chaplainries, Sir Thomas Hamilton, the first Earl of Haddington, acquired a right to the lands which had thus been conferred, and which descended to his heirs (*h*). At the Reformation, the bishop of Dunkeld received from the church and demesnes of Cramond, 58 chalders of victual (*i*). At the Revolution, the bishops of Dunkeld received only £100 Scots from the same church and lands (*k*). Such had been the dilapidations of the intermediate period (*l*)! Alexander Douglas of Edinburgh appears to have acquired the bishop's manor of Nether-Cramond during James VI.'s reign. He sold it in 1624 to James Inglis, who, upon Douglas's resignation, obtained it from the superior, Bishop Lindsay, with the consent of his chapter. [The parish church has 496 communicants, stipend £566. Granton Chapel of Ease has 269 members. A Free Church at Cramond has 165 members.]

COLINTON parish was of old called *Hales*, or in modern form *Hailes*, which is still the name of an estate in this parish. The mansion of Hailes, where the ancient church stood, is about half a mile north-west from the village of Colinton. The name of this district as well as the appellation of *Hailes* in East-Lothian is derived from the Celtic *Hales*, a moor or hillock, and Hale in this sense is still retained in the Cornish (*n*). The plural form of the word arose from there having been two places, East-Hale, and West-Hale, in this

(*g*) In 1478 Alexander Currour, the vicar of Dunsyre, made various donations of lands and rents to the chaplain of Columba, for his support and his dwelling. James III. confirmed his grants in 1478. The patronage of both those altars was acquired by the Moubrays of Barnbougle. Wood's Cramond, 73.

(*h*) Inquisit. Speciales, xv., 140; xvi., 1; xviii., 202.

(*i*) MS. Rental of that See. (*k*) MS. Rental.

(*l*) In 1589 Sir James Elphinston, a lord of session, secretary of state, and the first Lord Balmerino, procured from Bishop Rollock a lease of the tithes of Cramond, for two terms of 19 years each, for payment of 260 marks Scots yearly. The folly and fraudulence of such a contract need not be mentioned. This Lord Balmerino was tried and convicted of a treasonous breach of trust as secretary of state in 1609. Spottiswoode's Hist., 507-11. In 1631 Bishop Lindsay of Dunkeld made an ineffectual attempt to reduce by law that improvident lease. Durie's Decisions, 585. This fact explains the cause of the second Lord Balmerino's enmity to the bishops, which induced him to raise sedition against the king, for which he was tried and convicted, pardoned and rebelled. Nalson, i., 4. The last Lord Balmerino, following the example of his fathers, fell under the axe of the law, on Tower-hill, in 1746.

(*m*) Dougl. Baronage, 264. Inglis then obtained the lands of Nether-Cramond, the manor-place, the harbour, with the privileges thereunto belonging. For other particulars of this parish see Wood's Cramond.

(*n*) There is in Cornwall a village named *Hale;* and see Borlase's Cornwall, and Pryce's Archaiologia.

parish, and South-Hale and North-Hale in East-Lothian. The lands and church of Hale in Mid-Lothian were granted by Ethelred, one of the sons of Malcolm Canmore, to the monks of Dumfermline; and his grant was confirmed by his younger brother David I. (*e*) The church of Hailes seems to have been withdrawn from the monks of Dunfermline and given to the canons of Holyrood, who obtained a confirmation from David, the bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). The church of Hailes was afterward given to the canons of St. Anthony in Leith; and this gift was confirmed to them by Bishop Kennedy in 1445 (*q*). In December 1482, the preceptor of St. Anthony, at Leith, had a suit in parliament against John, Lord Carlyle, for the tithes and rents which appertained to the kirk of Hailes (*r*). It continued, probably, with the canons of St. Anthony till the Reformation. The church of Hailes appears to have been always of great value, and it was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 60 marks. As the rectory was monastic property, the cure was of old served by a vicar. Though the church of Hailes ceased to belong to the monks of Dunfermline, they continued superiors of the lands of East-Hailes till the Reformation. The family of Crichton held those lands of the monks of Dunfermline, for payment of a certain feu-duty. On the forfeiture of William, Lord Crichton, in 1484, the lands of Hailes reverted to the abbot, as superior, who held them three-and-thirty years (*r*). In 1506, Abbot James granted the estate of Hailes to Thomas Forester (*s*). The name of this parish has been changed in modern times to *Colinton*, as the parish church stands at the village of this name, on a flat, round which the water of Leith winds its circular course; and the town of Colinton obviously obtained its modern appellation from some person called Colin, whose tun it was (*t*). The present parish church was built in 1773, and its manse in 1784. [The church was enlarged in 1837; communicants 765. A Free Church at Juniper Green has 339 members; and a U. P. Church at Slateford has 87 members.]

(*e*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The grant of David was confirmed by the bishop of St. Andrews. Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., and it was confirmed by a bull of Gregory in 1234. MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*p*) Reg. of St. Andrews. 33. We are assured by Fordun. l. viii., c. 62. William, the bishop of St. Andrews, withdrew from the monks of Dunfermline, the presentation of the vicarage of Hales; "qui a quadam vice dum pernoctaret ibi, deficit sibi potus vini ad collationem suam in camera sua."

(*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., No. 5.

(*r*) Parl. Rec., 288.

(*r*) Parl. Rec., 307.

(*s*) Chart. Dunfermline, 37.

(*t*) The name was formerly written Colintoun. In 1609 Sir James Foulis of Colintoun was served heir to his father. Sir James, in the barony of Colintoun, comprehending the brew-lands of Colintoun, with the corn and *fulling* mills, the lands of Swanstoun, Dreghorn, Bonalay, Baddis, Pilmure, and Oxengangs. Inquisit. Speciales, iv., 282.

The parish of CURRIE was of old called *Killeith* or *Killeleith*, as it was variously written. It plainly obtained this Celtic name from the Gaelic *cill*, signifying a church or chapel, which was prefixed to the name of the water of *Leith*, on which stood the ancient church (*u*). There is still a hamlet that is named *Killeith* on the eastern side of Leith water near Currie. The church of Killeith was early of considerable value; as in the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at 50 marks. The parsonage of Killeith was of old the appropriate benefice of the *archdeacon* of Lothian, and thus continued to the Reformation. In 1296, William, archdeacon of Lothian, and parson of the church of *Killeith*, swore fealty to Edward I., who commanded the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore him to his property (*x*). Currie appears to have become the name of this parish during the 15th century; yet, was the old name occasionally used, as we have seen, till recent times. Archibald Whitlaw, the archdeacon of Lothian, and Secretary of state to James III., and his successor, granted an annual rent of 12 marks from a tenement in Edinburgh, for supporting a chaplain to perform divine service in the *parish church of Currie;* and this endowment was confirmed by James IV. in 1493 (*y*). As archdeacon of Lothian, Whitlaw was more than two-and-twenty years rector of the church of Currie. In 1584, James VI. granted to the newly founded college of Edinburgh, the *parsonage* and the *vicarage* of Currie, with the tithes, church-lands, glebe, and their pertinents, anciently called *the archdeaconry of Lothian*; and this grant he confirmed to the city of Edinburgh in March 1603 (*z*). The town council of Edinburgh, owing to those grants, still enjoy the patronage of the church of Currie. The village of Currie, where church has stood for ages, is situated on both the sides of the river Leith, which here runs in a deep channel between steep banks. The name is merely the Gaelic *Cuiré*, signifying a deep hollow, which, in fact, is here formed by the river. The Gaelic *Cuiré* and *Coiré* thus signifying a hollow, are found in many local names, which, in the vulgar use, have acquired the corrupted forms of *Currie* and *Corrie*. Those considera-

(*u*) In 1609, Sir James Foulis of Colintoun was served heir to his father in the barony of Colintoun, particularly in the church lands and glebe of the parish church of Currie, alias *Kelleleith*, with common of pasture in the lands and moor of *Killeleith* within the parish of Currie, and diocese of St. Andrews. Inquisit. Speciales, iv., 282.

(*x*) Rym., ii., 724. (*y*) MS. Donations.

(*z*) Maitl. Edin., 244-54. The annexation of the parsonage of Currie to the college of Edinburgh was ratified by the parliament of 1592. Act, No. 159. In 1636, Charles I. confirmed the whole archdeaconry of Lothian to the city of Edinburgh for the use of the college. Maitl. Edin., 261.

tions with regard to the names of Kil-leith and Currie, carry the mind back to the Gaelic times which succeeded the epoch of 1020, when the Scottish people acquired the predominancy here. The parish church, which stands upon a height above the village of Currie, is a modern edifice, which contributes to give picturesque beauty to the site. [In 1888 there were 575 communicants. A U.P. Church at Balerno has 162 members.]

The parish of RATHO, from the name of the baronial residence of old, has the honour of a British name. The British *Rhath*, of which the plural is *Rath-au*, signifying a cleared spot, a bare place, a plain; and in ancient charters the name is written *Rathew* and *Ratheu* (*a*). The ancient church of Ratho was consecrated to the Virgin, and near it there is a copious spring called *our lady's well* (*b*). This church was early of considerable value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 70 marks. Ratho was a rectory, of which the patronage appears to have belonged to the lord of the manor of Ratho, which was of considerable extent (*c*). The baron of Ratho during the Scoto-Saxon period cannot be easily ascertained. He probably forfeited his estate during the succession war, which made so many changes of property. In 1315, the barony of Ratho and other estates were granted by Robert I. to the Stewart of Scotland, in marriage with the king's daughter Marjory, who brought the Stewart's family the Scottish crown (*d*). On the accession of Robert II. to the throne in 1371, the barony of Ratho, with its pertinents, and the other estates of the Stewarts, were settled on the king's eldest son and heir, as the prince and Stewart of Scotland (*e*); and the whole estates of the Stewarts were formed, on the 10th of December 1404, into a principality, with regal jurisdiction (*f*). Charles II., as prince and Stewart of Scotland, granted several charters to his vassals in the barony of Ratho and Ratho-*myre* (*g*). Ratho remained an independent parsonage, of which the prince was patron,

(*a*) See Owen's Dict. in vo. *Rath.* In the Gaelic and Irish, *Rath* has originally the same meaning, and secondarily, denotes a fenced dwelling, a village, a place of security, a fort.

(*b*) Stat. Acco., vii., 260.

(*c*) In 1296, Richard, the parson of Ratheu, swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii., 661. In 1349, Richard Small, the rector of Rathau, witnessed a charter of Sir William Douglas. Hay's Vindication, 59. In 1351, Richard Small, the Rector of Ratheu, witnessed another charter at Dalkeith. Regist., Dav. II., No. 156.

(*d*) Roberts. Index, 9. The original charter is in the Register House.

(*e*) Chart. in the Pub. Archives; published in Robertson's Index, and in Hay's Vindication.

(*f*) There is a copy of this charter in Carmichael's Tracts. and in the MS. Monast. Scotiæ; as, indeed, there was once a copy in the Register and among Haddington's Collections.

(*g*) Regist., Cha. II., No. 108, 245, etc.

even down to the reign of James II. (*g*). In 1429, on the establishment of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, the tithes of Ratho parish were granted for supporting its prebendaries (*h*). In this manner, then, did Ratho church become a parsonage under the provostry of Corstorphine (*i*). The Reformation undoubtedly introduced a very different regimen. The church is ancient. It stands a little north of the kirk-town, and west of Ratho house, more than half a mile. [In 1888 there were 487 communicants, stipend £422. A Free Church has 170 members. St. Mary's Episcopal Church of Dalmahoy has 64 members. There is also a Roman Catholic chapel.]

The present parish of KIRKNEWTON consists of the parishes of Kirknewton and East-Calder, which were united about the middle of the eighteenth century. Kirknewton obviously derived its name from the hamlet of Newton, where the church was built, on purpose to distinguish the kirk-town from the neighbouring village of East-Newton. This parish did not exist, at least under this name, at the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio.* During the reign of James IV., the parsonage of Kirknewton was of some value. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Kirknewton was taxed at £5 6s. 8d. (*k*). Kirknewton continued a separate parish till the year 1750 The two villages of East and West-Calder derived their names from the stream of the *Calder* which divides them, and a little below mixes its waters with the Almond. There are many riverets of this name both in North and South-Britain, and they all, probably, derived their British name from the shrubberies on their banks. The church of East-Calder was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. The manor of Calder was by Malcolm IV. granted to Rudulph de Clere, and from him it became known by the name of Calder-*Clere,* to distinguish it from Calder-*Comitis,* the adjoining manor. At the accession of William the Lion, Rudulph granted to the monks of Kelso the church of *Caledour* and its rights, upon condition that they allowed him to have, within his court, a private chapel. without detriment to their mother church. This intimation seems to show that the patronage of the rectory was then in the monks (*l*). He granted afterward to the monks, and to St. Cuthbert's Church of Calder, the tenth of the multure of his mill of Calder (*m*), and those grants of the liberal Rudulph were con-

(*g*) Alexander Lauder, a son of Sir Alan Lauder of Halton, was rector of Ratho during the reigns of James I. and James II., and was consecrated the bishop of Dunkeld in May, 1440, but died on the 11th of October in the some year. Bower, l. xvi., 26.

(*h*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., 24. (*i*) Keith, 285.

(*k*) The same rectory appears in the Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, 345. (*m*) Ib., 346.

firmed by William the Lion, and Richard the Bishop (*n*). In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of Calder-Clere was only rated at 30 marks. In the rental of Kelso, during Robert I.'s reign, the monks considered the church of Calder, which they held "in rectoria," to be worth yearly £26 13s. 4d., according to ancient use (*o*). The church of Calder-Clere continued with the monks of Kelso, and was served by a vicar till the Reformation exploded such establishments. The barony of Calder-Clere became forfeited during the succession war, and was granted in 1306, by Robert I., to James Douglas of Lothian, the progenitor of the Earls of Morton (*p*). After the Reformation, the Earl of Morton, who was now baron of Calder-Clere, acquired the advowson of the church, and with it the right of the monks to the tenth of the multure of the mill of Calder (*q*). At the epoch of presbyteries the parish of Calder-Clere was attached to the presbytery of Linlithgow. It continued thus annexed till about the year 1750, when the parishes of Kirknewton and Calder-Clere were united, and when both were annexed to the presbytery of Edinburgh. The patronage of the united parish was now declared to belong, by turns, to the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Morton, the two patrons of the separate parishes. A new church and manse were built for the united church in a central situation, and to this new church was given the name of Kirknewton, as the appropriate name of the united parish. Thus much, then, with regard to the parishes and churches within the presbytery of Edinburgh.

Let us now proceed to an investigation of the same objects within the presbytery of *Dalkeith*, which comprehends *fifteen* parishes. Dalkeith is also the name of a parish as well as the seat of a presbytery, and this distinguished name is, no doubt, derived from its *confined* location by the confluence of the North and South-Esk. Dal-*caeth*, in the Celtic, literally

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, 13-450 : and the same grants were confirmed by successive bishops and priors of St. Andrews, as we see in the same chartulary.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, 31.

(*p*) Roberts. Index, 7. Robert I. confirmed this manor to William Douglas, the heir of James of Lothian. Ib., 43.

(*q*) In 1541 the barony of Calder-Clere was confirmed by James V. to James Earl of Morton, who died in 1553 without the advowson of the church. In 1564, James, his successor, the well-known Morton, who fell under the axe of the law after committing a thousand crimes, obtained from the queen, whom he dethroned, a confirmation of all his lands, with the barony of Calder-Clere and the advowson of the churches and chapels. Parl. Rec., 763. In 1606, William, Earl of Morton, was served heir to his grandfather in his various estates, including the barony of Calder-Clere with the advowson of the churches. Inquisit. Speciales, iv., 308.

signifies the *confined* dale (*r*). The parish of DALKEITH appears not in the ancient *Taxatio*, as it did not then exist. Its origin is obscure and modern. As the manor of Dalkeith had, from the grant of David I., belonged to the opulent family of the Grahames, we may easily suppose that they had a chapel belonging to their court. In 1377, Robert II. confirmed a charter of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, granting the lands of Quylt and Fethan, in Peebles-shire, for the support of a chaplain in the chapel of Dalkeith. In 1406, Sir James Douglas enlarged the chapel of Dalkeith into a collegiate church, as we have seen; and we perceive, in Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the *Prepositura* de Dalkeith, in the deanery of Haddington, is taxed only at £3 6s. 8d. (*s*). We are thus led to recollect its collegiate form, and to perceive that there was no parish church of Dalkeith till after the Reformation, that introduced a different regimen (*t*). The advowson of the chapel must have been always annexed to the manor. Throughout the Scoto-Saxon period the Grahames enjoyed the manor of Dalkeith with the advowson of the chapel. John Grahame of Dalkeith resigned the whole manor with its pertinents to William Douglas, the heir of Sir James Douglas of Lothian, in marriage with his daughter *Margaret*, during the reign of David II. (*u*). Such, then, was the nature and the epoch of the transfer of Dalkeith from the Grahames to a very different family. The Douglasses of Lothian sprung from the original stock in Douglasdale, in the person of Archibald de Douglas, who died in 1238, the grandson of Theobald, the Fleming (*x*). Such, then, were the

(*r*) For its location see the map of Lothian, and for the meaning of the name see Richard and Owen's dict. in vo. *Caeth*, which, in the form of *Keith*, everywhere in North-Britain, conveys the idea of contraction or narrowness. There is a Dalkaeth in Perthshire, on the Doven, which, below the Rumbling Brig, runs amid rocks, narrow and confined. Stobie's map. In a charter of Robert I., it is written *Dalkeith*. Roberts. Index, 24. On a rivulet, which falls into the Irvine, in Kyle, there is a place which was formerly called *Dalkeith*. Pont's Survey of Kyle; but it has been since corrupted into *Dan-keith*. Armstrong's map of Ayr.

(*s*) The *Prepositura* of Dalkeith is also mentioned in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*t*) When the chancellor Morton obtained from Queen Mary in 1564 a confirmation of his estates, it included the advowson of the college, and prebendaries of the collegiate church of Dalkeith with its pertinents. Parl. Rec., 763. The specification of such matters to such a man shows clearly that there was then no parish of Dalkeith.

(*u*) Roberts. Index, 40-44, and Dougl. Peer., 489.

(*x*) William, the son of Andrew of Linlithgowshire, the son of Archibald, swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. Prynne, iii. 660. This William was then called *Fitz andrew*, to distinguish him from William de Douglas of Douglas, the chief. William, the son of Andrew, left James his heir, who flourished under Robert I., and obtained from him, as we have seen, Calder-Clere.

origin and descent of the Douglasses of Lothian and Dalkeith. William Douglas of Dalkeith was succeeded by James Douglas, his nephew, who died in 1420, after a long life, and after giving some lands and rents, in 1384, to the chapel of Dalkeith (*y*). His son James was made a lord of parliament by the title of Lord Dalkeith under James I., and his grandson, James, the third Lord Dalkeith, was, in March 1457-8, created Earl of Morton by James II. The earldom, and the estates and patronages belonging to it, were forfeited

and other lands. Crawfurd's Peerage, 350. Before the demise of Robert I., died Sir James Douglas of Lothian, leaving William, his heir, and two other sons. It was this William who obtained Dalkeith in marriage with *Margaret* Graham, as we have just seen. During the distracted reign of David II., history and record are perplexed by the number of Douglases of the same name of *William*. Whether William Douglas, who married *Margaret* Grahame, or William Douglas of Polbothy, who married *Elizabeth*, were the *knight of Liddesdale*, has occasioned mighty differences among the genealogists: but I have settled those differences by the decisive inferences of facts in favour of William of Polbothy, the bastard son of good Sir James Douglas of Douglas. See the note before, in p. 117-18. It seems equally certain that William Douglas of Lothian and Dalkeith, obtained from David II. grants of Liddesdale, Eske, and Ewys, in December 1342. Dougl. Peer. 489, who quotes a charter in the Archives of Morton; Robertson's Index, 39-40, confirms that intimation; and there is an inspeximus charter of the same William Douglas, who calls himself *dominus de Liddesdale*, dated at Dalkeith the 7th of April 1351. Regist. David II. lib. i., 156. This ascertains the grants of 1342 not to have been made to William Douglas of Douglas, as supposed by some. See before in this vol. 119. We may now perceive that William Douglas of Lothian and Dalkeith. was *laird* of Liddesdale; while William Douglas of Polbothy, was *knight* of Liddesdale. There is another proof of the same point, which is quite decisive as to this litigated question. William Douglas of Lothian and Dalkeith, calling himself *dominus de Liddesdale*, dated his charter just mentioned at *Dalkeith*, where he was then present, on the 7th of April 1351. Now William Douglas of Polbothy, *the knight of Liddesdale*, was then a close prisoner in England; and the indenture, which was made by Edward III. with William Douglas, "son prisoner," upon his *freedom*, "super liberatione, et retentione in servitio regis," was dated at London the 17th of July 1352. Rym. v., 738-40. We now see clearly the true causes which induced so many writers to confound those two persons of the same name; and we may also perceive the cause which moved William Douglas of Douglas, to direct William Douglas, the *knight of Liddesdale*, to be assassinated in 1353; the same knight being retained by Edward III., of whom he had obtained a grant of Liddesdale, to which Douglas of Douglas had *his pretensions*. William Douglas, the laird of Dalkeith and Liddesdale, was alive in 1351, but was dead before 1369, when charters speak of him as *quondam* William Douglas, and when his only child, Mary, was also dead.

(*y*) Douglas Peer. 490, quotes the charter of endowment. He founded a hospital also, near the chapel of Dalkeith in 1396. Ib., 491. Robert III., in 1403, granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, who had married the king's daughter, Elizabeth, a pension out of the customs of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index. 140: and the same king, in 1391, confirmed the grant of James Douglas of Dalkeith, to James Douglas, his heir, of the castle and town of Dalkeith, and of other lands, to the extent of 500 marks. Ib., 153.

when the well-known Regent Morton expiated his many crimes on the appropriate scaffold in 1581. At the accession of James VI., the palace of Dalkeith was said "to be reserved for the use of the prince, with the orchard, gardens, banks, and wood adjacent (*a*)." In 1606, however, William, Earl of Morton, was served heir to his grandfather in the barony and burgh of Dalkeith, with the advowson of the church of Dalkeith (*b*). In 1642, this estate, with the patronage of the church, was purchased of the Earl of Morton by Francis, Earl of Buccleuch (*c*). But it was the amiable Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, who was the first of the Scotts who resided here, and made it fit for the residence of so dignified a family. Dalkeith was one of the four presbyteries which were given in to the assembly of 1593 (*d*). Yet the parish of Dalkeith consisted only of the ancient barony. In 1633, the adjacent barony of Lugton was taken from the old parish of Melville and annexed to Dalkeith (*e*). The church of Dalkeith is old. The manse of the minister was built in 1681. Dalkeith, like other free and populous towns, abounds with dissenters, with Burghers and Antiburghers, with Relief-men, and Methodists (*f*). The Duke of Buccleuch, as he is lord both of Lugton and Dalkeith, is superior of the whole parish, and proprietor of three-fourths of it (*g*). [The old or East Church was restored in 1852; communicants 1017; stipend £550. The West Church (1840) has 353 communicants. A Free Church has 438 members. Three U. P. Churches have 962 members. There are also Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Congregational, Evangelical Union, Baptist and Methodist Churches.]

The neighbouring parish of INVERESK, plainly derived its interesting name from the Gaelic *Inver*, the confluence of the Esk with the Forth, the *Esk-muthe* of the Northumbrian Saxons. At the epoch of record there existed two manors of this name, Great-Inveresk and Little-Inveresk. The manor of Little-Inveresk was granted by Malcolm Canmore and Margaret, his queen, to the monks of Dunfermline; and their grant was confirmed by a charter of David I., who added a donation of Great-Inveresk, with the mill, the fishing, and the church of Inveresk, its tithes and other pertinents (*h*). The gift of

(*a*) Certain Matters of Scotland, 1603. Yet was it restored to the Earl of Morton.

(*b*) Inquisit. Speciales.

(*c*) Stat. Acco., xii., 26: and yet during the reigns of James VI., Charles I., and the usurpation of Cromwell, the palace of Dalkeith seems to have been used as the king's house.

(*d*) Calderwood, 286.

(*e*) Unprinted Act. 1633. The same parliament made an act concerning "the parsonage of Dalkeith and the payment of the taxation thereof." Id. In 1633 the parson of Dalkeith was constituted one of the prebendaries of the bishopric of Edinburgh. Chart. of Erection.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., xii., 22-5. (*g*) Ib., 22.

(*h*) Chart. Dunfermline: MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Those grants were confirmed by David's successors and by a bull of Gregory IX. in 1234. Id.

Great-Inveresk included the burgh and port of Musselburgh at *Esk-muhe*; and this town derived its name from an extensive mussel bank lying in the Forth, at no great distance from the confluence of the Esk. Alexander II. established a *free warren* within the manors of Inveresk and Musselburgh, in favour of the monks of Dunfermline (*i*). From the grants of David I., the monks enjoyed a baronial jurisdiction over all those lands, and they afterward obtained their baronial jurisdiction to be enlarged into *a regality*. The church of Inveresk was dedicated to St. Michael, the archangel. It was in early times, from its location and populous parish, of great value, and it was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* by the name of Muscilburg, at 70 marks. The monks enjoyed the revenues of the parsonage, while the cure was served by a vicar. Even the vicars of Musselburgh appear as witnesses to many charters among men of consequence (*k*). Early in the 13th century a dispute arose between the monks and the vicar, which was settled by the diocesan bishop, who directed that the vicar should enjoy the small tithes and the offerings at the altars of Musselburgh, excepting the fish of every sort, and the tithes of the mills belonging to the monks, for which the vicar was directed to pay yearly 10 marks (*l*). In the church of Inveresk there were several altars, with their chaplains, who were endowed for performing at them their appropriate worship (*m*). In this parish there were of old various chapels which were subordinate to the mother church. Here was the celebrated chapel of *our Lady of Loretto*, at the east end of Musselburgh, with the Hermit's cell adjoining (*n*). During the Earl of Hertford's ravages, in May 1544, he destroyed the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, with a part of the town (*o*). It was soon repaired, but it was finally abolished at the Reformation, and in 1590 the materials of the chapel, which had once so many votaries, were converted by unhallowed hands to the

(*i*) Chart. Dunfermline. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Ib., fo. 26. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the *vicarage* of Musselburgh was taxed at £5 6s. 8d. This vicarage is also recorded in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

(*m*) MS. Donations. In 1475, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar gave an annual rent of ten marks out of the lands of Cameron to a chaplain in Musselburgh church for such appropriate worship. James III. confirmed this grant. Id.

(*n*) To this chapel of Loretto many pilgrimages were performed, where miracles were supposed to be wrought. In August 1530, as we learn from Lesley, 442, James V. performed a pilgrimage on foot to this chapel from Stirling, before his voyage in quest of a suitable wife among the daughters of France. During that age, Lindsay, the satirist, exclaimed against such pilgrimages to *our Lady of Loretto*, to the Hermit, and against the effects of such meetings of young men and women.

(*o*) Old Acco. of the Expedit., 11.

building of the tolbooth of Musselburgh. The site of this chapel and hermitage is now occupied as the villa of a gentleman who knows how to value both the location and the name of *Loretto* (*p*). At no great distance westward, there was of old a chapel, which was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, with appropriate endowments, within the grounds of New-Hales (*q*). In the town of Musselburgh there were two other chapels, though of less note (*r*). The lordship and regality of Musselburgh, with the patronage of the church of Inveresk, and of the various chaplainries which were subordinate to it, were granted by James VI. to his chancellor, Lord Thirlestane, the worthy progenitor of the Earls of Lauderdale (*s*). Much of this estate, notwithstanding the profusion of the noted Duke of Lauderdale, and the dangers of forfeiture, came down to Earl John, who died in 1710. From him, in 1709, Anne, the Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth, purchased what remained of that great property. There were some smaller rights which were not, perhaps, purchased (*t*). The church of Inveresk is old and ruinous. It is still remembered that Oliver Cromwell used this ancient fane as a cavalry stable (*u*); but it does not require this additional fact to prove how many men, in that age, made use of religious pretences to gain temporal ends. The minister's manse was built in 1681. Such has been the increase of parishioners that an assistant minister has been long found necessary. An episcopal meeting has existed here from the abolition of episcopacy by the Revolution, under the toleration of Queen Anne. In this

(*p*) Stat., xvi., 5.

(*q*) From that chapel the village of Magdalene-Pans on the Forth, and of Magdalene-Bridge on Niddery-burn, derived their names.

(*r*) Stat., xvi., 6.

(*s*) In September 1649, John Earl of Lauderdale was served heir to his father in the lordship and regality of Musselburgh, with the patronage of the church of Inveresk and of its subordinate chapels. Inquisit. Speciales, xx., 150. This record evinces that James VI. granted to Lord Thirlestane the whole lands, manors, regalities, jurisdictions, advowsons of churches and chapels, with every species of property and right which the monks of Dunfermline had amassed on this pleasant site during so many centuries. Lord Thirlestane, we see, from the Retour, transmitted the whole to his heirs, notwithstanding some unpleasant contests with Queen Anne, who had right of dower over the estates which belonged to the monastery of Dunfermline.

(*t*) In June 1636, Thomas Smith was served heir to his father, a burgess of Musselburgh, in two oxgates of the lands of Inveresk, 2½ acres in the moor of Inveresk, and a tenement in Inveresk, together with the office of hereditary miller of the mill called the *shire* mill, within the limits of Inveresk, with the *mill acre;* also to the 6th part of the *four corn mill of Musselburgh-schyre*, and to the 6th part of the *haugh* near the said shire mill. Inquisit. Speciales, xv., 69. Such were the mills of the monks with the hereditary miller who had appropriate rights.

(*u*) Stat. Acco., xvi.

opulent parish there are also a Burgher meeting since 1770, and a Relief meeting since 1783 (*x*). In 1201, the *Magnates Scotiæ* swore fealty to Alexander, the infant son of William the Lion, at *Muchselburg*, whether in the chapel of *Loretto* appears not (*y*). On the 20th of July 1332, died at Musselburgh, the illustrious Randolph, Earl of Murray, the guardian of David II., an event which entailed on Scotland so many miseries. [The Parish Church, erected in 1805, had in 1888 1100 communicants; stipend, £631.]

NEWTON parish comprehends the old parishes of Newton and Wymet. The name of Newton is obvious, and seems to show that there was, in this neighbourhood, some old town. This parish lay on the western side of the Esk, below Dalkeith. In the ancient *Taxatio* its church was rated at only 18 marks. The church of Newton and its pertinents were granted, during the twelfth century, to the monks of Dunfermline, to whom it was confirmed by Bishop Richard and Pope Gregory (*z*). Till the Reformation exploded such establishments, the monks enjoyed the patronage, and the cure was performed by a vicar. The lands of Newton, also, were acquired by those monks, and also included in their lordship and regality of Musselburgh. *Wymet* parish lay westward of Newton, towards Liberton. In ancient charters the name is uniformly written *Wymet.* The word is probably Gaelic, though of very doubtful etymology. It has been corrupted into Wowmet, Wolmet, and Woolmet. David I. granted this church with all its rights to the monks of Dunfermline, and his grant was confirmed by the diocesan, and by the pope. Thus did they enjoy the parsonage, while the cure was performed by a vicar. This parish was somewhat larger than Newton, and its church was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 20 marks. These two parishes were united at the Reformation, and the lands and churches were included in James VI.'s grant to Lord Thirlstane. The patronage has since been acquired by Wauchope of Edmonston. A new church was built for the united parish in 1742, and a new manse was erected in 1749 (*a*). [In 1888 the church had 261 communicants; stipend £384.]

The parish of LASSWADE consisted, anciently, of the old parish of this name, of some part of Melville, and of a considerable share of Pentland parishes. The church and village of Lasswade stand on a fruitful mead, through which murmurs the North-Esk, having the church on its western side, and the village on both its banks. This pleonastic name of Anglo-Saxon origin, signifies what the nature of the thing was, a well-watered pasture of common

(*x*) Stat. Acco., 23-4. (*y*) Chron. Mail. 181.

(*z*) Chart. Dunferm.; MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*a*) Stat. Acco., xi., 533. The manor of Wymet bounded with that of Lugton on the south-east. Chart. Newbotle, 46.

use (*b*). From the fruitfulness of the district, perhaps, this church was early of great value. In the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 90 marks, which exhibit a higher rate than any church in Mid-Lothian except St. Cuthbert's. The church and lands of Lasswade were granted to the bishop of St. Andrews as early as the 12th century; and it thus became a mensal church of the bishopric. The parsonage belonged to the bishop, and the cure was served by a vicar (*c*). The church of Lasswade constituted one of the prebends of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. In the reign of James III., the church of Lasswade was, by the pope's authority, detached from St. Salvator's church, and was annexed to the collegiate church of Restalrig (*d*). This annexation was further confirmed by James V. in 1515, completing the collegiate establishment (*e*). From the epoch of that transfer, the dean of the collegiate church of Restalrig enjoyed the rectory of Lasswade, with all its revenues, while the cure continued to be served by a vicar (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Lasswade was taxed at £20, and the vicarage at £2 13s. 4d.; which evince the great value of the church at the eve of the Reformation. When the parish of Pentland was suppressed after Reformation, the barony of Roslin, the lands of Pentland, and other districts of that parish, were annexed to Lasswade. These districts form the western division of this parish (*g*). A new church was built for the parish of Lasswade, thus enlarged and populous in 1793, and a commodious manse for the minister was built in 1789 (*h*). [The parish church of Lasswade has 709 communicants; stipend £371. The *quoad sacra* parish church of Roslin has 320 communicants, and that of Rosewell 288 communicants. The Free Churches of Loanhead and Roslin have 278 and 231 members respectively. A U. P. Church has 302 members. There is an Episcopal Church at Roslin. and a Reformed Presbyterian Church at Loanhead.]

(*b*) Læswe, in the A.-S., signifies *pascum*, a common. Somner. And see *Leswe*, a pasture, in Kelham's Domesday, 549. And, hence, the old English *Lesse*, a pasture ground. The A.-S. *Weaht*, and the old English *Weyde*, signify a meadow. Somner and Bailey.

(*c*) In August 1296, Nicolas, the vicar of Leswaid, swore fealty to Edward I., and was, by a precept to the sheriff of Edinburgh, restored to his property. Prynne, iii., 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

(*d*) The transfer was negotiated by John Frisel, a presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, who was appointed the first dean of the college church of Restalrig. He procured the consent of William Scheves, the archbishop, and obtained, by a journey to Rome, a bull from Innocent VIII., confirming this transfer. The bull is in the MS. Monast. Scotiæ. (*e*) Id.

(*f*) Yet the archbishop of St. Andrews remained in the superiority of the lands of Lasswade in 1630, and perhaps even down to 1689, when the archbishopric was abolished. Reliq. Divi. Andreæ, 120.

(*g*) In 1633, the barony of Melville, which had formed the greatest part of the old parish of Melville, was upon the suppression of Melville parish annexed to Lasswade. Unprinted Act of 1633. (*b*) Stat. Acco., x., 283. Sir George Clerk of Penycuik is the present patron.

The parish of MELVILLE derived its name from the man, rather than the person from the parish. *Male*, an English baron, came from England into Scotland during the reign of David I. (*b*). Here he settled under Malcolm IV. and gave his manor the name of *Male-ville* (*i*). The founder of this church, who was vicecomes of Edinburgh castle under Malcolm IV., granted it, in the presence of the bishop of St. Andrews, as we have just seen, to the monks of Dunfermline. This grant was confirmed by Gregory IX. in 1234; and it was ratified, in 1251, by Gregory de Male-ville, who enjoyed this manor at the middle of the 13th century (*k*). This family acquired other lands in Mid-Lothian during the 13th century; and the Male-villes remained in possession of their ancient manors, under Robert I., David II., and Robert II. when the original stock ended in a female heir, Agnes, who gave her possessions, with her person, to Sir John Ross of Halkhead. The descendants of this marriage acquired the peerage of Lord Ross from James IV.; and the barony of Melville remained with William, Lord Ross in 1705 (*l*). The church of Melville appears to have been of moderate value, and it was rated in the ancient *Taxatio* at 20 marks (*m*). It continued with the monks of Dunfermline till the Reformation; yet by an unusual custom the benefice was enjoyed by a rector, who was presented by the monks, even down to Queen

(*h*) Caledonia, i., 525.

(*i*) Galfrid de Male-ville, who lived under David I. and Malcolm IV., and was justiciary under William the Lion, gave to the monks of Dunfermline, in perpetual alms, the church of Male-ville, with its pertinents, and especially *the land, which he had assigned to this church on its dedication.* Chart. Dunfermline; MS. Monast. Scotiæ. This grant was made for the salvation of the souls of David, and Malcolm, *junior*, and for the souls of the grantor, and his ancestors, and he stipulated that *the monks* should uphold a perpetual light before the sepulchre of the said kings. This is the only place where I have seen Malcolm IV. called *junior*, in contradistinction to Malcolm Canmore, his great-grandfather.

(*k*) Id. Gregory de Male-ville, knight, granted to the monks of Newbotle a stone of wax yearly from the rents of his lands of Leth-Bernard. Chart. Newbotle, 215. In 1264, he granted them, what was of more importance, free passage through his lands of Retrevyn, to and from their lands in Clydesdale, and this grant of passage was confirmed, in 1329, by his grandson John de Male-ville. Ib., 223. The same chartulary contains several other confirmations, which show the successions of this munificent family, down to John de Male-ville, the father of Agnes, who transferred these ancient possessions to Ross of Halkhead.

(*l*) Dalrymp. Col., 428. It was purchased, in the last century, by David Rennie, whose daughter carried it, by marriage, to Henry Dundas, who was created Viscount Melville, in 1802, after executing the highest offices in the state amidst great men.

(*m*) In Bagimont's Roll, the *rectory* of Melville, in the deanery of Linlithgow, was taxed at £4. The same *rectory* is contained in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

Mary's days (*n*). After the Reformation had broken such connections, Lord Ross acquired the patronage of the church of Melville, with the church-lands, tithes, and glebe (*o*). In 1633, the parish of Melville was suppressed, and the barony of Melville, forming the greater part of it, was united to the parish of Lasswade; while the barony of Lugton, forming the smaller portion, was annexed to Dalkeith (*p*).

The old parish of *Pentland* comprehended the manors of Pentland and Fulford, with the northern portion of the Pentland hills, which are drained by the Logan water, that is now better known by the name of Glencorse water. The church stood at the village of Pentland, in the north-eastern part of the parish, where its ruins may still be seen by the antiquarian eye; and from it, half a mile south-west, stood the mansion, which is now known by the familiar appellation of Pentland *Mains* (*q*). The name of Pentland is obscure in its origin. In the 12th century, it was written in charters exactly as it is at present, *Pentland.* From the 12th to the present century the name is uniformly written, in record, *Pentland,* but not Pictland or Penthland. The name of Pentland has also obtained a double application in Mid-Lothian. It is not only the name of the village and parish of Pentland, but also of an extensive range of hills that stretch southward to the limits of Peebles (*r*). It is evident that the Pentland hills borrowed this name from the parish, and not the parish from the hills. In the 14th and 13th centuries, the northern division of that range was called the *Moor of Pentland* (*s*). *Pent,* in old English, signified *inclosed,* from the

(*n*) In 1546, Magister Archibald Hay, the rector of Melville church, with consent of the abbot and monks, conveyed all his church lands and glebe, "cum decimis garbalibus earundem, que a dictis terris et gleba, nunquam separari solebant." Chart. Dunferm., 23.

(*o*) On the 18th of September 1634, James Lord Ross of Halkhead and Melville was served heir to his father James, in the barony of Melville, with the advowson of the churches. Inquisit. Speciales, xiii., 174. On the same day he was served heir to his mother Jean Hamilton, in the same church, and tithes, with the pasture in the district of West-Melville. Ib., 179. There are other services of other heirs, in the same record, to the same property.

(*p*) On the 31st January 1507, David Crichton of Lugton was served heir to his father, Patrick, in the church lands of Lugton, which belonged to the church of Melville, extending to $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and to the tithes within the barony of Lugton. Ib., iii., 261.

(*q*) See the map of Lothian.

(*r*) In Blaeu's map of Lothian and Linlithgow that range is called *Penthlant-hill.* Scarcely any of the Lothian hills have retained their original British names.

(*s*) Robert I. granted to Sir Henry Saint Clair, knight, all the lands, "in *mora* de *Pentland,*" with the pertinents as they used to be held under his predecessor Alexander III.; and he granted that the same should be held as a *free warren.* Regist. Rob. I.; Rot. c., 67. In the reign of Robert III.,

Anglo-Saxon, Pindan, to enclose (*t*); so Pent-land would signify the inclosed land, the *inclosure* upon the *moor*. *Pen-llan* in the British, would signify the *chief church*; but Pentland church seems to have been always rather inconsiderable than chief; *Pen-llan* in the British, would signify also the *chief yard*, or *inclosure*, or the *end* of the *yard*, or *inclosure*. The first derivation, from the old English, is the most natural and obvious. The ecclesia de *Pentland*, in decanatu de Linlithgow, was rated at only 12 marks in the ancient *Taxatio*. It appears to have been granted to the monks of Holyrood, and it was confirmed to them by Bishop David, in 1240 (*u*). Before the demise of Alexander III., it appears to have been detached from this monastery, and was then an independent rectory (*x*). In the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the patronage of this church belonged to the Earls of Orkney and Barons of Roslin (*y*). In 1476, William Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, settled on Sir Oliver Saint Clair, the eldest son of his second marriage, the barony of Roslin, with the lands of Pentland, *the moor of Pentland*, and the patronage of the church of Pentland; and this settlement was confirmed by James III. In 1491, George, the heir of Sir Oliver, obtained, on his father's resignation, a charter from James IV. of the barony of Pentland, with the advowson of the church (*z*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Pentland was taxed at £5 6s. 8d., which shows that the church had somewhat increased in its comparative value, with the other churches in Mid-Lothian (*a*). Some time after the Reformation the parish of Pentland was suppressed, and the northern part was annexed to Lasswade; and in 1616, the southern portion, comprehending the barony of Fulford, was united to the new formed parish of St. Catherine's, which was afterward popularly called Glencorse. The ruin of the ancient church may still be seen by antiquarian eyes at the old village of Pentland, *the enclosure on the moor.*

Henry Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, granted to Sir John Nudrie the lands, forming the east quarter of the moor of Pentland, with the half of Ernecraig, in the manor of Pentland, in exchange for the place and yards of King's Cramond. Robert. Index, 148. In 1410, Henry de Saint Clair, the Earl of Orkney, granted to his brother, John, the lands of Sunellishope and Loganhouse, in *the moor* of *Pentland*, in Edinburghshire. Ib., 166. Maitl. Edin., 506, also evinces that ridge to have been called *the moor* of Pentland.

(*t*) Bailey. (*u*) Regist. of St. Andrews, 133.

(*x*) In 1296, Stephen de Kyngorn, parson of the church of Pentland, swore fealty to Edward I., and had a precept to the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore his property. Rot. Scotiæ, 24.

(*y*) When the Earl of Orkney founded the collegiate church of Roslin, in 1446, he granted to it the *church-lands of Pentland.*

(*z*) Dougl. Baron., 247.

(*a*) The rectory of Pentland appeared in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

The parish of GLENCORSE was formed, in 1616, from the old parishes of Pentland and Penicuik, and it comprehends the valley of Glencorse, with some extent of country both on the north and south. The northern division was taken from the parish of Pentland, and the southern from the parish of Penicuik. In the vale of Glencorse, upon the northern side of Logan water, there was of old a chapel which was dedicated to St. Catherine, the virgin; and which was called St. Catherine of *the Hopes*, in contradistinction to St. Catherine's of the Kaims, in Liberton parish. The chapel of St. Catherine's of *the Hopes* belonged to the monks of Holyrood, and its ruin may still be seen by those eyes which delight to dwell on what is old (*b*). This church, and its revenues, and glebe, were annexed, in 1633, to the bishopric of Edinburgh (*c*). It was disannexed in 1638, when the parish was called *Glencross*, from a dislike to saints, at a zealous moment. This glen or vale, was so called, from a remarkable cross, which had been here erected by pious hands, and which also gave a name to *Cross*-houses. The prefix in this name, is the British *Glyn*, or the Gaelic *Glean*, signifying a valley. When episcopacy was abolished in 1689, the patronage of the parish fell to the king, who seems to have relinquished it to the proprietor of Fulford, whose name was changed, in the last century, to *Woodhouselee*, which is more known to fame by the residence of distinguished men. [The Parish Church, erected in 1665, has 381 communicants; stipend £255.]

PENICUIK parish comprehends the greatest part of the ancient parish, and the whole of the old parish of Mont-Lothian. The learned minister of this parish informs the inquisitive reader, that the Gaelic name means the *Cuckoo's hill* (*d*): *Bein-na-cuack*, in the Gaelic, and Pen-y-cog, or Pen-y-coc, in the British, do signify the Cuckoo's hill or summit. In the records of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name is spelt *Penicok* (*e*), which agrees with the British form of the word in that signification. The parish and barony of old were co-extensive; they comprehended the country which is drained by the upper branches of the North-Esk (*f*). The church of Penicuik was dedi-

(*b*) The intelligent reader will remember that *Hope*, in the southern shires, signified a *vale*, without a thoroughfare; and St. Catherine's in the *Hopes* must mean St. Catherine's in such valleys, or dingles. (*c*) Charter of Erection. (*d*) Stat. Acco., x., 419.

(*e*) In the ancient *Taxatio* it is recorded as *Penicok*. There is a village in Cornwall named *Penkuke*.

(*f*) Robert III. granted to Laurence Crichton the lands of New-Hall, in the barony of Penycok. The estate of New-Hall is on the borders of Mid-Lothian, and forms the south-west extremity of Penicuik parish. On the north the barony of Penicuik comprehended the lands of Newbigging.

cated to the British St. Kentigern, who was popularly called St. Mungo (*g*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Penicuik was rated at 20 marks. From the 12th century to the Reformation it continued an independent parsonage, the advowson of which belonged to the lord of the manor (*h*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Penicuik was taxed at £8 (*i*). In the Scoto-Saxon period, the manor of Penicuik was possessed by a family, who assumed their surname from the place, and were the patrons of the church (*k*). This ancient family continued patrons of the church of Penicuik till the 17th century (*l*). At that unhappy period, the barony and patronage of Penicuik were purchased from the old family by John Clerk, a son of William Clerk, a merchant of Montrose, who had acquired a fortune in France by commerce (*m*). The church of Penicuik was built in 1771. It is a handsome building, with a portico, supported by four Doric pillars. The portico is surmounted by a stone cross ; and on the front of the portico is cut the word *Bethel*, in Hebrew characters. The parishioners were not pleased with that mystical finery, saith

(*g*) The parish church of Penicuik bore the name of St. Kentigern as late as 1733, and there is near it a spring, which was called *St. Mungo's Well*, and which is now enclosed in the minister's garden, free from superstitious use or zealous abuse. Stat. Acco., x., 419. The parish church of Locherwert, in Mid-Lothian, was also dedicated to St. Kentigern, a coincidence which carries the mind back to British times.

(*h*) In 1296, Walter Edgar, the parson of Penicuik, swore fealty to Edward I., who therefore gave him a precept to the sheriff of Edinburghshire for the restoration of his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 24.

(*i*) That rectory was also comprehended in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

(*k*) In 1296, Hugh de Penicok of Edinburghshire swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii., 654. Margaret, the widow of the late Nigel de Penicok, submitted to Edward, and obtained livery of her lands. Ib., 660 ; Rot. Scotiæ, 25. On the 15th of March 1306, Sir Hugh de Penicok again swore fealty to Edward, and obtained another protection for his lands. Rym., ii., 1015. In January 1507-8, John Penycuik, apparent heir of Sir John Penycuik of the same, obtained a charter from James IV., on the resignation of his father, of the lands of Penycuik, with the pertinents and the patronage of the church, rendering to the king yearly, "tres flatus in cornu flatus super communem moram de Edinburg, olim forestarii de Drumselch nuncupat ad venationem regis capitalem super dictam moram nomine albæ firmæ si petatur tantum." Regist. Ja. IV., lib, xiv., c. 442.

(*l*) In 1603, Alexander Penycok was served heir to his brother Andrew Penycok of the same, in the barony of Penycok, with the right of patronage of the church. Inquisit. Speciales, iii., 36. At a century afterward there remained, in those countries, Penicuik, a physician, aud Penicuik, a poet, who both distinguished themselves ln their several faculties.

(*m*) The Clerks of Penicuik obtained a baronetcy in 1679. Dougl. Baron., 422.

the minister; suspecting something mysterious in this Hebrew, and dreading some superstition in the cross (*m*). [In 1888 there were 1476 communicants in the Parish Church; stipend, £200. A Free Church has 409 members; and a U.P. has 341 members. There are also Episcopal and Roman Catholic churches here.]

MOUNT-LOTHIAN parish lay on the south border of Mid-Lothian, and on the western side of the upper branch of the South-Esk. The church stood, at a hamlet, which still retains the name, under the vulgar form of Mount-Louden (*n*). As the country was thinly peopled, the church was but of little value, and in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 12 marks. The church of old was granted to the monks of Holyrood, though by whom cannot now be known. In 1240, indeed, Bishop David confirmed to those monks the church of Mount-Lothian, which they had for some years enjoyed (*o*). It continued to belong to the same monks, till the Reformation swept away such connections; and the cure was, meantime, served by a vicar. In 1633, the church of Mount-Lothian, with all its rights, and revenues, were transferred to the episcopate of Edinburgh, and this establishment being set aside, in 1638, the parish of Mount-Lothian was afterward annexed to the adjoining district of Penicuik. Thus, owing to this union, did Penicuik gain as much on the east as it had lost on the north-west by the establishment, in 1616, of the parish of Glencorse.

TEMPLE parish comprehends the ancient parish of Clerkington, and the chapelries of Morthwait [Moorfoot] and Balantrodach. During the 12th century, the name of Clerkington, in Mid-Lothian, as well as Clerkington, in East-Lothian, was written *Clerchetun*, which is obviously the Anglo-Saxon *Clerc, Clerce, Cleric*, a clerk, a churchman, with the annex *tun*, a habitation. As the district of Clerkington was of old but thinly peopled, its church was of very small value, and in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is only rated at 8 marks. The patronage of this church belonged to the lord of the manor, during the Scoto-Saxon period, though it seems to have been as obscure, as the rectory was meagre. They were probably both forfeited, during the succession war. David II. granted the manor of Clerkington to Walter Bisset; and he transferred the church, with its tithes, and pertinents, to the monks of Newbotle; granting them, at the same time, an annual rent of five marks, from the manor (*p*). The monks

(*m*) Stat. Acco., x. 423.

(*n*) The ruin of the church may still be seen at this hamlet. The name, in the chartulary, is "Monte Laodoniæ;" and in the ancient Taxatio there is the Ecclesia de *Monte-Laodonie*. A part of the lands of Mount-Lothian was granted to the monks of Newbotle in the 12th century, and this grant was confirmed to them by William the Lion. Chart. Newbotle, 176. And from those circumstances the place has been sometimes called Monk-*Lowden*. (*o*) Regist. St. Andrews, 33.

(*p*) Roberts. Index, 36; Chart. Newbotle, 7. In 1369 Walter Bisset resigned the manor of

enjoyed the parsonage, while the cure was served by a vicar, and this regimen continued till the Reformation annulled it. At that event, the patronage of the church, with the annual rent of five marks from the mill of Clerkington, were enjoyed, by Mark Ker, the commendator of Newbotle, who transmitted the whole to his descendants; and acquiring the temporal estate, they changed the name of Clerkington to *New-Ancrum*. The chapelry of Moorfoot comprehended the lands of Moorfoot, and the forest of Gledewys, being the upper half of the valley of Gladehouse water. The village of Moorfoot stands on the western side of the stream, below the *Moorfoot* hills, and three miles above Clerkington. This corrupted name is plainly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Mor*, a moor or heath, and *Thwait*, signifying a spot, cleared from brushwood, and inclosed; and a plain piece of land freed from bushes and inclosed is still in Yorkshire called a thwait (*q*). As the Pentland hills derived their name from Pentland parish so the Moorfoot hills derived their name, in the same manner, from the parish of Morthwait, which has been corrupted into Moorfoot. The lands of Moorfoot were granted by David I. to the monks of Newbotle (*r*), and they obtained from Alexander II. the forest of *Gladewys*, upon the Gladewys water (*s*). After the grant of David I., the monks established at Moorfoot a chapel, which served their men, and the abbot enjoyed the patronage of it till the Reformation. After that great change, the commendator coming in his place, enjoyed his rights, till the extensive estates of the abbey were converted into a temporal lordship, which descended to the heirs of the commendator, Earls of Ancrum, and Marquises of Lothian. The chapelry and manor of Balantrodach, lay at the foot of the Gladehouse water, on the western side of the South-Esk. The Gaelic word, *Bal-an-trodach*, literally signifies the dwelling of the turbulent person; as *Bal-an-treadach*, would equally denote the habitation of herds, or flocks. This

Clerkington to Archibald de Douglas, knight, who obtained from David II. a charter of confirmation in 1369. Regist. David II., 230. During the reign of Robert III., Archibald, Earl of Angus, sold the barony of Clerkington to Adam Forrester of Corstorphine, who acquired, from Robert, a charter of confirmation; and he also obtained from him a release of the castle wards, issuing from this barony to the king. Roberts. Index, 140-50.

(*q*) Thoresby's Leeds, 223. This word appears in a number of places in Westmorland and in Cumberland, and also in Dumfries-shire, where it has been corrupted into *what* and *that*: and Murraythwait in this shire was originally the same as Morthwait, but corrupted into More-thwait, and Morythwait, and Murray-thwait, from the name of the proprietor.

(*r*) Chart. Newbot., 27.

(*s*) Ib., 127. In 1239 he erected the whole territory of Morthwait and Gladewys into a free forest, in favour of the monks of Newbotle. Ib., 128.

manor was granted by David I. to the knights of the Temple, who, as we have seen, formed their principal seat in Scotland at Balantrodach, and who naturally built here a chapel for themselves and people. On the suppression of those knights in 1312, their establishment at Balantrodach, with the manor and chapel, passed to the knights of St. John, who enjoyed the whole, till the Reformation exploded such establishments. As interest mingled much in that reform, the estate of the knights was converted into a temporal lordship for Sir James Sandilands, the preceptor, who was created Lord Torphichen (*t*). After the Reformation, the parish of Clerkington, and the chapelries of Moorfoot and Balantrodach, were united into one parish, with the Templars chapel for the church; and from it the united parish obtained the name of *Temple* (*u*). The patronage of this parish was divided into three shares, in conformity of the three ancient establishments; and each of the three patrons was to enjoy the right by turns. The third share of Lord Torphichen was acquired, with the barony of Balantrodach, by Dundas of Arniston, to which Temple is adjacent. The two shares which belonged to the Earls of Ancrum, were acquired in the last century, with the manor of Clerkington, by Hepburn, who restored the ancient name of Clerkington; and whose descendants worthily enjoy Clerkington, with two-thirds of the patronage of Temple church, to the present times. [The present Parish Church, erected 1832, has 219 communicants; stipend, £218. A Free Church has 53 members.]

CARRINGTON is the ancient name of the parish, which is sometimes called *Primrose.* In ancient documents, the old name was variously written Kerintoun and Cairntoun, and was popularly called *Cairnton;* and we may pretty certainly conclude that the name was derived from some *cairn* which existed here, when the Saxons settled their *tun.* The same name has been given to

(*t*) In December 1618, James, Lord Torpichen, was served heir to his father, in the barony of Balantrodach, within the barony of Torpichen. Inquisit. Speciales, vii., 108.

(*u*) After the establishment of the knights of the Temple at Balantrodach, the place became known by the name of *Temple.* The old name predominated, however, till the reign of James VI. In July 1616, James Maleson was served heir to his mother, in the husband-land of Outherstoun, within the barony of *Balantredo,* alias *Tempil.* Inquisit. Speciales, iii. 212. The Gaelic name has given way to *Temple.* After the parliament had attainted Liddel of Halkerston, in 1484, for his treasons, his lands of Halkerston, which adjoined to Balantrodach, were given by James III. to Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torpichen, who procured an act of parliament for suppressing the name of *Halkerston,* and substituting in its place *Temple;* and he obtained another act, ordaining the barony of Balantrodach and the house of Halkerston to be called in future the barony and castle of St. John. Parl. Rec., 367-71. Yet the people retain the old names, and the parliament conformed in their practice, to the popular voice. Ib., 454-5.

several other places in Scotland, from the existence of such a *cairn* (*x*). The church of Carrington, and its tithes and pertinents, were granted by David I. to the monks of Scone; and his grant was confirmed by William the Lion, and Robert I. (*y*), and also by the popes, Alexander and Honorius (*z*). This church was rated only at 18 marks in the ancient *Taxatio.* After all those confirmations of kings and popes, the monks seem not to have enjoyed the church of Carrington till the Reformation. Patrick Hume, who is celebrated for his science, and was archdeacon of Teviotdale, was also *rector* of Carrington, in 1464 (*a*). At this time the cure was served by a vicar; and an endowment of a perpetual vicarage appears to have continued, till the Reformation put an end to such establishments. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the vicarage of Carrington was taxed at £5 8s. 6d. (*b*). At the Reformation, Carrington was an independent rectory, which did not belong to any monastery (*c*). The lord of the manor of Carrington, during the Scoto-Saxon period, cannot now be ascertained. The celebrated warrior, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, appears to have acquired it from David II. In this family, which did many services to the state, it remained three hundred years. In 1633, William Lord Ramsay was created Earl of Dalhousie and Lord *Carrington*; but during the subsequent distractions, he found it necessary to sell this barony, with the patronage of the church of Carrington, to Sir Archibald Primrose, the clerk of the privy council; and when he was made a senator of the College of Justice, he assumed the title of Lord Carrington. James, the first Viscount of Primrose, upon his creation in 1703, changed the name of this district from Carrington to Primrose; but this new name has been confined to writings, while the old one, by its common pronunciation of *Cairnton,* continues to be used in colloquial intercourse (*d*). [The parish church has 182 communicants.]

COCKPEN parish derived its British name from the site of the church, *Cock-pen* signifying, in that descriptive speech, the red summit; and the kirk-town

(*x*) The Gaelic name for a tumulus is *cairn,* which is very frequent in the topography of North-Britain. There are three Cairn-towns in Forfarshire, two in Kincardineshire, one in Aberdeen, and one in Banffshire.

(*y*) Chart. of Scone.

(*z*) Id. Honorius, indeed, declared that the monks should enjoy the church and its revenues to their proper use. Id.

(*a*) Chart. Newbotle.

(*b*) Carrington appears as a *rectory* in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*c*) Keith's Hist. App., 192.

(*d*) The present church was built in 1711, and the manse in 1756.

stands on the top of a height upon the east bank of the South-Esk, which height, whenever the surface is broken, exhibits a red colour. There is, moreover, very near the church, a place called *Red-heugh*, which is synonymous with *Cockpen*, a red height. The parish of Cockpen, which lies along the river South-Esk, between Newbotle and Carrington, has consisted from the 12th century to the present of the barony of Dalhousie, a corruption of *Dalwolsie*, which comprehended the lands of Cockpen, and indeed the whole parish (*e*). The church was of middling value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at only 20 marks. During the Scoto-Saxon period Cockpen was a rectory, the patronage of which belonged to the Ramsays of Dalwolsie, one of the oldest and most respectable families of Mid-Lothian. In 1296, Malcolm de Ramsay, the parson of Cockpen, swore fealty to Edward I., who commanded the sheriff of Edinburgh to restore him to his rights (*f*). The church of Cockpen seems to have afterward been granted to some religious establishment, who enjoyed it till the Reformation broke asunder snch connections (*g*). The church of Cockpen does not appear in Bagimont's Roll, nor is it in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547, as the church belonged to Cistercian monks. After the Reformation the patronage of the church returned to the Earls of Dalhousie, with whom it still continues. [The Parish Church, erected in 1820, has 356 communicants; stipend, £347. A Free Church at Bonnyrigg has 381 members.]

NEWBATTLE parish consists of the ancient parish of *Maisterton* and the Abbey parish of Newbattle. *Maisterton* derives its name from the Anglo-Saxon *Maester-tun*, signifying the habitation of the master (*h*). The parish of Maisterton adjoined Cockpen on the west, and on the north, east, and south it was surrounded by the Abbey parish of Newbattle. As it was small, its church was of little value. In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of Maisterton is rated at only four marks. During the Scoto-Saxon period

(*e*) Chart. Newbotle; Roberts. Index, 150; Inquisit. Speciales, iv., 299.

(*f*) Rot. Scotiæ, 25. The parson was probably a younger son of this family, who were the patrons. Robert de Ramsay was at the same time parson of the church of Foulden, in Berwickshire, whereof the Ramsays were also patrons, as well as the proprietors of the barony.

(*g*) The lands of Cockpen were certainly given by the Ramsays of Dalhousie to the monks of Newbattle. After the Reformation, the lands of Cockpen were granted, with the other estates of Newbattle abbey, to Mark Ker, Lord Newbattle. In May 1609, his son, Robert, the second Earl of Lothian, was served heir to him in the lands and collieries of Cockpen, within the barony of Dalhousie. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 299. These lands were afterward sold to Cockburn of Cockpen, and about twenty years ago the same lands were, by purchase, re-annexed to the barony of Dalhousie.

(*h*) There is in Fife a place named *Masterton*, which was granted by Malcolm IV. to the monks of Dunfermline.

the patronage of this church belonged to the lord of the manor. Towards the conclusion of the 13th century, this manor belonged to Robert de Rossine, knight, and upon his death it descended to his three daughters. Before the year 1300, Mariot married Neil Carrick, and Ada married Gilbert de Ayton ; but the name of the third parcener does not appear. In April 1320, Mariot and Ada, with the consent of their husbands, resigned to the monks of Newbotle their two third parts of their manor and the patronage of the church ; and their heirs severally ratified those resignations. This transfer was performed in the church of Liston, upon Friday after St. Ambrose day, 1320 (*i*), and the same transfer was confirmed by Robert I. in May 1320 (*k*). In 1350, the monks obtained from Bishop Landels a confirmation of the church of Maisterton, with all its rights and pertinents, to *their proper use* (*l*). Such were the securities which the monks cast above their property, though without absolute success. They acquired, first, a solemn transfer of the heirs and their heirs ; they next obtained the king's confirmation ; and they finally gained the assent of the diocesan. They appear to have also acquired the other third of the lands of Maisterton and entirety of the church, which they retained till the Reformation. The abbey church of Newbattle arose out of the establishment of the monastery, which we have seen founded in 1140. The manor of Newbattle, which David I. granted to the monks, and various other lands which they acquired in that vicinity, were attached to the church, and continued with it till the Reformation disconnected all. The lands which formed the Abbey parish lay chiefly on the east and south-east of the monastery, and the parish extended eastward to Fordel and southward to the Newbyres, where they possessed a grange, as the name implies (*m*). After the Reformation, the small parish of Maisterton was united to the Abbey parish, in the western bosom of which it lay, and the abbey church now became the parish church. The patronage of the united church, the manor of Newbattle, the lands of Maisterton, and other property, were possessed by Mark Ker, the commendator of the abbey (*n*). His descendant, the Marquis of Lothian, enjoys the patronage of the church, with the site of the abbey (*o*). [The Parish Church has 670 communicants ; stipend, £364. A Free Church has 166 members.]

(*i*) Chart. Newbotle, 59, 60-3.

(*k*) Regist. Robert I., Rot., c. 70.

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, 8.

(*m*) Chart. Newbotle.

(*n*) He died in 1584. His son, Mark the second, obtained from the facility of James IV., the whole estates of the monks of Newbotle to be erected into a barony in 1587, a lordship in 1591, and an earldom in 1606 ; and he died in 1609. Inquisit. Speciales, iv., 299.

(*o*) A new church was built in 1727, at the village of Newbotle, which becomes less populous, as the proprietor enlarges his pleasure ground, saith the minister. Stat. Acco., x. 214.

The name of the parish of CRANSTON, in the charters of the 12th century, was written *Cranestun*, the Anglo-Saxon Cranestun, signifying the crane's district or resort, and the river Tyne, where it glides past Cranston, is even now frequented by cranes, who find shelter in the woods and fish in the water (*a*). Several places in North and South-Britain have derived their appropriate appellations from similar circumstances (*b*). The district of Cranston was in the 12th century divided into two manors, Upper-Cranston and Nether-Cranston, which were afterward distinguished as New-Cranston and Cranston-Ridel. Early in William's reign, Upper-Cranston was possessed by Elfric de Cranestun, who derived his local surname from the name of the manor. His descendants, even down to the reign of Charles II., remained proprietors of the manor, which William the third Lord Cranston sold to Sir John Fletcher, the king's advocate (*c*). The church stood at Nether-Cranston, which was the largest of the two manors. This district was granted by Earl Henry to Hugh Ridel, and from him the district obtained the name of Cranston-Ridel, which distinguished it till recent times. Hugh Ridel granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Cranston, with its tithes and other pertinents, for the soul of David I., and for that of Earl Henry, his lord (*d*). This grant was confirmed by Richard, the son of Hugh, by William the Lion, and by the bishops of St. Andrews, Hugh and Roger (*e*). The same monks acquired from the Ridels the lands of Preston or Prestoun, for which they obtained successive charters of confirmation (*f*). The church of Cranston was early of great value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at 60 marks. It continued with the monks till 1317; and they enjoyed during that long period the revenues of the rectory, while the vicar served the cure and received the vicarage-tithes. Adam de Malcarvestun was vicar of Cranston during the reign of William the Lion (*g*). In 1296, Hugh, the vicar of Cranston, swore fealty to Edward I. (*h*). The monks valued Cranston church

(*a*) Sir John Dalrymple's MS. Description.

(*b*) Such as Crans-by, Cranshill, Cransford, Cranshaw, Cran-ley, Cran-field.

(*c*) Sir James Dalrymple's Col., 350. (*d*) Chart. Kelso, 315.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso, 13, 62-3, 315.

(*f*) Ib., 242-3, 316. This is the estate of Preston, and the mansion-house of Prestonhall lies on the east of Cranston.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 316. In the same record there is a charter of David, the diocesan, dated on St. Andrew's day, 1240, respecting the vicarage-tithes of the churches of Cranstoun and Langton.

(*h*) Prynne, iii., 660.

at the accustomed amount of £10 yearly (*i*). From the date of that exchange till the Reformation, the bishops of St. Andrews enjoyed the revenues of the rectory while the cure was served by a vicar. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the vicarage of Cranston was taxed at £2 13s. 4d. The vicarage also appears in the bishop's Tax Roll, 1547. Meantime, the barony of Cranston-Riddel continued with the Riddels till the reign of David II., when it passed successively, by various transmissions, through the Murrays to the Macgills, who acquired the church of Cranston (*k*). Sir James Macgill, in 1651, was created Viscount Oxenford and Lord Macgill of Cousland, who dying in 1663, left the whole estates and patronage to his son Robert, who died without male issue, in 1706. By another series of heirs, those estates and patronages came to Lady Dalrymple-Hamilton-Macgill, the spouse of Sir John Dalrymple, baronet. There was of old a chapel at Cranston, which served the lord and the tenants of the manor. In the 12th century, the advowson of this chapel was granted to the monks of Dunfermline, and the grant was confirmed by the diocesan, Bishop Richard, soon after 1163 (*l*). This chapel the monks probably retained, till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The manor and chapelry of Cousland were now annexed to the parish of Cranston. The chapel stood on the south side of the village of Cousland, where its remains may still be traced, with its almost forgotten cemetery, and it was probably dedicated to St. Bartholomew, as some lands near it retain the name of Bartholomew's Firlot (*m*). [The Parish Church has 338 communicants, stipend, £334. A U.P. Church at Ford has 174 members.]

The name of CRICHTON parish, in the records of the 12th and 13th centuries, is written *Crechtun*, and *Creichtoun*, and in the charter of David I., it appears in the form of *Crectun*. There is nothing in the Saxon speech that would make a rational prefix to the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, except we can suppose that some man, called *Crec*, Creich, or Crech, may have settled here, whereof there is not any intimation in record or in history. In the British speech, Crech-ton, and Crych-ton, signify the rough or rugged surface; and sufficiently describe

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 31. In 1317, William de Alncrom, the abbot of Kelso, gave to Bishop Lamberton the church of Cranston, with all its tithes and pertinents, in exchange for Naythanthirn and the chapel of Newton; and in consideration of the superior value of the church of Cranston, the bishop obliged himself to pay the abbot 25 marks sterling during 10 years. Chart. Kelso, 309-10.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 45-124; Rolls of David II., Rob. II., and of Albany. Inquisit. Speciales, viii. 146.

(*l*) Chart. Dunferm.; Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., 45.

(*m*) Stat. Acco., ix. 281.

the country about *Crichton.* This name might also be derived from the British *Crech*, signifying, without addition, rough or rugged; and the Saxon *tun* may have been applied to the previous name of the place by some Saxon settler, whose *tun* it became. The castle of Crichton stands on a rock, projecting over a deep glen, through which runs the Tyne. The church and manse stand a little below, on the eastern bank of the same glen, and various other places bearing the name of Crichton are included in the ancient manor and parish of Crichton, which seem to have been co-extensive. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church was rated at 30 marks. From the epoch of record to the era of the erection of the collegiate church, the parish was a rectory (*n*), and the patronage belonged to the lords of the manor, who were the Crichtons; and from the early part of the reign of David I. till 1484, they continued proprietors of this ancient domain. Of those barons was Sir William Crichton, the ablest man of his time, who was master of the household to James I., chancellor to James II., and died in 1454. It was he who cast the church of Crichton into a collegiate form, and he and his heirs were the patrons both of the college and the vicarage. The lordship of Crichton, and those patronages, were forfeited by William, the third lord, the chancellor's grandson, in 1484 (*o*). The forfeitures of Crichton were now given by James III. to his favourite, Sir John Ramsay, who was created Lord Bothwell; and was in his turn forfeited by the parliament of October 1488 (*p*). These forfeitures were immediately, by James IV., given to Patrick Lord Hailes, who obtained the ratification of the same parliament (*q*), and he was instantly created Earl of Bothwell and Lord Hailes and *Crichton.* The barony of Crichton, and the patronages of the college and vicarage, remained with his posterity almost eighty years, and were at length forfeited by his great-grandson, James Earl of Bothwell, in December 1567. The barony and the patronages, as they were conferred by the folly of James VI. on Francis, the nephew of the expatriated Bothwell, and as he too committed a thousand treasons, were by him forfeited in 1594. The barony of Crichton and the patronages, as its pertinents, were soon after granted to Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm (*r*). Sir Walter was created Lord Buccleuch in 1606, and died in 1611, leaving Walter, his son, to inherit

(*n*) In May 1338, William de Creichton, the rector of the church of Crichton, and heir of William de Creichton, burgess of Berwick, granted to the monks of Newbattle 16 oxgates and eight acres of arable land, in the tenement of New-Cranston. Chart. Newbotle, 227.

(*o*) He was convicted by parliament of being concerned in the treasons of the Duke of Albany. Parl. Rec., 309.

(*p*) Ib., 322. (*q*) Ib., 336 (*r*) MS. Col. of Charters.

his great estates. He was, in 1619, elevated to the yet higher title of Earl of Buccleuch, but died in 1633, leaving, with other estates, the barony of Crichton to his son Francis (*s*). After the Reformation, the church-lands of Crichton and the parsonage-tithes, which belonged of old to the rectory of Crichton, were acquired by Sir Gideon Murray, the last provost of the collegiate church, who obtained a grant, converting those collegiate lands into temporal estates. Sir Gideon was treasurer-depute to James VI., and died in 1621, leaving those estates to his son, Patrick, who was created Lord Elibank in 1643, and died in 1650 (*t*). The present church is an ancient building, in the form of a cross; the western end whereof was left unfinished, a sad monument of the wretched times wherein the founder flourished. [In 1888 there were 276 communicants; stipend, £340.]

BORTHWICK parish was anciently called Locherworth, a singular name, of mixed formation, which continued till the reign of James VI. It appears under its genuine form in the records of the 12th and 13th centuries. In the corrupted pronunciation of the country people, it is vulgarly called *Loch-warret* (*u*). The manor of Locherworth lies upon the Gore water, which is formed of two streams, that are now called the burns of North and South Middleton. The church stands on the bank of the last, a short distance above its junction with the Gore. Below the church, on the west bank of the Gore, at the confluence of the two streams, stands the castle of Borthwick, which was built on the ancient site of Locherworth moat. On the east from this position, at some distance, stood the hamlet of Little-Locherworth, where there is still

(*s*) Francis, Earl of Buccleuch, on the 27th February 1634, was served heir to his father in the baronies of Hailes and Crichton, with the advowsons of the provostry of Crichton, and its prebends, and chaplainries, and other lands, within the lordship of Hailes. Inquisit. Speciales, xii., 184. How long the descendants of Earl Francis retained possession of Crichton cannot now be told. In 1614, Francis, the eldest son of the last Earl of Bothwell, obtained, by another act of King James's folly, a grant of *rehabilitation*, which was confirmed by the parliament of 1633, and which freed him from the effects of his father's forfeiture. He now claimed the estates of his father, including Liddesdale, Hailes, and Crichton, the property of the Earls of Buccleuch. This claim was submitted, by the contending parties, to the award of Charles I., who pronounced a decree, which was confirmed by the parliament of 1640. Unprinted Act, No. 153. Liddesdale certainly remained with the Earl of Buccleuch; but Hailes and Crichton were probably given up under this ward.

(*t*) In May 1650, Patrick, Lord Elibank, was served heir to his father Patrick, in the church-lands of the collegiate church of Crichton with the tithes, in the lordship of Crichton. Inquisit. Speciales, xx. 202. Sir John Callender of Crichton now enjoys that lordship.

(*u*) It is curious to observe that the essential part of the name is preserved entire under "*Locher*-wer," in the ancient *Taxatio*, the prefix *Locher* being the real name of the stream. The annex *wer* is the corruption of weorth.

a village that bears the old name in the corrupted form of *Lochwharret.* The name of Locherworth was originally formed by adding the Saxon *worth,* weorth, signifying a farm-stead, a hamlet, to *Locher,* the Celtic appellation of the rivulet on which the *worth,* or village, was formed. In the same manner were composed the names of Pol-worth in the Merse, Jed-worth on the Jed water, and the English Tam-worth on the Tame. The name of the riveret is derived from the British *Llwcher,* or *Lloucher,* the Scottish form whereof is Locher, signifying a stream which forms pools. There are several streams of this name, as they have such a quality both in North and South-Britain ; and it is curious to observe that such streams in Scotland have their names in the Scottish form of *Locher* (*x*), while those in Wales have the British name of *Lloucher* (*y*). Such, then, is the analogy of the British and Scoto-Irish languages, and such are the traces of the ancient residents on the Gore water (*z*). Locherworth church was consecrated to St. Kentigern. Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, about the year 1150, conceded to Bishop Herbert of Glasgow the church of Locherworth in Lothian, with the consent of David I., and Earl Henry, his son, in the presence of bishops, abbots, barons, and other important persons (*a*). The church of Locherworth was probably transferred with its patronage and pertinents. Yet was the church of Locherworth conveyed by David I. to the monks of Scone, and confirmed by his successors and the pope (*b*). The monks of Scone seem not, however, to have enjoyed this church till the demise of Alexander III. It was then an independent rectory, and enjoyed by its appropriate parson (*c*). The church of Locherworth was

(*x*) Such as the *Locher* water, in Dumfries-shire ; the *Locher* rivulet, in Renfrewshire ; and another of the same name in Lanarkshire.

(*y*) As the *Lloucher,* in the shires of Glamorgan and Caermarthen.

(*z*) David I. granted a piece of land to the church of St. Kentigern, at Locherworth, for the accommodation of the parson. David de Lyn, the lord of the manor, granted to the same church an acre and a perticate, or fourth of land, "juxta aquam currentem sub *pomerio* ejusdem ecclesiæ," in exchange for the piece of land which David gave for his messuage, where his house stood. This transaction was confirmed by the diocesan. Chart. Scone, 43.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow, 57. In the bulls of Alexander III. and Lucius, Locherwart, among other churches, is confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow. In a bull of Urban, 1186, confirming some churches, Locherworth is omitted. Chart. Glasg., 81-91-103-4.

(*b*) Chart. Scone, 21 ; and there is herein a precept of William the Lion respecting the tithes of this parish. Ib., 39.

(*c*) In 1296, Patrick de Gurleye, the parson of Locherworth, swore fealty to Edward I., and received restitution of his rights. Prynne, iii. ; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

early of some value. In the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 40 marks. In 1449, Peter Crichton, the parson of Locherworth, consented to the dissolution of his rectory, and to the assignment of many of the revenues to the collegiate church of Crichton (*d*). During the 12th century, the manor of Locherworth belonged to the family of Lyne, who enjoyed it till the reign of Alexander II., when it went with Margaret de Lyne, a co-heiress, to Sir John de Hay (*e*). The Hays retained possession of the whole manor of Locherworth till the reign of James I. Sir William Hay, having changed his residence from Locherworth to Yester, sold the greater part of his ancient manor, with the mansion, to Sir William de Borthwick, retaining Little-Locherworth with its pertinents. Sir William now resolved to build a castle on the ancient site of Locherworth (*f*) He accordingly built a castellated house, which he called Borthwick castle, from the family name which his progenitors had assumed from Borthwick in Selkirkshire (*g*). The founder of that house was called Lord Borthwick in 1433, and the castle of Borthwick became now the seat of his barony. Yet Locherworth continued to be long used in the corrupted form of *Lochwarret*, which in formal proceedings was coupled with the adventitious name of Borthwick (*h*). The name of Borthwick was now applied to the church and parish till the Reformation. In 1596, James VI. withdrew from the collegiate church of Crichton those prebends with their revenues, and restored them to the parsonage of Borthwick, whence they had been taken. The king's charter for

(*d*) MS. Col. of Charters; Sir Lewis Stewart's Col., No. 2; and the foundation charter in the Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*e*) Under William the Lion, David de Lyne, the son of Robert, granted a *peatery* in Locherworth to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbot., 23. Robert, the son of David, confirmed that grant; and Maister Stephen, the parson of Locherworth, was a witness. Ib., 24.

(*f*) In 1430, James I. granted Sir William Borthwick a licence "ad construendum arcem in illo loco, que vulgariter dicitur *le mote de Locherwarret.*"

(*g*) In 1410, William de Borthwick obtained a charter from the regent Albany of *Borthwick*, and Thoftcots, in Selkirkshire, on the resignation of Robert Scot. Roberts. Index, 166.

(*h*) In October 1573, James Borthwick was served heir to his brother, the master of Borthwick, in the barony of Borthwick, containing the lands of Moat of *Locherword*, and the castle of the same, "castrum de Borthwick inde appellatum." Inquisit. Speciales, ii., 165. In 1609, it was described in a similar manner. Ib., iv. 229. In September 1643, Robert Hay, advocate, was served heir to Walter Hay, advocate, his father, "in the lands of Mote of Lochquharret, et castrum ejusdem, nunc castrum de Borthwick; and also the church-lands of Lochquharret, with other lands united, in the barony of Heriot-mure." Ib., xvii. 245.

those ends was confirmed by the parliament of July 1606 (*i*). The patronage of this church has been acquired by Dundas of Arniston, who is the principal proprietor of the parish (*k*). The old church was built in the form of a cross; but it was accidentally burnt, in May 1775. A more commodious church was built in 1778, and to the credit of the proprietors, saith the minister, is superior to any other church in the neighbourhood (*l*). [A new Parish Church was erected in 1850. Communicants, 408; stipend, £306.]

HERIOT church stands on the south side of *Heriot* water, a little distance northward is *Heriot* town, and somewhat farther north is Heriot house; and there is also Heriot moor, which has become the name of the manor. *Heriot* water rises at the west end of the parish, flows eastward through the middle of this moorish district, and loses itself at length in the Gala. The origin of the singular name of this parish is uncertain. Heriot, probably, is neither the original name of the water, nor a descriptive appellation of the place; but it certainly originated in some adventitious circumstances, which both history and tradition have forgotten (*m*). The church of Heriot was early of considerable value. In the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 30 marks. The patronage of the church appears to have belonged, during the 12th and some part of the 13th centuries, to the lord of the manor. The manor of Heriot belonged to Roger de Quincey, the constable of Scotland, who probably derived it from the Lords of Galloway, who themselves may have enjoyed it from the Morvilles. In the division of de Quincey's great estates, among his three daughters, Heriot fell to Elena, the youngest, who married Alan la Zouche, an English baron. The liberality of Elena granted to the monks of Newbattle the church of Heryeth, with the tithes, and its other rights. This grant was confirmed by a bull of

(*i*) Unprinted Act; and the king's charter was also confirmed by the diocesan bishop. Stat. Acco., xiii. 623.

(*k*) In October 1612, there was a ratification by Parliament to Sir James Dundas of a burial-place in the revestrie of the kirk of Borthwic. Unprinted Act.

(*l*) Stat. Acco., xiii. 627.

(*m*) *Hergeath*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies deprædatio, vastatio, an invasion, a spoliation. Somner. *Hergeath* would be pronounced Heryeth; the Saxon *g*, in the middle or end of words, being generally changed to the English *y*; as, *waeg*, to way; *haeg*, to hay; *leag*, to ley. Now, *Heryeth* exactly agrees with the old and proper spelling of *Heryeth*. From the Anglo-Saxon *Hergeath*, we may thus see the derivation of the old English and Scoto-Saxon verb, to *harry*, which is so well known in the border history of plundering and wasteful inroads; and some feat of this sort, at this place, gave rise to the name of this parish, which was of old *Hergeth*, contrary to the intimation of the learned minister. Stat. Acco., xvi. 60. Heriot is, indeed, the old English form of the Anglo-Saxon *Heregild*, signifying the fine paid to the lord, at the death of a tenant. *Heriet* [h] is the spelling in the ancient *Taxatio*.

Nicholas (*n*), and both were confirmed by Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, and by his chapter, the prior and canons (*o*). In 1309, William Blair, the vicar of Heriot, resigned his vicarage to Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrews (*p*), and the diocesan immediately conferred on the monks of Newbattle the whole vicarage revenues; and he issued a mandate to the dean of Haddington, commanding him to put the monks in possession of the vicarage of Heriot (*q*). The monks of Newbattle appear to have also acquired the lands of Heriot; but, whether from the liberal Elena, or her son, la Zouche, who lost his estates in the succession war, appears not. It is, however, certain, that both the church and the lands of Heriot belonged to the monks of Newbattle at the Reformation. The lands and the patronage of the church came now to Mark Ker, the commendator, to whose heirs they descended (*r*). The barony of Heriot is now divided among several proprietors; but Sir John Dalrymple enjoys the patronage of the church. The church was old and insufficient in 1795. The manse was built in 1704 (*s*). [In 1835 a new Parish Church was erected. Communicants in 1888, 176; stipend, £217.]

FALA parish is old, but its union with Soutra is modern. The church and a part of the village of *Fala*, stand on one of those small conical hills, which, in the south of Scotland, are called *laws*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Hleaw*. *Fah*, means a *foe*, an enemy; so *Fah-law* may signify the speckled law, or the hostile law (*t*). As the old parish was but thinly inhabited, the church was of little value. In the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 6 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Fala was taxed £7 13s. 4d., which taxation evinces that it had increased in value between the 12th and the 16th century (*u*).

(*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 270. (*o*) Ib., 66. (*p*) Ib., 67.

(*q*) Ib., 67-8-70. All those transfers were confirmed by the prior and canons, as the dean and chapter. Ib., 69.

(*r*) In 1609, Robert, the second Earl of Lothian, was served heir to his father Mark, in the lands of Heriot and Heriot-Moor. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 299. Robert, Earl of Lothian, seems to have sold this property to Walter Hay, to whose son they descended in 1643. Ib., xvii. 245.

(*s*) Stat. Acco., xvi. 53. Nearly one-half of the parishioners are of the seceders from the establishment, called *Burghers*. Id.

(*t*) It is a curious coincidence that *Phala*, in the Teutonic, signifies castellum ligneum, as we know from Schilter's Glos. in vo. Pal. There are several places in Scotland called Fala, and Fala-hill, and Fala-knoll; the final *la*, or rather *law*, we thus see, plainly represents a knoll, or hillock.

(*u*) The rectory of Fawlaw also appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547. Before the Reformation, there was a chapel on the southern side of Heriot water, at a place which is now called the *Chapel*, and Haltrees Chapel, as it stood on the estate of Haltrees.

The patronage of the rectory of Fala appears to have continued with the lord of the manor, from the 12th to the present century. Of old, this manor belonged to a family, who took its name from the estate. "Dominus Bartholomew de Falaw," appears in some charters, with Roger de Quincey (*a*). It afterward passed to successive proprietors, who cannot be distinctly traced. It came at length to Thomas Hamilton of Preston, whose son Thomas enjoyed the estate of Fala, with the patronage of the church; and his daughter Elizabeth, the representative of several families, brought the estates of Fala and Oxenford, with the patronage of the church of Fala, to her husband, Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland. About the year 1600, the parish of Soutra in Haddingtonshire, was annexed to Fala parish in Edinburghshire, and the church of Fala became the church of the united parish, the patronage being by turns enjoyed by Sir John Dalrymple, baronet, and the city of Edinburgh, as patrons of the separate parishes. [The Parish Church has 138 communicants; stipend, £213. A U.P. Church has 106 members.] This much, then, with regard to the fifteen parishes in the presbytery of Dalkeith.

Stow parish, in Lauderdale presbytery, was anciently named Wedale, the vale of woe, from the Anglo-Saxon *Wa* or *Wæ*, and *Dal*, which is usually softened into *Dale* (*b*). The parish of Wedale was formerly of great extent; comprehending a tract which is drained by the Gala water, of ten miles long and four broad, being the south-east corner of Edinburghshire, and comprehending also the district that is drained by the Caden water in Selkirkshire, more than seven miles long and three broad. Wedale appears to have early enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, in the same manner as Tyninghame (*c*). Both

(*a*) Chart. Soltre.

(*b*) See Somner. In Nennius, ch. 63, it is thus explained: "*Wedal*, Anglicè; vallis doloris, Latine." A fragment of the real cross, which was brought to this vale from the Holy Land by King Arthur himself, is said to have been preserved, with great veneration, in the Virgin Mary's church at Wedale. Gale, iii. 114; and see this legend in Leland's Col., iii. 49. While the district and parish were called *Wedale*, the kirk-town was called *Stow*, in Wedale; and *Stow* is literally the Anglo-Saxon name for locus, *Statio*, and is the well-known name of many places in England. John Harding, Chron., fo. ccxxxvii., when he was instructing the English king how to ruin Scotland, advises him,

> "To send an hoste of footmen in,
> At Lammesse nexte, through all Lauderdale,
> And Lamermore woodes, and mossis over-rin,
> And eke therewith, *the Stow of Wedale.*"

The celebrated seat of the Marquis of Buckingham might fitly, from its pre-eminence, be called *the Stow of Buckingham.*

(*c*) This is mentioned in a charter of Malcolm IV., granting the same *privilege of sanctuary* to the church of Inverleithen. Chart. Kelso, 20. The black priest of *Wedale* was one of the three persons who enjoyed the privilege of the law of the clan Macduff. Wyntoun, i. 242.

the territory and the church of Wedale belonged of old to the bishops of St. Andrews, though it is not easy to ascertain from whom, or on what occasion, they were obtained. It was from the bishop's palace here that the kirk-town acquired the appropriate name of *Stow*. There was anciently an extensive forest between Wedale and Lauderdale, in which the lords of the adjoining manors had common rights; the inhabitants of Wedale on the west, the monks of Melrose on the south, and the Earls of Dunbar and the Morvilles on the east. Among the men of such lords many disputes naturally arose, and in 1184 a contest between the monks of Melrose and the men of Wedale about the pasturages of this forest was settled by William the Lion and his barons (*d*). The bishops of St. Andrews often resided at *the Stow of Wedale*, whence they dated many of their charters (*e*). In 1233, Clement, the elect of Dunblane, was consecrated by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, at Wedale (*f*). The border laws, which were settled in 1249, stipulated that *the presbyter of Wedale* should swear for the king of Scotland and the bishop of St. Andrews (*g*). In June 1313, William, bishop of St. Andrews, issued a precept to his steward in Lothian, directing him to give the monks seisin of the church of Nenthorn, and the stewart issued his precept to *the baillie of Wedale*, commanding him to give the monks seisin of the church (*h*). The church of Wedale was in early times of great value. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the *church of Wedale*, in the deanery of the Merse, is rated at 70 marks. The bishops of St. Andrews enjoyed it as a *mensal church*, and the cure was served by a vicar who was appointed by them (*i*). In March 1472, the auditors, in parliament, heard the complaint of Andrew Pringle, chaplain, and John Spottiswoode, against William, for spoliation of 4 sacks of wool, 320 lambs, 60 stone

(*d*) Chart. Mailros. It was settled by a jury of the country, with Morville, the constable, as their foreman, that the king's forest extended to the way which went to the west part of the church of Mary of Wedale, and is the pasture of the monks of Melrose, as far as the limits of Wedale, and as far as the rivulet which was called Fasseburn. Id. This settlement was confirmed, according to the practice, by a charter of William. Ib., 89. Among such parties quiet could not long remain. In 1269, the abbot and monks of Melrose were excommunicated by a council of the Scotican church, for infringing the peace of Wedale and for assaulting the houses of the bishop of St. Andrews, and for killing one ecclesiastic and wounding others. Ford., x. 25; and Lord Hailes's Councils. King William issued a precept to the "ministris ecclesiæ de Wedale, et illis qui pacem ibidem custodiunt;" commanding them not to detain the men of the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, 407.

(*e*) Chart. Cambuskeneth. (*f*) Chron. Mail. (*g*) Border Laws, 4.

(*h*) Chart. Mailros, 312-13. The bishops of St. Andrews had a regal jurisdiction over the whole district of Wedale.

(*i*) In August 1296, Edward, vicar of the church of Wedale, swore fealty to Edward I., and had in return restitution of his rights. Prynne, iii. 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

of cheese, and 5 corsepresents of the tithes of *the kirk of Stow of Wedale*, which pertained to the complainants, under a lease. The lords ordered William to restore those tithes, to pay 40 shillings as an amercement, and to be distrained till he obeyed the judgment (*k*). In 1630, the lands of the territory of Stow were held of the archbishop of St. Andrews (*l*). In a roll of the kirks within the diocese of St. Andrews, in 1683, which was made up by Martin, there is a *Stow* in the presbytery of Dunfermline (*m*). After the abolition of episcopacy, the parish of *Stow* was attached to the presbytery of Lauder. In addition to his glebe of five acres, the minister of *Stow* enjoyed the ancient right of pasturage in Stow common till its division in 1756, when nineteen acres were allotted to him for his common right. The old kirk of Stow was repaired in 1780, and a new manse was built for the minister in 1782 (*n*). After the Reformation, the patronage of Stow seems to have returned to the king. ' Such, then, are the notices which carry back the inquisitive mind to the times that are past, when the kings with their nobles were employed in settling the disputes of herdsmen, and the Scotican church found it necessary to excommunicate an abbot and his monks for murder and sacrilege. [A new Parish Church of 1876 has 496 communicants; stipend, £384. A Free Church has 112, and a U.P. Church 197 members]

The present parishes of MID-CALDER and WEST-CALDER, lying within the presbytery of Linlithgow, were of old comprehended in one parish and barony of Calder-*Comitis*, and this is the only parish of Edinburghshire which is within the presbytery of Linlithgow, except a part of Kirkliston parish, containing about five hundred people. West-Calder received this name, as lying westward of the Calder river, and of Eastern-Calder; and it was distinguished by the name of Calder-Comitis as early as the 12th century, from the Earl of Fife, who held it; while East-Calder was called Calder-Clere, from Randulph de Clere, who enjoyed this district, as we have already seen. This extensive manor of Calder-Comitis was possessed by the Earls of Fife as early as the reign of Malcolm IV.; and by them it was enjoyed as low down as the reign of David II. (*o*). It now passed to Sir William Douglas of Douglas, who gave it

(*k*) Parl. Rec., 173-4.

(*l*) Reliq. Divi And., 120. In 1543 the archbishop granted to Lord Borthwick and his heirs male. "that tract of country known by the name of Gala water." Borthwick on the Feud. Dignities of Scot., 29; but he does not quote his authority.

(*m*) Reliq. Divi And., 59. (*n*) Stat. Acco., vii. 134.

(*o*) After the assassination of Duncan, the Earl of Fife, in 1288, the custody of his son, with this manor, was assigned to William Bisset, and this appointment was confirmed by Edward I. in 1292. Rot. Scotiæ. 11. In 1294. Edward, however, took this manor into his own hands, and gave Bisset a compensation. Ib., 20. But in October of the same year he gave to

in *free marriage* with Eleanor, his sister, to Sir James de Sandilands, in 1349. This grant was confirmed by Duncan, the Earl of Fife, and by David II. (*p*). From that marriage sprung the family of Sandilands, who acquired the estates of the knights of St. John at the Reformation, with the peerage of Torphichen; and who still retain the barony of West-Calder, with the advowson of the church. West-Calder was a rectory of more value than the church of East-Calder, as the parish was more extensive; and it was valued in the ancient *Taxatio* at 40 marks. The patronage belonged of old to the lord of the manor; but it seems to have been granted to the monks of Dunfermline, and was confirmed to them by Richard, bishop of St. Andrews (*q*). Yet did it become an independent parsonage in the 13th century, though the manner does not appear. In 1296, Nicholas de Balmyle, the parson of Calder-Comitis, swore fealty to Edward I., who thereupon commanded the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore him to his property (*r*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Calder-Comitis was taxed at £10 13s. 4d., whence we may infer its value at that period (*s*). Before the Reformation, there was a chapel in the upper part of this extensive district which gave a name to Chapeltown, about a mile from West-Calder. This chapel remained till the revolutionary reign of Charles I. (*t*). John Spottiswoode, the son of William Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, who fell at Floddon-field, was presented by the patron to this church in 1548. In 1560, he was appointed under the new regimen, superintendent of the churches of Lothian, which he continued to direct during twenty years, though the parishioners complained to the assembly in vain that they were deprived of their pastor (*u*); and dying in 1585, he was succeeded by his son, John, at the age of twenty-one, who held it till 1603, when he was nominated archbishop of Glasgow, and became archbishop of St. Andrews, and chancellor of Scotland (*x*). In 1637, John, Lord Torphichen, was served heir to his father in the barony of Calder, and to the patronage of the church (*y*).

Robert, bishop of Glasgow, the custody of Calder-Comitis, with its pertinents. Ib., 21. The Earl of Fife, while still under age, was killed in the battle of Falkirk in 1298, leaving an infant son, whom Robert Bruce afterward restored to his rights within the barony of Calder-Comitis. Ib., 16. (*p*) Hay's Vindication, 58-9. (*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col., No. 45.

(*r*) Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

(*s*) The rectory of Calder-Comitis appears also in the Tax-Roll of the archbishop, 1547.

(*t*) Pont's map of Lothian. It has since been demolished: but the proprietor has preserved the stone font. Stat. Acco., xviii. 195. (*u*) Keith, 514, 530.

(*x*) This worthy prelate died in 1639, at the eve of a long civil war, aged 74, leaving a history of the Church of Scotland, which has been castrated, and perhaps interpolated.

(*y*) Inquis. Speciales, xiv. 174. In 1649, Walter Lord Torphichen was served heir to his brother John, in the same barony and advowson. Ib., xx., 93.

In 1646, this large parish was divided into two districts, which were named Mid-Calder and West-Calder. The old church was now appropriated to Mid-Calder (*z*); while the new church was erected in the upper district, which had given rise to the kirk-town of West-Calder; and Lord Torphichen continued to be the patron of the two parishes till he transferred his advowson of West-Calder to the Earl of Lauderdale (*a*). [The Parish Church of Mid-Calder has 587 communicants; stipend, £246. A U.P. Church has 142 members. The Parish Church of West-Calder (1880) has 657 communicants; stipend, £209; and a mission church at Addiewell has 307 communicants. A Free Church has 197 members; and a mission at Addiewell has 76 members. A U.P. Church has 291 members. There is also a Roman Catholic Church.]

Thus much, then, with regard to the historical notices of the several parishes in the populous shire of Edinburgh or Mid-Lothian. As a useful supplement, there is immediately added a *Tabular State* of the same districts under different views, and this comprehensive document admits of some supplemental explanations. The parish of Soutra, which has been annexed to Fala, lies in Haddingtonshire, and a considerable part of the parish of Stow is within Selkirkshire (*b*). On the returns of the population of Edinburgh town in 1801, it was remarked by those who made the enumerations, that, from concealments and omissions, the total numbers were somewhat under the real amount of the whole people, particularly in St. Cuthbert's, over which the suburbs spread with rapid progress. Those omissions, by subsequent inquiries, are now supplied. The same observations may be made with regard to the population of Dalkeith in 1801. In estimating the income of the minister's stipends, the value of their glebes were included, but not their manses. The valuable part of the stipends, which arises from *victual*, was estimated according to a nine years average of the fiar prices of Edinburghshire, ending with 1794, and taking the *medium* of the best and second sorts of grain (*c*). For other districts the more inquisitive reader is referred to the *Tabular State* which immediately follows:

(*z*) Stat. Ac., xiv. 370 (*a*) Ib., xviii. 185.

(*b*) The whole parish of Fala and Soutra contained of people in 1755, 312, in 1791, 372, and in 1801, 354. Their stipends in 1755 were £68 2s., and in 1798, £77 13s. The parish of Stow contained of people in 1755, 1,294, in 1791, 1,756, and in 1801, 1,876. The minister's stipend of Stow in 1755 was £78 3s. 1d., and in 1798, £135 4s. 7d.

(*c*) The wheat was valued at 21s. 3½d. per boll; the barley at 16s. 4½d.; the oats at 12s. 10½d.; and the oat-meal at 15s. 1d. per boll. In Edinburghshire the boll of wheat is 4 bushels, 10 pints, 6·7 cubic inches English standard measure; the boll of barley and oats is 6 bushels, 3 pints, 25·5 cubic inches English standard measure. The stipends of the ministers of Canongate, Corstorphine, Liberton, Colinton, Currie, Kirknewton, Dalkeith, Inveresk, and Heriot parishes, comprehend the augmentations which were made to them before the year 1798. A process was depending for augmenting the minister of Stow's stipend. In March 1804, the stipends of the 16 ministers of Edinburgh were raised to £260 each a-year, with a prospective eye to £300 each.

Parishes.	Extent in Acres.	Inhabitants. 1755.	Inhabitants. 1801.	Inhabitants. 1881.	Churches. Est.	Free.	U.P.	Epis.	R.C.	Cong.	E.U.	Bapt.	O. Sec.	Meth.	R. Pres.	Stipends. 1755. £ s. d.	Stipends. 1798. £ s. d.	Patrons.	Valuation. 1887-88. £ s. d.
Edinburgh,	7,909	31,122	33,251	228,357	37	42	27	22	4	7	3	4	1	1	—	2,222 4 5	3,200 0 0	Town Council of Edinburgh.	
St. Cuthbert's,		12,193	29,771													107 19 10	170 14 0	The King.	32,540 5 8
Canongate,		4,500	5,804													107 19 1	170 11 7		
																102 15 6	161 15 0	The King and Heritors.	
																102 15 6	175 0 0		
South-Leith,	1,629	7,200	12,044	44,783	8	7	9	2	2	2	1	1	—	1	—	127 15 6	243 3 8	The King and Constituted Authorities.	13,783 11 9
																97 5 0			
North-Leith,	349	2,205	3,228	18,732												70 3 4	125 0 0	The Parishioners.	22 8 11
Duddingston,	1,899½	989	1,003	7,815	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	75 8 10	134 19 7	The Marquis of Abercorn.	14,618 0 8
Liberton,	6,617	2,793	3,565	6,026	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	98 14 9	192 3 1	The King and Wauchope of Niddry.	54,353 3 11
Cramond,	6,662	1,455	1,411	2,945	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	85 3 3	149 7 0	Ramsay of Barnton.	35,696 0 3
Currie,	11,236	1,227	1,112	2,390	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	75 6 8	155 10 2	Town Council of Edinburgh.	30,789 10 3
Corstorphine,	3,653¾	995	840	2,156	1	1	–	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	84 11 1	175 16 8	Dick of Prestonfield.	23,517 0 3
Colinton,	5,659¾	792	1,397	4,347	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66 2 10	144 15 9	The Earl of Lauderdale.	35,886 4 7
Ratho,	6,168¾	930	987	1,815	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	73 13 3	137 11 0	The Duchess of Portland.	19,414 19 0
Kirknewton,	9,491½	1,157	1,071	2,742	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	108 0 0	167 10 8	The Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Morton.	23,411 4 4
Dalkeith,	2,345½	3,110	3,906	7,707	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	110 0 0	152 16 8	The Duke of Buccleuch.	37,408 14 11
Borthwick,	9,806¼	910	842	1,374	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	108 0 0	156 15 4	Dundas of Arniston.	17,684 3 8
Crichton,	4,821½	611	923	1,094	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	74 11 1	146 13 8	Callander of Crichton.	7,428 11 7
Cranstoun,	5,102¾	725	895	998	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	72 17 6	102 10 7	Dalrymple of Cranstoun.	8,002 2 2
Newbattle,	5,224¾	1,439	1,328	3,346	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	71 18 10	126 7 6	The Marquis of Lothian.	19,521 6 5
Lasswade,	10,678	2,190	3,348	8,872	3	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	95 17 5	134 12 0	Clerk of Penicuik.	60,702 18 1
Heriot,	15,038¼	209	320	429	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	65 11 1	100 17 9	Dalrymple of Cranstoun.	6,456 1 9
Inveresk,	5,925¼	4,645	6,604	10,537	3	1	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	100 3 9	190 0 0	The Duke of Buccleuch.	23,594 3 3
Penicuik,	18,966¾	890	1,705	5,309	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	65 6 1	89 3 6	Clerk of Penicuik.	27,875 0 8
Carrington,	4,403¼	555	409	606	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	76 5 0	99 16 8	The Earl of Rosebery.	7,376 16 3
Temple,	14,478¾	905	855	1,551	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69 5 4	106 2 3	Dundas of Arniston, once; Hepburn of Clerkington, twice.	21,527 4 6
Glencorse,	4,292¾	557	390	1,500	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54 6 1	63 18 3	Tytler of Woodhouselee.	15,432 1 0
Fala and Soutra,	6,066¾	206	234	312	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	35 2 9	40 7 0	Dalrymple of Cranstoun.	1,607 4 0
Cockpen,	2,950	640	1,681	4,545	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	65 11 1	108 10 0	The Earl of Dalhousie.	23,340 19 9
Newton,	2,034	1,199	1,060	1,307	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	66 13 10	120 6 4	Wauchope of Edmonstone.	11,299 3 3
West-Calder,	21,392¼	1,294	1,185	7,682	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	55 11 1	64 17 9	The Earl of Lauderdale.	43,687 17 1
Mid-Calder,	12,324¾	1,369	1,014	1,698	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	81 8 10	101 2 2	Lord Torphichen.	28,140 7 11
Stow,	36,891½	1,035	1,500	2,395	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78 3 1	135 4 7	The King.	20,915 10 11
Kirkliston,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,003 18 9
Totals,					81	65	51	31	12	11	5	5	1	2	1	4,952 11 8	7,543 19 4		674,036 15 6

CHAP. VI.

Of Linlithgowshire.

§ I. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this shire is plainly derived from the name of the county-town, which itself obtained its descriptive title from the singular site of its loch or linn. The location of this lake may properly be called a *broad concavity*, and thus the *lake*, the *concavity*, and the *expanse*, are the three principal *qualities* which entered into the ingenious minds of the British people when they imposed this descriptive name on this agreeable site. The fine eminence which runs out into the loch below; the church and palace that stand upon its ridge; and the town skirting the eminence on the opposite side; as they are all modern, do not contribute any quality to the formation of the name (*a*). We may learn from the chartularies that Lin-lith-cu is the most ancient appellation which, in the language of the British settlers here, in the earliest times of colonization, signifies the concavity of the *expansive lin* or loch. *Linlitcu* is the name of this place in David I.'s charter to Holyrood, which is the earliest notice (*b*). In the same prince's grants to the Abbey of Dunfermline, the name is *Linlithcu* (*c*). In his charter to the monks of Cambuskenneth, the town bears the same name of *Linlithcu* (*d*). In the ancient *Taxatio* the name is *Linlythku*. We thus perceive the appellation of this burgh and shire spelt with little or no variety throughout the whole extent of the Scoto-Saxon period. During the subsequent century, in the charters of the Bruces and Stewarts, the word is variously spelt, according to the humour of the several scribes (*e*), Lynlithgow, Linlythku, Linlithqu, Linliscoth, Lin-

(*a*) See *the site* of the palace and *loch* in Slezer's pl., No. 9 and 10, wherein the town, without any analogy or meaning, is called *Limnueh* and *Limnuchensis*.

(*b*) Maitland's Edin., 145. (*c*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col., 384.

(*d*) Chart. Cambusk., No. 61.

(*e*) See Robertson's Index. Llynn, Lin, Lyn, in the ancient British, signify a loch, a lake, a pond or pool. Richard's Welch Dict.; Lluyd's Archaiol. Pryce's Archaiol. *Lled*, or *Leth*, signifies in the same speech, breadth, width, latitude. Richard's W. Dict. *Cau*, or *Ca*, means, in that language, a hollow, a cavity. See Owen's Welsh Dictionary, under the several constituent words. *Llyn*, *Llyth*, and *Cw*. All such etymologies rest upon the historical fact, which cannot be denied, that the British tribes were the earliest settlers here.

lisco, Lithgow, Lithcow, are some of the names of this town and shire, as they have been variously written by different clerks. Legend has, indeed, connected the story of a dog with the origin of this shire-town, which tradition, with heraldic help, has emblazoned as the armorial bearings of the corporation, which the magistrates have been studious to engrave on their common seal (*f*). Ingenuity has also stepped out to give some descriptive sense to two syllables of the word, without attending to the most significant prefix, which is undoubtedly British, and without adverting to the orthography of the name, that is uniform, from the epoch of record, to the accession of Robert Bruce; and ingenuity, after all these inadvertencies, instructs us that *lith* signifies, in the Saxon, snug or close, and *gow*, a vale or hollow; but *Lye* does not recognize *lith* in this sense, though in the Scoto-Saxon *lyth*, by a slight deviation from the original meaning, does signify sheltered or warm; and *gow* he knows not at all, though *gau* and *gou* in the ancient German signify *pagus*, *regio* (*g*). Yet this derivation applies merely to *Lyth-gow*, the vulgarized form of the name, which, by excluding the *loch*, or *lake*, or *lyn*, leaves the name without any local meaning.

Such, then, are the several appellations of the *shire-town* which have been given in succession by the British, the Scots, and the Scoto-Saxons. The popular name of the shire is still more modern. After the name of *Lothian* had been given, from the nature of the thing, by the Saxon settlers on the fine shore from the Tweed to the Avon; after the name of *Lothian* had been restricted to the country between the Lammermuir and the Avon; after the Lothians, in the subsequent reigns of the Alexanders, came to be subdivided into three divisions, Linlithgowshire was denominated *West Lothian* (*h*). We are thus, by Sibbald's investigations, carried back into the regions of fiction! Boece was, perhaps, the first who said that Lothian of old was called *Pithland* (*i*). Bellenden, his enlarger, adds, "the first part of this isle (because

(*f*) Stat. Acco., xiv. 548, and see an impression of the seal on the map of the Lothians. A Celtic etymologist might easily, from those traditional circumstances, discover the origin of the name in the Gaelic *Lin-liath-cu*, the *lake* of the *grey dog*.

(*g*) Wachter in vo. *gow*.

(*h*) Sir Robert Sibbald, indeed, has dedicated the second chapter of his *History of Linlithgowshire* to the investigation "of the names of this shire, ancient and modern." The result of this whole chapter is, that the monks say it obtained the name of Lothian from *Lothus*, a king of the Picts: but the learned David Buchanan gave it as his deliberate opinion that the whole Lothians may have derived their name from the water of *Leith*, which runs through the middle of them. Ib. 5.

(*i*) "Laudonia *Pithlandia* olim appellata." The first edition by Badius, 1526.

" it was inhabited by Brutus and his posterity) was named *Britane.* The " second and mid part (because it was inhabited by *Pichtis*), was named " *Penthlane* (*k*)" ; and Camden, from the intimations of both, was the first who said distinctly that *Lauden* was of old, from the Picts, called *Pictlandia* (*l*). In Innes's chronicles, which are as authentic and curious as they are ancient, Lothian, from the long residence of the Saxons, is more than once called *Saxonia,* but never Pictland, Penthland, or Pentland (*m*); while the proper country of the Picts was called, from them, Pictavia and Pictinia. But the high grounds which is denominated the Pentland hills, according to Sir Robert Sibbald, ought to be called *Ben*-land hills, that is, the mountainous country ; for *Ben,* in the Gaelic language, signifies a mountain, and the Pentland hills seem the highest in Mid-Lothian (*n*). Conjecture, however, is but an indifferent substitute for fable, and modern misappehension needs not to be adopted in the place of ancient legend. It was probably the cession, in 1020, of the country lying along the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, by the Earl of Northumberland to the Scottish king, which gave an ultimate triumph to the name of *Lothian* over *Saxonia,* without the idle aids of fictitious fame.

§ II. *Of its Situation and Extent.*] Linlithgowshire has the Firth of Forth on the north, Edinburghshire on the east and south-east, Lanarkshire on the south-west, and Stirlingshire on the west. On the east, it is separated from Edinburghshire, first by the Breich water, from its source till it joins the Almond ; and after this junction, the Almond forms the more remarkable boundary throughout its course to the Forth, except at Mid-Calder, where Edinburgh-

(*k*) Bellenden's Boece, 1541, b. ii. He afterwards corrects himself a little, by saying that Forth is an arm of the sea dividing *Pentland* from Fife. Doctor Jamieson considers this as an undoubted corruption of *Pichtland* or *Petland,* in the same manner as the designation of the Pichtland firth has been changed to *Pentland* ; yet a charter of Robert II., in October 1372, writes the name of that frith *Pentland* freth. Regist. Rob., ii. v. i. This elaboration about egregious fictions brings to one's recollection the erudite work of the learned Wise, to settle the *chronology* of events that never happened. So the Picts never inhabited Lothian, whatever learning may say or ignorance misconceive, as we might indeed learn from the ancient Chronicles in Innes's Appendix.

(*l*) Laudonia, quæ et *Lauden,* et olim à Pictis Pictlandia dicta. The first edition, 1586, 477.

(*m*) See *Saxonia* applied to *Lothian* in Innes, 782-788 ; and proper Scotland, lying northward of the Forth, is frequently called *Pictavia* from the Picts, and once titled *Pictinia,* but never Pictland or Pentland. Ib., 768-772-782-809.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin., 506. Maitland was perfectly aware that this district was called *the moor,* where the corporation of Edinburgh held markets and levied toll at *the house of the moor.* Id.

shire intrudes somewhat more than a mile into Linlithgowshire. On the west, this country is separated from Stirlingshire, first by the Linn burn, from its rise till its junction with the Avon, which now forms the separation between them, till it falls into the Forth (*n*). The length of the east side, from the foot of Almond on the north-east, to the top of Breich water on the south-east, is nearly twenty-one miles. The breadth is twelve miles (*o*). The superficial contents of the whole appear, from very minute calculations, to be 121 [126] square miles, or 77,440 [81,113½] statute acres (*p*). This estimate is somewhat above the computation in the Agricultural View. Now the population of Linlithgowshire being 17,844 souls in 1801, this enumeration shows that there are somewhat more than 147 persons to every square mile. This shire has been several times surveyed. It was first examined with a scientific eye by Timothy Pont, who has left us, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, a map of *Lothian* and *Linlithquo*. Adair made a map of Linlithgowshire, which was engraved by Richard Cooper; and this county was afterward included by Armstrong in his map of the *three Lothians*. It is to be lamented, perhaps, that whatever may be gained in accuracy by new surveys, is generally lost by excluding all that is curious in local objects.

§ III. *Of its Natural Objects.*] In this shire there are many objects which are worthy of the attention of the inquisitive naturalist. None of the protuberances of this district rise into lofty eminences; neither is its surface by any means flat. It is diversified by a number of small hills, which do not rise to any inconvenient elevation. The most remarkable of them forms a range, which runs from Bowden, across the middle of the county, in an oblique direction, from north-west to south-east. Cairn-naple, the most prominent centre of this

(*n*) On Armstrong's map of the Lothians. Linlithgowshire lies between 55° 50′ and 56° 1′ of north latitude, and between 3° 7′ and 3° 38′ of longitude west from London. Armstrong places Linlithgow town in 55° 59′ north latitude, and 3° 25′ longitude west from London. According to Arrowsmith's map, from the Engineer's survey, this shire lies between 55° 49′ and 56° 1′ north latitude, and between 3° 18′ 40″ and 3° 51′ 30″ longitude west of Greenwich. The shire-town stands in 55° 58′ 35′ north latitude, and 3° 35′ 50″ west longitude from Greenwich.

(*o*) The greatest extent is on the east side, which measures nearly 21 miles, from the influx of the Almond into the Forth to the south-east extremity of the county on Breich water. The length of the west side is nearly 15 miles. The breadth of the northern end of this shire, along the shore of the Forth, is 12 miles, but the greatest part of this shire is only about 7 miles broad.

(*p*) The superfices of this county on Armstrong's map of the Lothians is only 112 square miles, or 71,680 statute acres: but on Arrowsmith's map of Scotland, it is 121 square miles, or 77,440 statute acres.

range rises to the height of 1,498 feet above the level of the sea (*q*), and Cocklerne, on the western part of this range, rises to the height of 200 feet (*r*). The Kipps hills, Knock hills, and Drumcross hills, all form conspicuous parts of this range. Ricardton edge and Binny craig may also be deemed a part of this range, and rise to a considerable elevation. The second class of hills, which are more worthy of notice, is variously distributed throughout the northern parts of the county along the Forth. Of those, the most conspicuous are Mons hill, Craigie hill, and Dundas hill in Dalmeny parish; Craigton hill and Binns hill in Abercorn parish; and Irongarth in Linlithgow parish (*s*). The middle and western districts of the county are the most hilly; the east and north are the most plain. The southern divisions of this shire consist mostly of moor, moss, and morass, with few heights of any elevation. In general, the hills in this shire are both useful and ornamental, nearly the whole of them affording ample pasturage from a grassy surface, many of them being ornamented with woods, and some of them containing valuable minerals.

In Linlithgowshire there are not any waters of great extent. The only lakes are the loch at Linlithgow town, and Lochcoat in Torphichen parish. The lake at Linlithgow occupies about 154 English acres, and contains pike, perch and eels (*u*). Lochcoat, as it is somewhat more than one furlong long and one broad, occupies about twenty-two English acres (*x*), and it also contains pike, perch and eels (*u*). Lochcoat empties its superfluous water by a stream from its north-west end, which falls into what is appropriately called the Eel Ark; and from thence runs underground more than two hundred paces, when it breaks out by a spring, which forms a streamlet that flows into the Avon (*z*). Of large rivers this county cannot boast; yet is it well watered by several streams for every domestic purpose, while the Almond on the east, and the Avon on the west, are the only considerable riverets. The Almond is chiefly formed by three small streamlets which rise within the eastern border of Lanarkshire, and being joined by the Breich, the united stream flows, in an easy course, between Linlithgowshire and Edinburghshire,

(*q*) Stat. Acco. iv. 465. (*r*) Ib. xiv. 550.

(*s*) Stat. Accounts; Agricult. Survey; Armstrong's map of the Lothians.

(*t*) Binns hill in Abercorn is arable to the summit, the soil being rather richer than the adjacent plain, and every species of grain is cultivated on it with advantage. Stat. Acco. xx. 385.

(*u*) The map of Lothian; Stat. Acco. xiv. 560.

(*x*) According to a measurement on the map.

(*y*) Agricult. View, 6; Stat. Acco. iv. 466. (*z*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 28.

till it falls into the Forth at Cramond, after a course of four-and-twenty miles, that forms the drain of Edinburgh on the west, and Linlithgow on the east. The Almond receives also Brox burn, with several smaller streams, which drain the eastern districts of this country.

The Avon, which more properly belongs to Stirlingshire, wherein it rises, and traversing that shire for six or seven miles, enters Linlithgow at West-Straith. It now separates the two conterminous shires throughout a course of a dozen miles, when it falls into the Forth. The Avon as it flows receives some supplies from the Logie water, which drains much of the western divisions of Linlithgow, and from the Linn burn, that forms the boundary of the two counties throughout four miles before it mixes with the Avon. With other rivulets, Midhope burn and Dolphinston burn drain the northern parts of this shire. The Avon and the Almond are more useful for the driving of mills than beneficial for fish, which have been forced from their haunts by the operations of agriculture and manufacture (*a*).

The Avon has long had the honour of being the western limit of Lothian; but the Forth, either as an object of ornament, or as a contributer of profit, is of the greatest importance to Linlithgowshire. It washes sixteen miles of the northern shores of this county. This estuary supplies sites for salt-pans, fish for food, and harbours for its traffic. The banks of the Forth are generally high, except towards the west, where a tract of two thousand acres are left dry at every reflux of the tide, nearly opposite to the parish of Borrowstouness (*b*).

Neither does this shire want mineral waters. Near Torphichen, there is a spring which is strongly impregnated with iron, and which was formerly used much as a tonic (*c*). Upon the estate of Kipps, within Torphichen parish, at the foot of the west bank, there is a vitriolic spring (*d*). Near Carriberhouse, there is a mineral spring which, as it resembled the Moffat waters, was formerly much resorted to, however much it is now neglected (*e*). Near the church of Ecclesmachan there is a mineral spring, which is called the *Bullion Well*, which also resembles the Moffat waters, and which has lately lost its visitors,

(*a*) Agricult. View, 6; Wood's Cramond, 93.

(*b*) Sibbald says this tract is called the Lady's Half. Some Dutchmen formerly offered, in consideration of a long lease, to bank out the tide, and thereby to convert this alluviated tract to the various uses of life; but their proposals were rejected by a weak-sighted proprietor. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 18; Stat. Acco., xviii. 443.

(*c*) Ib. iv. 466. From that chalybeate spring the seat of *Wal*-house may have derived its name.

(*d*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 22.

(*e*) Ib. 17; Stat. Acco, xiv. 575.

while it has retained its virtues (*f*). In the vicinity of the salt-works, on the west of Borrowstouness, there is a mineral spring, the waters whereof, as they flow, deposit a good deal of yellow ochre, and exhibit a mixture of sulphur and of salts (*g*).

This small county abounds with minerals of the most useful kind. Pit-coal is said to have been dug in the parish of Borrowstouness upwards of five hundred years ago. Coals were well known and generally worked during the reign of Alexander III. They have continued to be raised in great quantities. The average quantity which is yearly dug amounts to 44,000 tons, much whereof are exported at the price of seven shillings and nine pence per ton. The neighbouring country consumes the remainder. The chew coals are carried to London ; the small coals are chiefly consumed by the salt-pans (*h*). The parish of Carriden abounds with coals of a finer quality, which yield a higher price. They are sent to London, to Holland, to Germany, and to the Baltic (*i*). In Dalmeny parish, coal is also found (*k*). In Ecclesmachan parish, coal appears on every farm ; yet is it not converted to much profit (*l*). In the parishes of Uphall, Whitburn, Torphichen, and Binnie, there are also abundance of coal (*m*) ; and we thus see that coals usefully exist in almost every district of Linlithgowshire. Limestone also every where abounds in this county ; is manufactured to great profit ; and is distributed to general advantage (*n*). The whole shire seems to stand on a bed of freestone, which is of the finest quality, and is distributed largely for domestic supply and for foreign use (*o*). There are several other sorts of stone, such as whinstone, granite, slatestone, and basalts, which are every where found in Linlithgowshire (*p*). On Dundas hill there is a basaltic rock 250 yards long, and about 60 feet high, with an almost perpendicular front, the whole consisting of a bluish granite of a very fine texture (*q*). In Borrowstouness, in Torphichen,

(*f*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 14 ; Stat. Acco., ii. 367 (*g*) Ib. 18.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., xviii. 436-7. This colliery employs about two hundred and fifty persons. Sibbald, who published during the reign of Anne, mentions in his Linlithgow, 17, that there were then several well-peopled villages in this vicinity which were maintained by the many coal pits.

(*i*) Sibbald, 19 ; Stat. Acco., i. 98. (*k*) Ib. i. 236. (*l*) Ib. ii. 368.

(*m*) Ib. i. 349 ; xvii. 299-304 ; iv. 466 ; xiv. 560 ; Sibbald's Linlithgow ; and Transactions Antiq. Soc. Edin., 147.

(*n*) Id. (*o*) Id.

(*p*) Id. Sibbald speaks of *figured* stones which are found in Bathgate hills. Linlithgow, 27 ; and Sibbald's Prodromus,

(*q*) Stat. Acco., i. 237.

in Bathgate, in Abercorn, and perhaps in other parishes, ironstone is found in great abundance (*r*). Silver and lead mines have been formerly wrought in Linlithgow parish to some account (*s*). A vein of silver was discovered in a limestone rock within Bathgate parish, but the produce did not pay the expense of raising the ore (*t*). In the rivulets within Torphichen parish mundic has been found (*u*). This shire is rich in marl. Shell marl was dragged from Linlithgow loch in considerable quantities, till the benefits of lime as a manure superseded the use of it (*x*). In Dalmeny parish, there is a morass of nine acres of shell marl (*y*). In the parish of Abercorn, shell marl is also found. In Uphall parish, both shell and stone marl exist, though not in great quantities. Here too are found fuller's earth, potter's clay, brick clay, and red chalk (*z*). Such is the copious catalogue of the useful minerals of Linlithgowshire. Its plants may vie with its minerals in variety, though not in value (*a*).

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] At the Christian epoch, the British tribe of the Gadeni, who were probably the descendants of the original settlers, were the rude inhabitants of the area of Linlithgowshire (*b*). Of this people, the topographical language is the earliest antiquities. The names of the waters generally, and the appellation of Linlithcu, the shire town, particularly, are British in their origin and descriptive in their applications. The *Forth* is plainly the British *Porth*, which changes to Forth, an estuary. The Avon, in the British, means a river; and of Avon, *Amon* is a variety, the (m) being sometimes convertible. The *Cornie*, a rivulet, as well as *Aber*, which, when prefixed to it, forms the well-known name of *Aber-corn*, the influx of the Cornie. The *Lin*burn is a pleonastic appellation for a rivulet, the British *Lin*, and the Saxon *burn*, signifying equally a streamlet. *Caer*loury, Carriber, Caermenden, in Livingstone parish, the Cannondean of modern maps, Dumanin, the Dalmeny of the present day, are all British in their origins. Bangour is the same as the Bangour of Wales, and is from the same source. Ochiltree, which was formerly *Ucheltre*, derived its name from the British *uchel*, high, and *tre*, a

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 441; iv. 466; i. 349; xx. 309; Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 147.
(*s*) Stat. Acco., xiv. 562. (*t*) Ib., i. 349.
(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 23. (*x*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 551. (*y*) Ib. i. 237.
(*z*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 147.
(*a*) There is a scientific list of the plants of this country, at the commencement of the 18th century, in Sibbald's Hist. of Linlithgowshire.
(*b*) Caledonia, i. 59.

dwelling. The house of Ochiltree stands on the summit of a *hill*. Inch-*cors* was formed by prefixing the Scoto-Irish *inch* to the British *cors*, a *fen*. The *carn* and *craig* which appear in the names of several places are common both to the British and Gaelic tongues; as *Eglwys* and *Eccles* are equally common to both. The *Peel* of Linlithgow and the *Peel* of Livingston derive their appropriate names from the British *Pill*, which signifies a *fort*, and was afterward adopted into the Scoto-Saxon. The prefix in *Caer*-iden is merely the British *caer*, a fort, which was applied allusively by the Gadeni people to the Roman station.

To the language of the living, the burial of the dead forms the next class of the earliest antiques. In Torphichen parish, and upon Lochcoat hills, there is a large cairn of stones, which denotes the interment of ancient warriors (*c*). On a high bank of the Forth, about a mile west of Barnbougle castle, there is a sepulchral cairn, 500 feet in circumference and 24 feet high (*d*). Near Kirkliston there is a circular tumulus of great antiquity, which is composed of earth, and is surrounded with large rough stones that are placed at some distance from each other (*e*). On the south bank of the Almond, and opposite to Livingstonhouse, there are four sepulchral tumuli, which appear to have been formed from excavations of the earth, which still appear around them. The country people uniformly ascribe those ancient works *to the Picts* (*f*). To the cairns and barrows may be added stones of memorial. In the wood of Abercorn there is a coarse grey stone, standing on end, which tradition intimates to have been the appropriate site of ancient meetings (*g*). Near Bathgate there

(*c*) In the adjacent ground, there have been found stone coffins containing human bones. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26.

(*d*) It is composed of small stones, granite, quartz, ironstone and limestone, which had been collected from the neighbouring grounds. It is called, by the country people, the *Earl Cairnie*. Stat. Acco., i. 238.

(*e*) Ib., x. 68-75. Along the banks of the Almond, stone coffins and human bones have been frequently dug up, and evince that here have been the bloody scenes of ancient conflicts. Id. On the way to Queensferry, a little northward of Cramond bridge, there were found, when enlarging the road, some stone cases, which were composed of six square stones, about a foot long and one broad, and which contained ashes. Sibbald's Rom. Antiq., 51.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., xx. 15. In two of these barrows which have been opened, there were found, near the surface, a great number of stone coffins containing the remains of human skeletons, which, on being exposed to the air, crumbled into dust. These coffins were formed of rough flagstones; were in general not more than five feet long, without any covering. Several other stone coffins of the same kind and dimensions have been dug up in the same neighbourhood. Id.

(*g*) Ib. 339.

is a remarkable standing stone upon a farm, which is named from it *Stonerig* (*h*). There are also memorial remains of the Druid worship. In Torphichen parish, near Kipp's house, there is a *cromlech*, whereon, says tradition, sacrifices were anciently performed (*i*). Near this *cromlech* there is a Druid circle of stones, which are set upright, having one or two placed in the centre. On a small eminence in this vicinity there is a single stone of a conical shape, which stands on end (*k*). To objects of worship may be subjoined places of strength. Near Linlithgow, on Cocklerne hill, the Gadeni had a fort, the vestiges whereof may still be seen; and at the bottom of this hill there is the appearance of an entrenchment (*l*). In Torphichen, on Bowden hill, there was a similar fort. The summit of the hill was surrounded by double ramparts and entrenchments in a circular form, which may still be traced (*m*). In this parish, on Cairnpaple hill, which rises to the height of 149 feet above the sea-level, there are similar remains of an ancient strength (*n*). There also appears to have been a fort of the same people on the top of Binn's hill (*o*). Near Linlithgow, on an eminence above Ochiltree mill, may yet be seen the remains of a similar fortlet (*p*). Such are the antiquities of the Gadeni people, the earliest inhabitants of this district.

Yet the strengths of the Gadeni did not prevent the invasion of their country by a foreign intruder, who knew how to conquer and to civilize. The epoch of that invasion is 81 A.D., when the Romans, under Agricola, seized the peninsula between the Forth and Clyde, which he secured by a chain of forts, and garrisoned by soldiers of a different lineage; and thus were the Gadeni, the ancient possessors of the land, subdued to a foreign power. The year 83 may be considered as the epoch of the first arrival in the Forth of a Roman fleet. Agricola, during the same year, passed from this peninsula, near Carriden, to the opposite shore of the Forth, in quest of the Horestii. The valour of the tribes beyond the estuary did not prevent the disadvantageous conclusion of the war, and the Gadeni country remained within the jurisdiction of the Roman conquerors (*q*).

(*h*) Armstrong's Map.

(*i*) This cromlech is of a large size, and is composed of four great whin-stones in their rude state. three whereof are supporters, and the fourth is placed upon them in an inclined position to the south. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26.

(*k*) Id.; Gough's Camden, iii. 318; Stat. Acco., iv. 470.

(*l*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26; Stat. Acco., xiv. 567.

(*m*) Sibbald, 26; Stat Acco., xiv. 470; Armstrong's map.

(*n*) Armstrong's Map. (*o*) Id. (*p*) Stat. Acco., xiv. 470.

(*q*) See Caledonia, i. bk. i. ch. iii.

It was five-and-fifty years afterwards, and during the reign of the Antonines, that a wall was built, under Lollius Urbicus, from the Clyde, near Old Kilpatrick, to the Forth, at Carriden. It entered this shire when it crossed the Avon at Bank-End, whence it proceeded to Inver-Avon, where was placed a station upon the wall (*s*). From this position the wall proceeded eastward to Kinneil (*t*). The track of the rampart may be faintly traced to the house of Grange, beyond which it may be seen further eastward, pointing to the high bank of the Forth at Carriden, where probability and remains equally evince that it must have ended (*u*). This celebrated fence thus traversed this shire the extent of 7,450 yards, from its entrance at the Avon till its end at Carriden (*x*), the Penuahel of the Picts, the Penueltun of the Saxons (*y*).

The Romans were probably the first makers of roads in this shire. A military way accompanied the wall of Antonine throughout its whole extent, for the accommodation of the troops who defended it (*z*). From the Roman station at Cramond, a Roman road proceeded westward along the shore of the Forth to Carriden. Crossing the Almond, it entered Linlithgowshire, and passing thence by Barnbougle hill, it crossed Ecklin moor, where its remains plainly appear, and proceeded forward to the end of the wall (*a*). The Romans appear to have had several small posts along the shore of the Forth, from Carriden to Cramond, as Gildas and Bede, our oldest antiquaries, clearly intimate (*b*). One of these

(*s*) Gordon, Horsley, and Roy, agree in stating that no vestages of this station remained. Itin. Sept. 60; Brit. Rom., 173; Mil. Antiq., 162. Sibbald, however, says "at Inveravon there is yet standing part of a Roman *turris speculatorium*, and the track of the other buildings may yet be seen." Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17, which those writers seem not to have examined. Yet the minister of Borrowstouness, who surveyed those objects in 1796, says, "the Roman wall is still distinctly visible on the *east* bank of the Avon. *At Inveravon the ruins of a Roman tower still remain.* It was built of common free-stone, and stands in a very conspicuous place." Stat. Acco., xviii. 441.

(*t*) Between Inveravon and Kinneil, which are distant 3,400 yards, there are yet some faint traces of the ditch. Roy imagines there may have been a station at Kinneil. Milit. Antiq., 162.

(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 19-20; Gordon's Itin., 60; Horsley's Rom., 173, Roy's Mil. Antiq., 163; Stat. Acco., xviii. 441; and see Gildas, who speaks of *Kair-Eden* as *an ancient city*, and Bede, l. i., c. xii. The minister of Carriden adds in 1791, "about fifty years ago, in digging stones to build a park dyke, axes, pots, and vases, which were evidently of Roman workmanship, were here found, and sent to the Advocates' Library." Stat. Acco., i. 100; and see Sib. Linlithgow, 19; and Gordon's Itin., 60-1.

(*x*) Roy's Mil. Antiq., 163. (*y*) Bede, c. xii. (*z*) Roy.

(*a*) Maitland's Hist. Scot., i. 203; Roy's Mil. Ant., 103.

is supposed to have occupied the site of the old castle of Abercorn (*c*). At some distance eastward from Abercorn, there are the vestiges of a small Roman camp at a wind-mill which belonged to Dundas of Manor (*d*). Thus remains seem to confirm the intimations of those early antiquaries who speak of the Roman towers along the bank of the Forth. There is even some reason to suppose that the Romans may have had a villa on the distinguished site of the shire town, where the Gadeni had a hamlet before them (*e*). Here the Romans remained till their late departure, after a residence of more than three hundred and fifty years within this shire.

The descendants of the subdued and civilized Gadeni retained the lands which they occupied, and resumed such a government as pleased themselves. But neither the Picts, who had no right to their lands and no pretension to their government, nor the Scots, who did not then inhabit North-Britain, interrupted their enjoyments. During an early period of their independence the Romanized Britons of this shire were invaded by a new people from the neighbouring continent (*f*). But there is better evidence of the fact than the obscure notices of half-informed writers. The language which those German people left in the names of places evinces sufficiently that they settled in this shire, though perhaps not in great numbers, during the fifth and sixth centuries (*g*). Yet such names are not numerous, nor do they exhibit much

(*b*) "In littore quoque oceani ad meridiem quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbarorum irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant." Smith's Bede, 50.

(*c*) Sibbald's Linlith., 20 ; Stat. Acco., xx. 399. (*d*) Sibbald's Linlith., 20.

(*e*) Ib. 15. An urn full of Roman coins was in 1781 turned up by the plough in the burgh moor, close to the town of Linlithgow. Of these three hundred coins, which were about the size of a sixpence, five of the emperors, Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, two of Hadrian, and two of the empress Faustina, were presented by Robert Clerk, the provost of Linlithgow, to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. Transactions, 60. Yet I cannot concur with Camden and his followers, in considering Linlithgow as the *Lindum* of Ptolomy, which has been placed at Ardoch on much better principles. Gough's Camden, iii. 305 ; Sibbald's Linlithgow, 14 ; but Pennant states the same point merely as a supposition. Scot. Tour, ii. 231.

(*f*) Nennius, xxxvii.

(*g*) West-Lothian exhibits in its map fewer Saxon words than Mid and East Lothians, and fewer still than Berwickshire. The Saxon words which chiefly appear within Linlithgowshire in the names of places, are *Hleaw*, or *Law*, a hill, in twelve names ; Lee, or Leag, a field or pasture, in two names ; *Shaw*, a wood, in two names ; Holm, a flat field, in one name ; *By*, a habitation, in one name ; *Ham*, a dwelling, in one name ; *Hope*, a hollow or recess, in two names ; *Dene*, a valley, in three names ; *Shiel*, a shieling, in three names ; *Rig*, a ridge, in six or eight names ; *Chester*, a fortification, in one name.

Gothicism, in their general cast (*h*). The Anglo-Saxon names, in the topography of this shire, are in number to the Scoto-Irish as only one to three. Neither is there in it any appearance which could induce a fair inquirer to suppose that the Northumbrian Danes ever settled in Linlithgowshire (*i*). The outline of the history of West-Lothian, as it is intimated by Bede, is confirmed by those topographical notices. Many years elapsed, after the settlement of the Angles in Lothian, before a regular government was settled within this extensive region. Edwin, who assumed the Northumbrian sceptre in 617 A.D., stretched his jurisdiction from the Humber to the Avon (*k*). But neither the episcopate of York nor the bishopric of Lindisfarne existed at that epoch. When this bishopric was established in 635 A.D., during the second year of Oswald, the potent Northumbrian king, the episcopate of Aidan was made co-extensive with the kingdom of Oswald, in Lothian. A monastery was established as early perhaps at Abercorn. Here, in 684 A.D., was settled the seat of the bishopric of the Picts, with Trunwin for their bishop. But this establishment did not last long; and the defeat and death of Egfrid in 685 gave a fatal shock to the Northumbrian kingdom in Lothian. Yet the power of the Northumbrian king, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lindisfarne over every part of Lothian continued for ages, however they may have been impaired (*l*). At a later period, when Kenneth the son of Alpin conducted his Scots from Argyle to the land of the Picts, the Lothians were at that epoch called *Saxonia* (*m*), from the continued prevalence of the Saxon people.

The Gaelic Scots now gained the ascendency. *Saxonia* was frequently overrun by Kenneth (*n*). It was feebly defended by the Northumbrian powers, who were themselves weakened by distraction. This shire became the contentious scene, whereon those several people contended for superiority. The Saxons of Northumberland withdrew from the struggle; and in 1020 the Lothians were resigned, as we have seen, to the Scottish kings for ever. From the scantiness, however, of the Saxon names of places, we may easily

(*h*) None of the names of places in this shire exhibit the Saxon words, *Dod, Cleugh, Threap,* or *Thwait,* which appear in the more southern counties.

(*i*) There is no instance of the *Fell* here, nor is there any other appearances which seem to point to a Danish or Norwegian people.

(*k*) Smith's Bede, App. No. ii., with the map annexed.

(*l*) When Bede finished his history in 732 A.D., he described Northumberland as extending along the Forth to the Avon. Smith's edition, 650. The Picts lived beyond the Forth.

(*m*) See the Colbertine Chron. No. iii. in Innes's Essay. (*n*) Id.

suppose, that the Saxon settlers never peopled this shire to any great extent. The Gaelic colonists planted it with greater numbers, or were more busy, in giving their own names to the places of their residence (*o*). Those Gaelic names prevail, and perhaps the Scottish settlements were most numerous in the west and south-western parts of this shire. The Scottish people, from an analogy in their nature and their tongues, grafted their own speech on British names, as in Inver-Avon, Inch-cors, and so in others. The Scoto-Saxon people followed the same practice, by making pleonastic additions to the previous names of the prior people, as in Barbauch-*law*, Briech-*water*, Craig-*hills*, Dupol-*burn*, and so in others. Such are the topographical notices which supply the most authentic history of those various people, with the languages which they spoke and the settlements that they made. The inhabitants of this shire, during every period, lived under such a polity as was analogous to the genius of the successive people who predominated, whether British or Roman, Scottish or Scoto-Saxon. Such, then, are the real antiquities of Linlithgowshire! There are some other objects, which some writers consider as the only *antiquities* which are worthy of their antiquarian attention. In Kirkliston parish, indeed, is the *Cat-stane*, which we have formerly seen is merely the *battle*-stone, and is certainly a memorial stone of some conflict and of some person. By other disquisitors, ruinous religious houses and disparted castles are regarded as notable antiques; but without chronology, what instruction can they give, or what curiosity can they gratify? (*h*)

(*o*) The following are the most remarkable Gaelic names in this shire. *Achin*-head, Balnerief, Balnbairdie, Balgreen, Barnbougle, Bearhard, Binns, Binnie, Bagornie, Bedlormie, *Barbauch*-law, Buchans, *Briech* water, Cairnie, *Cairnpaple* hill, *Craig* hills, Craigs, *Craigs*marie, Craigie, Carlowrie, Carruber, Cult, Dalmeny, Dundas, Duntarvie, Drum, Drumbeg, Drumduff, Drumlyon, Drummelzie, Drumtassie, Drumbonie, Drumshags, Drumforth, Drumcross, Dipple, or *Dupol*-burn, Deichmont, Eckline, Flass, Glendevon, *Inch* in several names, Kinneil, Kinglas, Kincavel, Kilpunt, Killieauty, Kipps, *Logie* water, Minifie, Polkemmet, Powflat, Strath, Tannach, Torphichen, *Torbane* hill, Tartravan; and from the Gaelic, also, are the names of the two ancient churches of Ald-Cathie, and Strathbroc.

(*p*) We may see, indeed, in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693, pl. 10, a delineation of the palace of Linlithgow. When John Ray, the botanist, visited Linlithgow in August 1661, he saw the king's palace, "built in the manner of a castle, a very good house as houses go in Scotland." Itinerary, 199. On the other hand, Grose speaks of its *magnificence*, even after it had become a ruin; and Arthur Johnstone in his *Carmen* de *Limnucho* cries out:

"Nobile Limnuchum est, Pario de Marmore templum
Hic nitet, impensæ non mediocris opus."

It consisted, says the engineer Slezer, of *four towers*, between which the court, the chapel, and the rest

§ V. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The policy of a sheriffdom was probably introduced into West-Lothian as early as the reign of David I. The earliest notice which research has discovered of a sheriff in Linlithgowshire, is during the reign of Malcolm IV. (*q*) This office continued throughout the long reign of William the Lion, though the successive sheriffs cannot be easily ascertained (*r*). It seems, however, to be certain, that the sheriffdom remained till the accession of Robert Bruce, though the sheriffs passed away (*s*), and when the overpowering Edward I. settled the government of Scotland in September 1305, he appointed Ive de Adeburgh the sheriff of Linlithgow, Edinburgh and Haddington (*t*).

With the accession of Robert I. some change seems to have taken place, which supposes that Linlithgow had become a constabulary (*u*). Linlithgow equally continued a constabulary throughout the reigns of David II., Robert II., and Robert III. (*x*). Linlithgow remained under this form of a constabulary

of the buildings were extended. Grose has a view of the palace of Linlithgow, which was sketched in 1790 ; and Cardonnel has two delineations of this palace, which were taken in 1789. On the 1st of February 1746, "the ancient palace of Linlithgow was accidentally burnt to the ground. Soldiers were quartered in it the night before, and it was suspected that they had not been careful enough of their fires." Scots Mag. 48.

(*q*) After mentioning "Baldwin vicecomes meus de Lanarc, and Galfrid vicecomes meus de Castello Puellarum," he speaks of Utredus vicecomes de *Lithcqu*. This charter of Malcolm IV. is dated "apud Castellum Puellarum me postquam arma suscepi." Chart. Newbotle, No. 175. Malcolm IV. was made a knight in 1159, if that were the meaning of his taking arms. Chron. Mel. 168 ; Chron. of Holyrood. Utred is also mentioned as the perambulator of the lands of Bathgate in another charter of Malcolm IV. Ib. No. 159.

(*r*) Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 425 ; Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, 4.

(*s*) In July and August 1296, the various persons living in West-Lothian who swore fealty to Edward I., are described as being in the *sheriffdom* of *Linlithgow*. Prynne, iii. On the 2nd of September 1296, Edward I., on the submission of those several persons, issued separate writs to the sheriff of Edinburghshire and to the sheriff of Linlithgow, for restoring their estates. Rym. ii. 723-7. On the 5th of October in the same year, he committed the *three* several *sheriffdoms* of Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, to the charge of Walter de Huntercomb. Ib. 731.

(*t*) Ryley's Placita, 504.

(*u*) In the Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, 178, there is a precept of Robert I., which was addressed to the sheriff of Edinburgh and the baillie of Linlithgow, directing that the lands of Kettliston should not be obliged thereafter to yield suit and service at the town of Linlithgow. On the 16th of January 1326-7, the same king granted to the monks of Culross the barony of Philipston, lying "in *vicecomitatu* de Edinburgh, et infra *constabularium* de Linlithgow." MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*x*) In June 1334, Edward Baliol, the pretender to the Scottish crown, transferred to the English

throughout the regency of Albany (*y*). In this subordinate state, it continued, probably, during the reigns of James I. and James II. In the subsequent reign of James III., Linlithgow was undoubtedly a sheriffdom, though the manner and the time of the change are obscure (*z*). On the 18th of March 1481-2, the sheriffs of *Lithgu*, of Edinburgh, of Ayr, and of Lanark, sat in parliament among the smaller barons, as we know from the Parliamentary Record. After the violent accession of James IV., Linlithgow continued a distinct shire (*a*); and it continued a separate sheriffdom throughout the reign of James IV. (*b*). From this epoch till the final abolition of the heritable jurisdic-

king the county of Edinburgh, and the constabularies of Haddington and Linlithgow. Rym. iv. 615. In November 1361, a charter of David, the son of Walter, the Lord of Kinnele, declared the barony of Kinnele to be within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, in the constabulary of Linlithgow. Chart. Glasg. 359. In a charter of confirmation of David II., dated the 6th of April 1362, Kinnele is said to be in the constabulary of Linlithgow. Ib. 363. In the *Taxatio* of 1369, Linlithgow is also declared to be a constabulary. Parl. Rec. 107. We thus see, then, that throughout the whole reign of David II. Linlithgow was considered as a *constabulary*. In the two subsequent reigns of Robert II. and Robert III., the constabulary of Linlithgow continued within the sheriffwick of Edinburghshire. Ib. 139-144-8-50-1.

(*y*) In a charter of the regent duke, [1406-1409] the lands of Bathcat are declared to be in the constabulary of Linlithgow and sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 164. In another charter of the same regent, the barony of Abercorn is also declared to be within the constabulary of Linlithgow. Ib. 159.

(*z*) On the 12th of January 1467-8, John Stewart of Craigie and William of Crawford, were the persons who were appointed in parliament to take the amount of every man's rent in the *Sheriffdom* of *Lithgu*. Par. Rec. 151. A cause was heard in parliament on the 19th of July 1476, at the instance of James. Lord Hamilton, against Sir John Colquhoun and James Shaw, the sheriffs of Linlithgow, for error in serving a writ from chancery in favour of Marion, the widow of the late James, Lord Livingstone, claiming one third of his lands and rents within the sheriffdom of Linlithgow. One of the errors assigned was that the writ was executed *without* the said shire and *within* the shire of Edinburgh; and the Lords found that they had done wrong, and set aside the retour as to the lands of Lethbert and Bromeinch. Ib. 213. In June 1478, there was a similar cause heard in parliament, wherein it equally appeared that Linlithgow was then a sheriffdom. Ib. 220. There are other notices during the reign of James III., which equally evince that, in the contemplation of parliament, Linlithgow was then a sheriffdom. Ib. 227-259.

(*a*) In the arrangements which were made in the parliament of February 1489-90, for collecting the king's rents and dues in every shire, the treasurer, Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, was appointed to collect those of *Linlithquoshire*. Ib. 364.

(*b*) Chart. Newbottle, 310. In 1503, Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel was sheriff of Linlithgowshire. Balfour's Practiks, 16. On the 14th of July 1525, James Hamilton of Kincavel rendered his accounts at Edinburgh. Chart. Cambuskeneth, 177. He was the brother of Patrick Hamilton, who suffered

tions, Linlithgow continued a sheriffdom. In the progress of a century of weakness and distraction, this office became hereditary. On the 8th of May 1568, Sir Andrew Ker, *the sheriff of Linlithgow*, had the honour to sign the association, at Hamilton, in defence of Mary Stewart (*c*). In 1600, James VI. granted the office of *sheriff principal* of Linlithgowshire to James Hamilton, the eldest son of Claud, Lord Paisley, and to his *heirs male* (*d*). James Cochran of Barbachlaw was appointed, in 1622, the sheriff of Linlithgowshire (*e*). Several persons followed him in the same office during the terrible times which succeeded. Soon after the Restoration, the office was granted hereditarily to John Hope of Hopetoun, who perished on the 7th of May 1682, in the same shipwreck that had like to have proved fatal to the Duke of York (*f*). Upon the deprivation of John Hope, George Earl of Linlithgow was appointed sheriff during pleasure (*g*). On the 20th of June 1682, however, Sir William Hope of Grantoun was appointed sheriff of Linlithgow during the minority of Charles Hope, *the heritable sheriff* (*h*), who was born in 1681; and Charles Hope, coming of age in 1702, became in his own right the sheriff of Linlithgow. He was created Earl of Hopetoun in 1703; he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgowshire in 1715; and dying on the 26th of February 1742, aged 61, left his earldom and office to his son

for his tenets in 1528. Keith, 8. James Hamilton, the sheriff of Linlithgow, was summoned for heresy, and, upon his non-appearance at Holyroodhouse, on the 26th of August 1534, the bishop of Ross, as commissioner for the archbishop of St. Andrews, pronounced the doom of heresy. Keith, 525. In 1539, he was permitted to return for a few months to arrange his private affairs, when he revealed to James V. the treason of Sir James Hamilton of Finard. Ib. 11; Drummond, 332. The sentence of the bishop of Ross was reversed by the General Assembly of 1563. Keith, 524-5.

(*c*) Keith, 477.

(*d*) Doug. Peer. 2, quotes the charter in the Pub. Archives. In 1601, the king granted him the manor of Abercorn, and in 1606, the same Sir James Hamilton was created Earl of Abercorn, and he died before his father in 1618. This family afterward disposed of the barony of Abercorn, and probably conveyed with it the hereditary sheriffship of Linlithgow. In 1678, Sir Walter Seton sold the barony of Abercorn to John Hope of Hopeton.

(*e*) Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 327.

(*f*) Crawfurd's Peer. 219. On the 6th of October 1681, at the privy council, the Lords took occasion to call upon the laird of Hopetoun to take the test *as sheriff of Linlithgow;* and upon his tergiversation and refusal, the privy council declared that he had lost his right during his life (it being heritable), and that the supplying of the vacancy belonged to the king. Fountainhall, i. 159.

(*g*) Warrant Book in the Paper Office, vi. 471. (*h*) Ib. vii. 170.

John (*i*). His son lived to be compensated for all his hereditary jurisdictions in 1747 (*k*). Under the new regimen, John Gillon of Wellhouse, advocate, was appointed sheriff-depute of Linlithgow and Bathgate, at a salary of £150 a-year.

The power of the sheriff, and the extent of his authority, seems to have been always limited by local jurisdictions, either ecclesiastical or temporal. Kirkliston and other lands were formed into a regality for the archbishop of St. Andrews, to which a bailliery belonged, and for which the Earl of Hopeton was compensated, as we have just seen (*l*). Bathgate was long a barony before it became a separate sheriffwick (*m*). Torphichen was of old a regality, which belonged to the knights of Jerusalem; and which, as it was transferred, with the rights of the order, to Lord Torphichen, in January 1563-4, was claimed by a descendant as an hereditary jurisdiction, and compensation granted to him, in 1747 (*n*). Kinneil was a regality which belonged to the Duke of Hamilton (*o*). Brighouse and Ogleface formed a regality which belonged to the

(*i*) Doug. Peer. 350. states his death, mistakingly, in 1741: the Scots Mag. 94, and the Gent. Mag. 163, concur in recording his death on the 26th February 1742, as above.

(*k*) We know, from the List of Claims and Compensations, that he claimed,

For the sheriffdom of Linlithgow, redeemable	£3,000
For the Sheriffdom of Bathgate	2,000
For the *regality* of St. Andrews, south of the Forth	1,500
For the *bailliery* of Crawfordmuir	500
For the *regality* of Kirkheugh	500
	£7.500
For which he was paid	4,569

(*l*) Reliq. Divæ Andreæ, 67; Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12.

(*m*) Robert I. granted the barony of Bathgate and many lands to Walter the Stewart, with his daughter Marjory. Roberts. Index, 9. The Stewart lived in a moated castle near Bathgate, where he died in 1318. Stat. Acco., i. 354. Robert, Duke of Albany, confirmed the grant of Janet de Keith of Bathgate to her son Sir William Hamilton. Ib. 164. On the 4th of June 1663, Charles II. granted to Thomas Hamilton of Bathgate, the barony, with the office of sheriff of Bathgate. Chart. Pub. Records. On the 23rd of May 1683, a warrant issued for restoring Alexander Cochran of Barbachiaw to the office of sheriff of Bathgate. War. Book. Pap. Office; and see Sibbald's Linlithgow, 21. Lord Livingston had been appointed sheriff of Bathgate, during pleasure, on the 19th of January 1681-2, as well as sheriff of Linlithgow. War. Book, vi. 588.

(*n*) Id.; Sibbald's Lithgow, 22-25; and Douglas's Peerage, 670. See Inquisit. Speciales, vii. 108. James Lord Torphichen was paid for the regality of Torphichen. £134 12s. 6d.

(*o*) Robert I. granted to Walter, the son of Gilbert, the first of the family of Hamilton, the barony of Kinneil. Robertson's Index, 11: and Robert III. granted the same barony to James Hamilton. Ib. 139; Sibbald's Lithgow, 17.

Earl of Linlithgow while his family was free from forfeiture (*p*), and there was a royal bailliery at Linlithgow, whereof the same Earls of Linlithgow were the hereditary baillies (*q*). The monks of Culross enjoyed of old a regal jurisdiction over the barony of Philipstoun. The Earl of Stair claimed for this jurisdiction £100 at the epoch of the abolition; and he also claimed £100 for the regality of Brest mill; but for all his claims, amounting to £3,200, he was allowed, on that occasion, only £450. In addition to those several regalities, there were various baronies which possessed peculiar jurisdictions. The oldest barony whereof any evidence remains, is that of Dundas, which is certainly as ancient as the reign of William I. (*r*). Abercorn, which was honoured by the notice of Bede, was the barony of the celebrated Sir John Graham, who died for his country on the field of Falkirk, in 1298. By Robert I., it was granted as a barony to John Graham; and after various transmissions, Abercorn passed into the family of Hopetoun, in 1678 (*s*). Livingston was also a barony of early creation. Carriden became the property of William de Vetereponte, by a grant from William the Lion, with baronial rights. It was confirmed, with those privileges, to William de Vetereponte by Robert Bruce (*t*). Carribber, in Linlithgow parish, was also of old a barony (*u*). Dalmeny, which was anciently called Dumany, was a barony before the accession of Robert Bruce, in the possession of Roger Moubray; and on account of his forfeiture, it was granted by that great prince to Murdoch Monteith (*x*). Barnbougle was also the barony of Roger Moubray, which he forfeited, and which was granted by Robert Bruce to the same Murdoch Monteith (*y*). In

(*p*) Ib. 16-25; Dougl. Peer., 413; Roberts. Index, 155. Robert III. granted to the canons of Holyrood a regal jurisdiction over their barony of Ogilface. Regist. Rob. III., Rot. x. Alexander, the second Earl of Linlithgow, obtained in 1608, a grant of the hereditary office of justiciary and baillie of the barony of Ogilface, with the village and lands of Bedlormie and Wester-Craigs. Dougl. Peer., 413, quotes the charter in the Records.

(*q*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 11-16.

(*r*) The charter of Dundas was printed by Sir James Dalrymple in his Col., 382, and was engraved for the Diplomata Scotiæ. The rights of a barony were granted by a reference to the privileges of similar tenures.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 11-40-129-150-9; Douglas Peer., 2; and Stat. Acco., xx. 394-7.

(*t*) Robertson's Index, 79. The former grants were confirmed by David II. Id.; but David conveyed this barony to Alexander de Cockburn, because John de Vetereponte had alienated his rights without the king's licence first obtained.

(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17. (*x*) Robertson's Index, 11.

(*y*) Robertson's Index, 21. This barony, which comprehended the lands of Easter-Craigie at the mouth of the Avon, seems to have been restored to the forfeited family in the person of Philippa Moubray. Ib. 60-4.

the beginning of the 14th century, Strathbrock was a barony in the possession of Sir Reginald le Chene (*z*). Such were the various jurisdictions which were solicited by the ambition, and granted by the impolicy of former times. They once confounded, rather than promoted the justice of Linlithgowshire; and long were they prostituted to the interests of individuals, rather than dedicated to general convenience.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Under this head of narration, Linlithgow, the shire town, demands the first notice. During the reign of David I., he had here a castle and a grange; and it was this grange and that castle which formed, on this agreeable site, a town that was an inconsiderable part of the royal demesne (*a*). The villages in the royal demesne were all in those times called the king's *burghs*, while the term, *royal burghs* was yet unknown in Scotland. Linlithgow continued to be the occasional residence of David I. and his successors, as they moved from one of their manors to another, for the consumption of their stock (*b*). At the sad demise of Alexander III., before it had yet obtained a charter, Linlithgow was governed by two bailies, John Rabuck and John de Mar, who were obliged, on the 28th of August 1296, to submit to a predominant power (*c*).

(*z*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 222; and Robertson's Index, 79.

(*a*) Charter of Holyrood, which expressly speaks of *his castle at Linlithcu*, and of the sheep that belonged to it. Maitland's Edin., 145. If the minister who wrote the account of this parish had only cast his learned eyes on this charter, he would scarcely have allowed his intelligent mind to doubt whether David I. had a residence at Linlithgow. Stat. Acco., xvi. 566-7. To the abbeys of Dunfermline and Cambuskeneth, the beneficent David I. granted by several charters mansions in his town of Linlithcu. Sir James Dalrymple's Col., 384; Chart. of Cambus., No. 1. These facts evince that Linlithgow was then only the king's town *in demesne*; but that it was made a royal burgh by *an act of parliament* under that king, is too wild an absurdity to be easily allowed. It may have been an act of David II.

(*b*) Several charters of the Scottish kings, which were dated at Linlithgow during that period, prove that those kings resided there.

(*c*) Prynne, iii. 654. At the same time swore fealty to Edward I. Andrew le Serjeant, William Othihull, John le Porter, Mathew de Kinglas, Henry del Wro, Philip de Abernethy, Gilbert de Hildeclive, William le Fitz Ernand, Michael le Lardiner, Nicol le Serjeant, Burgesses, "*e tote la comune de mesme le burg.*" Id. There was a writ of Edward I., dated the 28th December 1292, addressed "prepositis de Linlithgow," requiring the payment of £59 2s. 1d., the arrears of the *firm* of the town which were due to the king of Norway. Rotuli Scotiæ, 15. There was another writ, dated the 5th of July, which was addressed to the burgesses of Linlithgow, commanding them to pay to the same king £7 4s. 10d., as arrears of their firms. Ib. 16. Linlithgow was then the king's town in demesne; the rents and profits, or firms, were let by the Scottish king to the community or corporation whatever

The most eminent man in Linlithgowshire during that age, was Sir Nicol de Graham of Abercorn, who was the only person from Linlithgowshire that sat in the great parliament of Brigham, on the 17th of March 1290 (*d*). Of this shire, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, were Freskin de Douglas and William Fitz Andrew de Douglas (*e*). There were several tenants of the king's lands lying about Linlithgow town, who swore fealty on that occasion (*f*). Only one tenant there was of the bishop of St. Andrews in West-Lothian, Simon de Liston, who also was required to acknowledge his allegiance to the Lord Paramount (*g*). It seems very obvious, from the enumerations in the Record, that there lived but few considerable landholders in West-Lothian during those troublous times.

The assumptions of the Lord Paramount ended in the war of 1296. Edward I. in July 1298, encamped on the Almond, and fixed his quarters at Templeliston, where his army mutinied (*b*). On the 21st of July, the night before the battle of Falkirk, Edward encamped on the heath, lying eastward of Linlithgow (*i*). Edward I. is said by Fordun, to have built a *Pele* at Linlithgow, in 1300 (*k*). He certainly spent his Christmas of the year 1301 at Linlithgow, as we know from Hemingford (*l*). At the settlement of Scotland, in September 1305, it was ordered that Peter Luband should remain the keeper of Linlithgow castle (*m*). At length, during the autumn of 1313, the castle of Linlithgow

it were; the firms were mortgaged by Alexander III. to the King of Norway; after Alexander's demise, the firms ran into arrear, which the Lord Paramount now commanded, by those writs, to be paid to the king of Norway.

(*d*) Rym. ii. 471 ; and he swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. Prynne, iii 662.

(*e*) Ib. 658, 662. Those Douglases were the progenitors of Douglas of Lothian, who was himself the ancestor of the Douglases, Earls of Morton. Archibald de Duglas of Duglas, who flourished under Alexander II., left two sons, William and Andrew. William supported the principal house of Douglas in Clydesdale, and Andrew was the root of a flourishing branch which sprung up in West-Lothian, and at Lugton in Mid-Lothian. Andrew left two sons, William and Freskin, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, as above. Dougl. Peer., 488.

(*f*) Prynne, iii. 656. There were other tenants of the king, among whom was Serle de Dundas, and Saer de Dundas, who also swore fealty. Id.

(*g*) Ib. 658. (*h*) W. Hemingford, i. 161 ; Lord Hailes's An., i. 257.

(*i*) W. Hemingford, i. 162. (*k*) L. xii. c. 1. (*l*) V. i. 196.

(*m*) Ryley's Pl., 505. He appears to have remained in charge of Linlithgow castle, for the Edwards, till it was taken by the Scots in 1313, as we know from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 66-111. It should seem that the fortlet of Linlithgow was promiscuously called in the record, the *Castle*, and the *Pele* of Linlithgow. Rot. Scotiæ, 105-9-11. The last order for victualling it is dated the 4th of February 1312-13. Id. This order evinces that the Scottish historians are mistaken in asserting that it was taken in 1311. Lord Hailes's An., ii. 32. From the *Scala Cronica*, we know that Piers Luband was a Gascoyne knight who suffered for his tergiversation.

was taken by the stratagem of William Binnoch, an enterprising peasant, who, in carrying into it a load of hay, introduced eight resolute men, who overpowered the guard (*n*); and Robert Bruce, with his usual policy, ordered this castle or pele to be dismantled (*o*).

Linlithgowshire continued to partake of the fortunes of those eventful times. It enjoyed the quiet which the treaty of Northampton ensured it; and it was involved in the distractions of David II.'s infancy. The pretender, Edward Baliol, on the 12th of June 1334, transferred the constabulary, the town, and the castle of Linlithgow, to Edward III. (*p*). He did not enjoy it without a contest. In 1336, Lord Berkeley, commanding for Edward III., was defeated by the Scots at Blackburn, in West-Lothian (*q*). At length was David II. restored to his own again; and in March 1360-9, by his ordinance, "De quatuor Burgis," he declared that Lanark and *Linlithgow* should be two of those burghs, while Berwick and Roxburgh were detained by his adversaries, the English, for holding commercial courts (*r*).

Robert II. was the first of the Scottish kings who granted a charter to the burgesses and community of Linlithgow, the firm of their town, and the harbour of Blackness, paying yearly £5 sterling (*s*). Under the regent Albany,

(*n*) Such is Barbour's story, which history has adopted and tradition repeated. The family of *Binning* in Linlithgowshire, are studious to trace up their pedigree to the peasant *Binnoch*, the William Tell of Scotland.

(*o*) The monks of Newbotle had a burgage in Linlithgow, near the Augustines, which, before the taking of the town by the English, was worth yearly 46s. 8d.; but was dilapidated and ruined by the war so as to yield nothing. Chart. Newbotle, No. 1 Such were the devastations of that terrible war, which, according to the significant expression of the monks, did not leave of their houses one stone upon another.

(*p*) Rym., iv. 615. There is a grant by Edward III. in 1336, to John Swanland, of the keeping of the hospital of Lynlithkou. Ayloffe's Cal, 162.

(*q*) Lord Hailes's An., ii. 193.

(*r*) MS. Col. in the Paper office, transcribed into Robertson's Parl. Record. David II. granted to John Cairns *the Peil* of Linlithgow, he being obliged to build it for the king's coming. Roberts. Index, 50. The castle must have been small that could have been rebuilt, or indeed repaired, by such a person for the king's residence.

(*s*) Roberts. Index, 133. What is said by the interpolator of Fordun, l. xiv. c. 36, that the States met *at Linlithgow*, after the demise of David II., and declared *the Stewart* heir to the crown, is an egregious fiction. For the crown had been entailed upon him by parliament, and under that entail he was crowned on the 26th of March 1371, at Scone. MS. Col. Paper Office, transcribed into Robertson's Index. In 1386, Robert II. granted to Sir William Douglas, who had married his daughter Egidia, £300 sterling out of the great customs of *Linlithgow*, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 55. He granted pensions to a variety of persons

and James I., Linlithgow seems to have been unfortunate. The town was burnt in 1411; and in 1424, the town, *the palace*, and the nave of the church were consumed by fire (*t*). James I. appears, however, never to have resided here, though we are assured that some of his coins were minted in Linlithgow (*u*). During the contests between the Earl of Douglas and Crichton, the chancellor, the two Lothians were often wasted, as the several parties prevailed. In 1445, Crichton, having assembled his followers, marched into West-Lothian, when he carried fire and sword through the baronies of Abercorn, Blackness, and Strathbrock, and drove away the horses, cattle, and sheep. When James II. was married, in April 1449, he settled on Mary of Guelder, as her dower, amounting to 10,000 crowns, the lordship of Linlithgow, with other lands (*x*). During this reign, this shire witnessed less agreeable scenes. In 1454, James II. sent six thousand men, under the Earls of Orkney and Angus, to besiege Douglas's Castle of Abercorn, which was at length taken by storm after every effort of the Douglases to relieve it had failed (*y*). Linlithgowshire was now for a while quiet. When James III. married Margaret of Denmark, in September 1468, he settled on her the palace of Linlithgow, with its territory, as her dower, in case of his demise (*z*). The English fleet, which came into the Forth in 1481, burnt the castle of Blackness, with a ship which lay under its protection (*a*). Several of the rebellious acts of the nobles who dethroned James III. were done within Linlithgowshire. In April 1488, they met him at Blackness,

out of the burrow-mails or great customs of Linlithgow. Roberts. Index, 137-40, 54-58. Those grants of Robert II. seem to show that Linlithgow had some trade during that uncommercial age.

(*t*) Bower, l. xv., c. 23; xvi., c. 9.

(*u*) Cardonnel's Numis., 6. On the coins which were here minted there were engraved "Villa de *Linlithc.*" Ib. 68; and, he adds, that this is the only time Linlithgow appears upon a coin.

(*x*) Pink. Hist., i. 206, from the Treaty, MS. Harl. 4637.

(*y*) Ib. 228-31., App. 486. The castle which had been already shaken by the warlike machines during the siege, was levelled to the ground. Its principal defenders were hanged for their treason in defending the castle against the king; the inferior warriors were dismissed. Id.

(*z*) Ib. 95-197. The king with the Estates in parliament ratified the marriage-settlements of the queen, comprehending the lordship of Linlithgow, with the palace, the lake, and park of Linlithgow, with the great and small customs and firms of the burgh, with the fines and escheats of the several courts of the justiciary, the chamberlain, the sheriff, and baillies, the wards, and reliefs, and marriages within the lordship of Linlithgow, with the patronages of the churches, with other estates. Parl. Rec., 227. Margaret died in February 1486-7. Those specifications show what were the several sources of the local revenue of such a lordship.

(*a*) Leslie, 321.

where a skirmish took place, and he tried to conciliate them by the pacification of Blackness (*b*). But this reconcilement did not continue long, as the insurgents did not so much wish for quiet as for pre-eminence. They placed the infant son of the king at their head, proceeded with him to Linlithgow, and marched thence to Stirling-field, where the mildest of kings was slain, on the 11th of June 1488.

The insurgents had now gained their object. They had dethroned the king, and they placed the prince on his bloody throne. On the 8th of October 1488, Linlithgowshire was delivered to the rule of Lord Hailes and Alexander Home, two of the principal chiefs of that successful revolt (*c*). When James IV. married the Lady Margaret, in 1503, he gave her in dower the whole lordhip of Linlithgow , with the palace, its jurisdiction, and privileges (*d*). In 1517, the peel of Linlithgow, which was probably but slightly kept, was seized by Stirling and his followers, who had attempted to assassinate Meldrum on the road to Leith ; but they were speedily pursued by De la Bastie, the regent's lieutenant, who assaulted the palace and seized the assassins (*e*). Such were the savage manners of a wretched age. The battle of Linlithgow was struck, on the 4th of September 1526, with design to rescue James V. from the domination of the Earl of Angus. The Earl of Lennox, the friend of James, was slain, after quarter given, by James Hamilton. The place of that odious deed was marked by a cairn, to which piety added many a stone, but which improvement has removed (*f*). Hamilton was rewarded by Angus with the captaincy of the palace of Linlithgow (*g*).

But very different scenes were soon acted here. After the festivities of the king's marriage with Mary of Guise had been celebrated in Fife and Stirling, he conducted her to Linlithgow. The queen, with the courteousness of her

(*b*) It is transcribed into the Parl. Rec., 339.

(*c*) Parl. Rec., 337. Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, was then appointed in parliament to collect the king's casual revenues in Linlithgowshire. Ib. 364.

(*d*) Rym., xiii. 63. On the 31st of May 1503, Patrick Hamilton, the sheriff of Linlithgow, gave her seisin of the whole, and John Ramsay, the captain of the castle, was one of the witnesses of the act of possession delivered. Ib. 71-2

(*e*) Pitscottie, 235 ; and see Lyndsay's Poetical Works, 1806, ii. 262.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., xiv. 572.

(*g*) The parliament which Angus held in November 1526, confirmed to Hamilton the captaincy of the palace, with many lands lying in Linlithgowshire. Parl. Rec. 572. This Sir James Hamilton, who became the favourite of James V., was afterwards convicted in parliament for attempting to assassinate the king, both at the palace of Linlithgow and at Holyroodhouse. Ib. 624. That guilty person was immediately executed.

country, said *she had never seen a more princely palace* (*b*). In this princely palace she seems to have delighted to dwell. At Epiphany 1540, Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* was represented here before the king and queen, the ladies of the court, and the lasses of Linlithgow, with the constituent members of the several states (*i*). They were all no doubt delighted, according to their several tastes. In this palace was Mary Stewart born, on the 7th of December 1542 (*k*). Here she remained with her mother for many months, where she was seen by Sadler, the English ambassador, and said by him to have been a fine infant (*l*). During the residence of both, the palace of Linlithgow became the frequent place of political management (*m*). In the subsequent year, the queen mother, fearing for the safety of her child, who was of so much importance to herself and the state, collected an army, which convoyed them from Linlithgow palace to Stirling castle, while the English angels had filled every place with intrigue and treason (*n*). Under such influences, a parliament assembled at Linlithgow, on the 1st of October 1545; and again met here, after adjournments, on the 1st and 19th of December (*o*). After the battle of Pinkie, in September 1547, the English admiral sailed with his smaller ships to Blackness, where he took three, and burnt seven vessels, which had hoped for safety from the castle (*p*). In 1552, a provincial council of the clergy was held at Linlithgow, who attempted to reform themselves, as well as others, though without much success (*q*). A very different reformation was effected here in June 1559. The Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, and John Knox, came to Linlithgow, in their progress of reform, and demolished the religious houses. In December 1559, they spoiled the Duke of Chatelherault's house of Kineil on the Forth (*r*); and in February 1559-60, they burnt the same house, in order to reform the duke, that he might reform others (*s*). On the 23d of January, the same Lord James, who had risen by

(*h*) Pitscottie. 295; but this place must have been much improved by James V. before her arrival.

(*i*) Sir W. Eure's Letter; Bibl. Reg. 7, c. xvi. It was James V. who, in 1540, by a charter, empowered the town of Linlithgow to choose a provost. (*k*) Lesley, 459.

(*l*) Parl. Rec., 649, contains the sense of parliament as to the residence of the two queens, either at Linlithgow or Stirling castle.

(*m*) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters throughout.

(*n*) Id. Keith, 40, shows that those English coins were very freely distributed.

(*o*) Parl. Rec., 683-89-90. In 1558, D'Oysel, the French general, is said to have been appointed keeper of the palace of Linlithgow. Pitscottie, 364.

(*p*) Patten, 80. (*q*) Lord Hailes's Hist. Memorials, 37.

(*r*) The late Ed. of Sadler's Letters, i. 667. (*s*) Ib. 701.

such reform to be Regent Murray, fell a sacrifice, on the streets of Linlithgow, to the vengeance of Hamilton, who could not forgive the regent's insult of his distracted wife. Elizabeth revenged the regent's fall; and the English army who invaded Scotland in 1570, on its return from destroying Hamilton, burnt the Duke of Chatelherault's house in Linlithgow, his palace of Kineil, the houses of Pardovan, and Bynnie, and Kincavel, with the chapel of Livingston. The parliament, during that distracted year, was proposed to be held in Linlithgow; but the Regent Lennox, marching thither in October 1570, prevented the intended meeting. During those disastrous times the rents, both of money and victual, of the lordship of Linlithgow, were appropriated, in 1584, for supporting Blackness castle, to which more importance than its worth was annexed (*t*). In 1585, a doubtful parliament met in Linlithgow (*u*). In 1587, Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Justice Clerk, obtained, from the feebleness of James VI., a grant of the park and woods and keeping of Linlithgow palace (*x*). In 1592, the parliament settled the barony and lands of Linlithgow, with the palace, on Anne of Denmark, the wife of James VI. (*y*). In December 1596, the king found refuge in Linlithgow from the tumults of Edinburgh (*z*). Both those towns, as they were equally dignified by royal palaces, felt the degradation, and partook of the grief, resulting from the king's accession to the English throne. In 1618, Linlithgow was entrusted by the parliament with the keeping of the standards of dry measure, which, if we may

(*t*) Act of Parl., Ja. VI., ch. 9.

(*u*) Birrel's Diary.

(*x*) Dougl. Baron., 63, from a charter in the Pub. Archives. Bellenden seems to have obtained a confirmation of his title in 1590.

(*y*) Murray's Acts, 330. In a curious Report of the officers in the exchequer to King James, dated the 7th December 1591, it is said, "the park and peel and loch of Linlithgow, we find disponit in fee to the late Justice Clerk since the year 1581, for yearly payment of an hundred marks, to be employed by him in repairing your highness's palace there, whereof he has likewise the heritable keeping. We find the park and peel of Linlithgow to be both the Justice Clerk's heritage and her majesty's conjoint fee." MS. Report in the Advocates Library. In 1597, an act of parliament passed, declaring all grants and leases of the king's palaces, parks, meadows, etc., such as the palace, the park, and coal of Linlithgow, to be of no avail. Parl. xv., Ja. VI., ch. 235. In 1600, that act was followed by a somewhat contradictory one, allowing the king's property and castles to be let in fee-farm, with a declaration in favour of Lord Livingstone's right to the coals of Bonnytoun, near Linlithgow, and the castle of Blackness. Parl. xvi., Ja. V., ch. 8. We thus see that the king had no one whose duty it was to take care of his rights, and that even the queen's jointure was unsafe.

(*z*) In 1646, the parliament and the university sought refuge in Linlithgow from the plague. The parliament sat in the palace.

believe the late Lord Swinton, are not accurately kept (*a*). Charles I., in 1633, when he made his excursion from Edinburgh, visited Linlithgow. In June 1640, the parliament passed an act of ratification in favour of the burgh of Linlithgow (*b*). Both those towns were equally involved in the miseries of the grand rebellion and the scandal of *the Covenant;* but Linlithgow alone has the honour or the shame of having burnt, in 1662, the Solemn League and Covenant, that wretched tissue of fanaticism and faction.

The first parliament of Charles II., in January 1661, passed an act of ratification in favour of the burgh of Linlithgow (*c*). This shire town ranks as *the sixth* among the royal burghs of Scotland. Under *the Union*, it was associated with the towns of Lanark, Selkirk, and Peebles, in the privilege of sending a representative to the united parliament (*d*). The school of Linlithgow has been taught by distinguished scholars. At *the Reformation*, it was superintended by Ninian Winzet, the polemical antagonist of John Knox (*e*); at

(*a*) Lord Swinton's Treatise, 100, on the weights and measures of Scotland. In 1621, there was a reference to the secret council concerning the taxation of the sheriffdom of Linlithgow. Unprinted Act, 23d Parl. Ja. VI.

(*b*) Unprinted Acts, 2d Parl. of Charles I. The Marquis of Hamilton entered a protest against this ratification, and the Earl of Dunfermline protested against the same ratification for *Queen's Ferry*

(*c*) Unprinted Act. Another ratification passed in the subsequent year. In 1669, the town of Linlithgow entered a protest in parliament against the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton's ratification. Act, 1st Sess. 2d Parl. Cha. II. We may see the relative value and extent of the *three Lothians*, in the grant to the king of the convention of Estates, in 1678; the several proportions being as under:

The whole shires of Scotland were assessed	£60,133	8	3
Edinburghshire	3,183	8	0
Haddingtonshire	2,782	6	0
Linlithgowshire	1,169	18	0
Edinburgh town	4,000	0	0
Haddington town	216	0	0
Linlithgow town	204	0	0

(*d*) Act of Union; Stat. Acc., xiv. 548. Linlithgow, as a corporation, has a yearly revenue of about £400 sterling. In 1722, it obtained a grant of parliament of a duty of two pennies Scots, that is, one sixth of a penny sterling on every Scots pint of ale and beer which should be brewed for sale within the liberties of the town, for paying its debts and promoting its improvements. Pub. Acts, 9th Geo. 1. 20. The duty commenced on the 1st July 1723, and was to continue eleven years. Linlithgow has a weekly market on Friday, and six yearly fairs.

(*e*) In Keith's Appendix may be seen Winzet's *Tractat* to the queen, pastors, and nobility; his second *Tractat*; his third *Tractat*; and also Winzet's Book of lxxxiii. Questions. This learned scholar

the Revolution, the same school was instructed by James Kirkwood, who had not the good fortune to please the town council of this corporate body, who were not sufficiently aware that, "to teach a teacher ill beseemed them" (*f*).

In this shire there are other towns, though of less populousness and dignity. The royal burgh of *The Queensferry* is of recent date, while its name is old (*g*). As early at least as 1164, it was known by its present appellation. The parish of this burgh was formed out of the ancient district of Dalmeny, in 1616. Queensferry, though it had long been a port, was not a burgh in 1556, when a general tax was levied on the royal burghs. Its erection as such was strenuously opposed by the jealousy of Linlithgow, which could only be mollified by degrading concessions (*h*). The present revenue of this petty corporation is only £40; but it has never been inhabited by many people,

was reformed, according to the fashion of Scotland, by sending some armed enthusiasts to seize him; but he found shelter and provision in Germany.

(*f*) The baillies were dull and the scholar was petulant, so he was formally expelled; and a long law-suit ensued before the Court of Session. He published *The History of the Twenty-seven Gods of Linlithgow*, which contains some curious anecdotes. He was sent for by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges at the Revolution, on the motion of the Lord President Stair, and his advice was taken about the best grammar for the Scottish schools. The Lord President asked him what he thought of *Despauter*? He answered, a very unfit grammar; but, by some pains, it might be made an excellent one. The Lord Crosrig desiring him to be more plain on that point, Kirkwood said: My Lord Preses, if its *superfluities* were rescinded, the *defects* supplied, the *intricacies* cleared, the *errors* rectified, and the *method* amended, it might well pass for an excellent grammar. The Lord President sent for him, and told him that it was the desire of the commissioners that he should immediately reform Despauter as he had proposed, as they knew none fitter for the task. He was thus induced to put hand to pen, and not without much labour, published Despauter, as now revised. As Kirkwood's Grammar, this continued in the schools till it was superseded by Ruddiman's. The celebrated John Earl of Stair, the soldier and statesman, was taught at Kirkwood's school in Linlithgow, and "*tabled* in his house."

(*g*) David I. granted to the abbey of Dunfermline, "passagium et navem de Inverkeithen." MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The *passage* seems not to have been then denominated the *Queen's Ferry*. It was called *Portum Reginæ* in a charter of Malcolm IV. He granted in 1164, to the monks of Scone, *free passage portum Reginæ* for the abbot, the monks, and their men. Chart. Scone, No. 5. In 1234, Pope Gregory confirmed to the abbey of Dunfermline, "Dimidium passagiæ Sanctæ *Margaretæ* Reginæ." MS. Monast. Scotiæ. It was again granted to the abbey of Dunfermline by Robert I.; regranted by Robert III.; and confirmed by James II., in 1450. Id.; Robertson's Index, 146. This passage has since become private property, but not to the public advantage. An Act "for the improvement of the passage across the Forth, called the *Queen's Ferry*," was passed in the 49th Geo. III. ch. 83.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., xiv. 558.

enriched by much commerce, or dignified by great events (*i*). Under the Union, it has the privilege of choosing a representative, with the other burghs of Stirling, Inverkeithing, Dunfermline and Culross. Borrowstouness is a *burgh of regality*, and as a sea-port, contains industrious people, who employ many ships (*k*). Bathgate is a burgh of barony, from early times, which has seven yearly fairs, and has some internal traffic (*l*). Whitburn is a burgh of barony; and Broxburn and Blackburn are market towns, which have arisen in recent times from the efforts of industry (*m*).

There are few memorials of hostile conflicts within this shire, subsequent to Roman times. It was the theatre no doubt, whereon the successive setttlers, the Saxons, the British, and the Scots, established by warfare their various pretensions (*n*). The sepulchres which have been discovered along the Almond, may contain the remains of the warriors, who contended among those people, for superiority or for settlement (*o*). Edward I. rested at Linlithgow, as he marched to the battle of Falkirk. In 1443, the town of Broxburn was burnt by James II., when he wasted the possessions of the rebel Douglas (*p*). In 1526, the Earl of Angus defeated the Earl of Lennox at Linlithgow bridge, where Lennox's *cairn* long distinguished the disastrous scene of his fall (*q*). The castles in this shire, are connected with the men, and the manners of those warlike and wretched times. The *peel* of Linlithgow is one of the oldest castles, as we have seen; the Earls of Linlithgow were the hereditary keepers of the place and the park (*r*). Blackness castle which stands on a projecting promontory into the Forth, in the parish of Carriden, was long a royal fortress; it was one of the king's castles during the reign of Charles II., whereof the Earl of Livingston was hereditary constable; and it has remained one of the king's garrisons even to the present times (*s*). Dundas, as the family is old, must have

(*i*) Stat. Acco., xvii. 489.

(*k*) Ib., xviii. 428. In 1680, it was controverted whether this could be a port of entry, in opposition to Blackness, the port of Linlithgow. After a long discussion, Borrowstounness was declared to be a port for shipping. Fountainhall, i., 81.

(*l*) Stat. Acco., i. 351-4. (*m*) Ib., xvii. 300; vi. 545; xx. 3.

(*n*) Tradition states that towards the end of the Pictish kingdom, a battle was fought between the Picts and Scots, near *Bathcat*, as perhaps the name seems to imply. Stat. Acco., xx., 16.

(*o*) A battle is said to have been fought on the Almond, between the Scots and Britons, in 993. Macpherson's Illustrations, in vo. Amon.

(*p*) Antiq. Trans. Edin., 146.

(*q*) Dunlop's MS. Account of Battles; Stat. Acco., xiv. 571.

(*r*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 16; Douglas Peer., 414.

(*s*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 16-21; Stat. Acc., i. 100.

had a castle of equal antiquity (*t*). Barnbougle castle is also old, and is yet inhabitable (*u*). Kinneil castle owes its origin and its enlargement to the Hamiltons, who formerly lived here in baronial state, till the reformers ruined their house (*x*). The *peel* of Livingston derived its distant rise from Living, who lived under David I. (*y*). At Newyearfield, in Livingston parish, is a square tower, which seems to have been a baronial residence in the days of turmoil. Some traces of the castle, which once secured the great family of Walter, the Steward of Scotland, who married Marjory Bruce, "the lass who brought the sceptre to the Steward's house," may still be seen in the middle of a morass near Bathgate (*z*). Abercorn castle was built by the Earl of Douglas on the site of the ancient monastery,neither of which can now be traced, amidst ancient warfare and modern improvements (*a*). Niddrie castle, which once stood in the parish of Kirkliston, is now in ruins. The baron of this castle was of old the hereditary baillie of the ecclesiastical regality of Kirkliston (*b*). Meidhope was formerly "a fine tower-house," belonging to the Earl of Hopetoun (*c*). Tartreven castle, in Linlithgow parish, has long been in ruins (*d*). Castlelyon, which stood of old on the shore of the Forth, below Kinneil castle, is now overflowed by the Firth (*e*). Torphichen tower owes its rise to the knights of St. John, during martial days, and its preservation in other times, to the barons of Torphichen (*f*). In Torphichen parish, near Lochcoat, there is the ruin of a castle, which still shows its baronial gloom and grandeur (*g*). The ruins of West-Binny still evince that they have been the residence of a baron (*h*). Mannerston castle also shows its former importance in its ruins (*i*). Bridgehouse castle was the ancient seat of the Earl of Linlithgow, and the baronial mansion of the regality of Ogleface (*k*). Such are the mouldering memorials of the personages who once domineered in Linlithgowshire: Such has been the change of manners, that farmers reside where barons reigned.

Peers once predominated in this little shire (*l*). The descendants of Living, who flourished under David I., and acquired the name of Livingston, became

(*t*) Stat. Acc., i. 238; Sibbald's Lithgow, 12. (*u*) Ib., 12. (*x*) Ib., 18.
(*y*) Gough's Camden, iii. 318; Dalrymple's Col., 421.
(*z*) Stat. Acco., i. 354. (*a*) Gough's Camden, iii. 318.
(*b*) Id. During David II.'s reign, Alexander Seton granted to Ade Forest two ploughs of land in the town of Niddrie, in Linlithgowshire. Robertson's Index, 57.
(*c*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 20. (*d*) Ib., 16. (*e*) Ib., 18. (*f*) Ib., 23.
(*g*) Armstrong's map. (*h*) Id. (*i*) Id.
(*k*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 25.
(*l*) See the list of the principal heritors in Sibbald's Lithgow.

peers in the eleventh transmission. It was Alexander, the seventh baron, who was created Earl of Linlithgow in 1600; and it was James, the fourth Earl, who, engaging in the rebellion of 1715, lost his estate and honours by attainder (*m*). Sir James Livingston, the second son of Alexander the Earl of Linlithgow, was created Lord Almon in 1633, and Earl of Callander in 1641; but after a few descents, these titles, by failure of issue, became merged, in 1695, with the elder title of Linlithgow (*n*). Abercorn, which is noted for the antiquity of its name and the earliness of its history, is also remarkable for having given, in 1600, the title of earl to James Hamilton, the heir of Claud, Lord Paisley; and the earldom, after various fortunes and transmissions, has recently been expanded into the marquisate of Abercorn (*o*). At the Reformation, Torphichen gave the title of baron to Sir James Sandilands, Lord St. John of Jerusalem, in Scotland (*p*); and the vast estates of that opulent order were, by the usual management of that period, converted into temporal property. The Earl of Hopetoun is the most wealthy peer who has now much connection with Linlithgowshire. Both the estates and the peerage of this family may be traced up to Sir Thomas Hope, a lawyer, whose artifice was equalled by his abilities; who flourished under James VI. and Charles I., and died in 1646. Charles Hope, his great-grandson, the hereditary sheriff and parliamentary representative of Linlithgow, was created Earl of Hopetoun in 1703 (*q*).

This shire has not given many senators to the College of Justice. Sir James Hope, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Hope, was appointed a senator by the title of Craighall, in 1632 and 1641. Sir Thomas Hope, the second son of the same great lawyer, was elevated to the same seat in 1641, by the title of Lord Kerse; and Sir James Hope, the fourth son of the same eminent father, was appointed a senator in 1649, by the designation of Lord Hopetoun, who was the ancestor of the earls of the same title (*r*). Sir Thomas Stirling of

(*m*) Dougl. Peer., 409-14. (*n*) Ib., 115. (*o*) Ib., 2.

(*p*) Ib., 670. (*q*) Ib., 350.

(*r*) Douglas remarks, that while Sir Thomas Hope was Lord Advocate, three of his sons were Lords of Session; and as it was thought indecent that he should plead uncovered before them, he was allowed the privilege, which every Lord Advocate has since enjoyed, of pleading with his hat on. Dougl. Peerage, 349. The peerage-maker is, however, mistaken in supposing that Sir Thomas Hope pleaded before *three* of his sons, for his fourth son, Lord Hopetoun, did not sit till his father had been two years dead. It was rather the great talents, and still more the great weight, of Sir Thomas Hope, which procured for him and his successors the privilege of pleading with their hats on.

Carriden was appointed a senator of this College in 1661, by the name of Lord Carriden, and sat till 1668 (*s*).

This shire produced, in 1704, that elegant man and ingenious poet, William Hamilton of Bangour, who died in 1754 (*t*). Wilkie, the ingenious author of the *Epigoniad*, was born at Echlin in 1721; was educated at Dalmeny; and died at St. Andrews in 1772 (*u*). That eminent soldier and statesman, John the Earl of Stair, dignified this shire by his residence, improved it by his example, and in 1747, was buried in the kirk of New-Liston without a memorial (*x*).

Connected with feudal times and barons brave, is the account which the sheriffs severally settled in the exchequer for the royal dues. In 1633, the whole charge for Linlithgowshire against the sheriff was £2,392 13s. 2d., the discharge was £2,179 8s. 1d.; so the free money which was yearly paid in was £213 5s. 1d. Scots (*y*). In 1590, the whole revenue which King James derived from Linlithgowshire was £184 15s. 6d. Scots (*z*). It is impossible to trace the history of the *property* in this shire; and it would not be very exhilarating if it were possible. During the earliest times, the tribe rather than the individual claimed the right to the district. In this polity, the Romans, perhaps, did not make much change. The Saxons, who intruded into this country after their departure, divided the lands among their chiefs in commodious divisions. Under the Scots, a kind of mixed policy predominated; the chief enjoyed the district during his life, with divisions and subdivisions under him to his followers; yet, after his death or forfeiture, his district reverted to the clan, who could not be deprived of their property in the soil. The Scoto-Saxon period brought with it a great change, which was as new as it proved lasting. The king, in notion of law, was the owner of all property, and the distributor of all jurisdiction. We see this theory in

(*s*) Lord Hailes's List of the Lords of Session.

(*t*) He died at Lyons, on the 25th of March 1754. Scots Mag. of that year, 155.

(*u*) Scots Mag., 582. (*x*) Dougl. Peer., 640; Stat. Acc., x. 73.

(*y*) Of the whole rental which the sheriff accounted for, the lordship of Linlithgow was charged £2,179 8s. 1d., the town of Linlithgow paid £52, the town of Queensferry £3, and other lordships and lands £158 5s. 1d.; but during several years the lordship of Linlithgow had not been accounted for, as the whole sum was assigned to the earl for keeping the palace. Sir William Purvis's MS. Account.

(*z*) There were, moreover, paid the king from Linlithgowshire, of wheat, 6 chalders, 5 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks; of bear, 6 chalders, 7 bolls, 1 firlot; of oats, 6 chalders, 14 bolls, 1 firlot; of capons, 16; and of poultry, 6 dozen. MS. Account of King James's whole Revenue, which was presented to his consort on her arrival, and which is preserved in the Advocates Library.

its practice reflected to us from the satisfactory evidence of the earliest charters. In the grants of David I., we perceive him exercising ownership over property, and jurisdiction over persons, within this shire. Waldeve, the son of Cospatrick, who granted the charter of Dundas, is the most ancient private proprietor within Linlithgowshire of whom any record appears (*a*). If we except Dundas of Dundas, it may be doubted whether any of the present proprietors in this shire can be traced back, through so many revolutions and forfeitures, to that early age. From the commencement of the 18th century to the present there have been many alterations of property, and still more changes of family, a consideration whereof leaves the mind to muse on the vicissitudes of life (*b*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade.*] It may be easily supposed that the area of this shire has all the varieties of soil, from bad to good, which can depress or invigorate the husbandry of any country. The subjoined *table* will exhibit to the inquisitive inquirer more specific information, with regard to all those intermixtures of surface, than the most elaborate description (*c*). The coldest soil is chiefly in the south and south-western parts of this shire, which have also the worst climate. In the same parish there are specimens of every sort of soil. Within Dalmeny parish, in the north-eastern part of this shire, there is what long experience has called *perpetual soil*, which, without renovation, continues through ages productive (*d*). Much of this shire, from its northerly latitude, may be supposed to be chill; yet, from the flatness of its surface, its nearness to the Forth, and the prevalence of the south-west winds, it is generally temperate, being neither very cold nor very sultry, and being blessed with gentle showers, rather than deluged with violent rains. Owing to

(*a*) Charter of Dundas; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 73; Dalrymple's Col., 381-2.

(*b*) See Sibbald's Linlithgow.

(*c*) The following detail may be deemed an approximation to the truth:

	Eng. Acres.
Of clay of a good quality, there are	20,000
Clay on a cold bottom,	24,500
Loam,	10,000
Light gravel and sand,	10,000
Moors and high rocky land,	15,220
Mosses,	1,700
Lakes, rivers, and waters,	500
	81,920

(*d*) Stat. Acc., i. 230.

all those causes, two thirds of this shire may be said to enjoy the second rate climate within this part of our island (*e*).

The area of this shire, even during the Scoto-Saxon period of its history, was covered with woods, which were extremely congenial to the state of husbandry in that age; consisting as much of pasturage as of cultivation (*f*). Near Kinneil house, on the Forth, there is still a natural wood of seventy acres (*g*). During many years the landowners have paid great attention to planting. On every estate may be seen many acres of young plantations, and they are busy in carrying forward that most useful improvement, the planting of the moorlands upon the heights (*h*). About one third part of the whole country is either in woodlands, old pastures, or in artificial grasses, and there are rather more than four fifths of the shire enclosed, by almost all the variety of fences which ingenuity has contrived in a country abounding with stone (*i*).

David I. was the greatest farmer in Linlithgowshire. He had a *grange* at Linlithgow town, as we know from the charter of Holyrood, and here he practised husbandry by his own proper men, though, perhaps, not with the greatest knowledge of the theory of agriculture (*k*). Neither the skill nor the success of the barons during that age could be much greater than the king's. But agriculture could not be carried on during such times with much amelioration. The cultivators were mostly all *villeyns*, who did not labour for their own profit, but for the benefit of others. The great facility of every agricultural operation, communications were in those times either wanting

(*e*) Agricult. Survey, 7; and Wight's Present State of Husbandry in Scotland [1778], vol. iv., 474, who, however, says, "that the climate of Linlithgow is not the most favourable for *corn*, by the quantity of rain that frequently falls."

(*f*) The topography of this shire evinces that woodlands formerly existed in every part of this county. Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 9-29; and Armstrong's Map of the Lothians. In the south-west end of this shire large pieces of oak trees are often found in the mosses. Agricult. View, 33.

(*g*) Stat. Acco., xviii. 425. (*h*) Agricult. View, 30.

(*i*) Agricult. View, 14. Wight reported to the Trustees of forfeited estates, in 1778, "that much had been done during the last twenty years, yet that a great part of this county remains in a state of nature." Present State, 1778, iv., 474. To reconcile those apparent contradictions, we must suppose what, indeed, is inferable from the Agricultural View of 1794, that there had been much inclosure and other improvements during the twenty years which elapsed subsequent to the Survey of Wight, who saw every one busy in acts of melioration: "All are alive," he adds, "and struggling to excel."

(*k*) Thern is still a farm at Linlithgow which Wight inspected, and is called the *King's Field.* Report, iv. 515. The King's Park at Linlithgow is also converted into a farm. Id. The charter of Holyrood speaks of the number of sheep which died naturally, a circumstance this which supposes that many were kept with less provision of winter food than the occasion required.

or defective. Without the advantages of public roads, individuals who possessed property in distant districts were obliged to ask freedom of passage through the neighbouring manors (*l*). The monks of Newbotle, as we have just seen, in communicating with Monkland, were obliged to travel along the natural opening of the country, through the valley of Broxburn, by Bathgate, and this ancient passage is the present site of the Bathgate road from Edinburgh to Glasgow, through Linlithgowshire, which is the boast of Scotland, for the levelness of its track and the firmness of its surface. The epoch of the first road law of Scotland is 1555 (*m*). The epoch of the first turnpike road, which traversed Mid and West Lothian, from Edinburgh to the Queensferry is 1751 (*n*). In the subsequent year, a law was obtained for repairing the principal post road through Linlithgowshire (*o*). Meantime, the reign of Charles II. was the period. in which the county roads and highways to market towns were placed, by the Scottish parliament, under the sheriffs and justices (*p*). By all those means, Linlithgowshire is at length accommodated with complete communications in every direction (*q*), and owing to the same means, agriculture was promoted by the facility of conveyance and travel.

(*l*) The monks of Newbotle who had lands in Lanark, found it difficult, owing to the want of public roads, to pass and repass to and from their several granges, and they were obliged to obtain from individuals permission to travel through their lands. In 1253 Archibald, the master of the house of Torphichen, granted to the monks of Newbotle, that they should pass freely through the lands of Torphichen "per illas vias quibus hactenus usi sunt." Chart. Newbotle, No. 220. In 1320 Thomas de Bosco, the Lord of Ogilface, confirmed a charter of his father to the monks of Newbotle, giving them "liberum transitum per terram meam de Ogilface per seipsos vel cum *plaustris vecturis*, et animalibus, etc. in eundo et redeundo de terram suam de Dunpeldre apud Newbotle et retro quotiescunque voluerint, etc." Ib., No. 221. Sir Reginald de Chen granted to the same monks "liberum transitum vie competentis et sufficientis ad aysiamentum earundum per terram meam et baroniam de Strathbrock *extra segetes* et prata in divertendo de Newbotle ad terram eorum in valle de Clud, et retro." Ib., 222. In 1333 Walter, the Stewart of Scotland, granted to the same monks that they might freely pass through his whole barony of Bathket with their *carriages* from their monastery of Newbotle to their land, which is called Monkland. Ib., No. 224.

(*m*) Stair's Inst., 287.

(*n*) By 24 Geo. II., ch. 35, amended by 28 Geo. II., ch. 39.

(*o*) 25 Geo. II., ch. 28, which was amended by 32 Geo. II., ch. 55, and in 1753 the 26 Geo. II., ch. 81, empowered the repairing of the road by Livingston to Glasgow. Add to those the act 49 Geo. III., ch. 38, for repairing the roads of this shire.

(*p*) See the Statute Book of that reign. In 1681 the laird of Hopetoun was empowered to change a highway at Winchburgh in West-Lothian. Unprinted Act. In 1696 an act passed for building a bridge over the river Avon, against which the town of Linlithgow entered a protest. Unprinted Act, 6 Sess., 1 Parl. William.

(*q*) Ainslie's map of Scot.; Agricult. View; Stat. Acco., iv. 467.

Throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, and for ages afterward, every manor had its village; and the tenants of both had common of pasturage, which obstructed melioration, while a general right could not be of much private benefit (*r*). Lying under so many disadvantages, farms could not rent for much, while lands were plenty and money was scarce (*s*). Every agricultural practice which we have seen in actual existence, in the shires of Berwick, Haddington, and Edinburgh, equally existed, during those times, in Linlithgowshire. Every manor had its mill, its kiln, its malthouse, and its brewery, for the use of the village. The husbandmen used oxen in their ploughs and waggons (*t*). They cultivated the same grain, they pastured the same beasts, and they aimed at the same profits. The people of those times had their fisheries and their salt-pans, and for fuel they used wood and peats and *coals* (*u*). Yet was there a slow progress of melioration throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, particularly in the reign of Alexander III., when peace existed, improvements prevailed, and plenty abounded (*v*).

(*r*) John de Strivelin confirmed to the hospital of Soltre, a toft and a croft in his manor of Ochiltree, with common of pasture for four cows, twelve ewes, with their lambs of one year old; and also one thrave of corn from every carucate of his lands, and of *his men*, wherever they might be on the southern side of the Forth. Chart. Soltre, No. 27. John of Strivelin probably lived under Alexander III. To that grant Galfred *prepositus* de Ochiltre was a witness.

(*s*) In 1306 the hospital of Soltre granted a *lease* to Matthew of Kinglass, in Carriden parish, of its whole lands in Kinglass and in Philipstoun, within Abercorn parish, rendering for the same yearly *ten shillings*. Ib., No. 45.

(*t*) Even as low down as January 1549, when a fort was to be erected at Inveresk, the privy council ordained that every plough of *eight oxen*, between Linlithgow and Haddington, should furnish one man, provided with pick, mattock, shule, and spade, to work thereat for six days; and that each *potch plough* should furnish two men. Keith's App., 57.

(*u*) During the reign of William the Lion, William de Vetereponte granted to the monks of Holyrood "totam decimam de *carbonario meo* de Carriden," in perpetual alms. Crawfurd's MS. Extract from the Autograph. William de Vetereponte acquired from that king early in his reign the manor of Carriden in West-Lothian. Caledonia, i. 552. That grant, then, to the monks of Holyrood, must have been made before the end of the 12th century, and of course, precedes the similar grant of de Quincey to the monks of Newbotle, of the Colliery of Tranent, in the period from 1202 to 1218. Coal was early worked in the king's manor of Linlithgow. In 1597 an act was passed by parliament to protect the king's palace, park, and coals. Lord Livingston obtained a grant of the *coal* of Bonnytoun, in the lordship of Linlithgow, before November 1600. Act, 8 Parl. xii., Ja. VI.

(*v*) During the reign of Alexander III. the king's rents and profits within Linlithgowshire were assigned to the Norwegian king, who had married his daughter Margaret, as we know, from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*. This had no salutary effect on the pursuits of the people.

During the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the common division of lands in this shire were *carucates*, bovates, or oxgates (*x*). In the charters of Charles II., the possessions in Linlithgowshire are described by the ancient terms of pound-lands, mark, shilling, and penny-lands (*y*); yet is the carucate or ploughgate the division which is still in use within this shire, and it is by the ploughgate that the whole lands are assessed for the making of the roads (*z*).

Whatever may have been the happy state of domestic affairs at the demise of Alexander III., the rancorous war of seventy years which succeeded that sad event plunged the whole country into an abyss of ruin (*a*). From the destruction of war and the depression of misrule, Linlithgowshire did not recover even down to our own times. Domestic *feuds* were full as destructive as foreign *inroads* (*b*). The whole intercourses of life were oppressive; the strong constantly overpowering the weak (*c*). Even the levying of rent, or the removing of tenants, was attended with prodigious waste; as we might learn, indeed,

(*x*) The Chartularies and Robertson's Index. (*y*) MS. Col. of Charters.

(*z*) Agricult. View, 28; Stat. Acco., iv. 467. There are 63 ploughgates in Torphichen parish. Id.; and there are 68 ploughgates in the parish of Bathgate. Ib., i. 350. Each ploughgate contains not less than 70 acres of land. The *Tax Roll* of the lands in every shire was, however, made up according to parliamentary practice, the lands being valued in pounds shillings and pence. The *Tax Roll* of 1613, upon which the assessments were laid, was thus made, and returned to the parliamentary commissioners; and it may gratify a reasonable curiosity to see from the Record the several totals of the Tax Rolls of the *three Lothians:*

Linlithgowshire was returned at	-	-	-	-	-	£494	13	4
Edinburghshire	-	-	-	-	-	621	0	0
Haddingtonshire	-	-	-	-	-	567	11	4

(*a*) The charters which were written in those disastrous times are crowded with outcries of devastation. The Chartulary of Newbotle speaks of the wars not having left *one stone standing upon another*. In 1327 William, bishop of St. Andrews, granted to the monastery of Newbotle, "per guerram oppressi," the church of Bathgate. Chart. Newbotle, 179. But the comparison of the *ancient extent* of those good old times, with the *new extent* of David II.'s days, is the best proof of the deterioration of the country in respect to its agriculture. Roberts. Index.

(*b*) In 1445, during the *feud* between Crichton the chancellor and Earl Douglas. Crichton ravaged the manor of Abercorn, belonging to Douglas, and among other waste he drove away a *race of mares* that the Earl had brought *from Flanders*, and were fostered in the park of Abercorn. Godscroft, 167. What improvements of *stock* could be made during such times and such manners!

(*c*) June 1493 the tenants of Wester Whitburn complained in parliament against Sir James Livingston, for taking from them their cattle. The Lords ordained Sir James to restore the oxen and cows as good as they were, or pay the value. The value is specified, a cow and an ox, four marks, three oxen, six marks. Parl. Rec., 377.

from the Parliamentary Record. During the ancient regimen, the tenants of *churchmen* lived under indulgent landlords, who even afforded them personal protection. The transfer of so many lands, at the Reformation, from the *spiritual* to *temporal lords*, brought with it a terrible change "to the poor commons (*d*)." That transfer was grievously felt by the husbandmen during a wasteful century of civil wars, as that transfer was not a small ingredient of the moving causes which incited the grand rebellion. *The Union* and *the abolition* of the *heritable jurisdictions*, are the two happiest events in the history of those changes, which were either adverse or fortunate for agriculture.

It is not, indeed, easy to fix the real epoch of actual improvements in Linlithgowshire. The year 1723, when the Society of Improvers was established, may perhaps be deemed the true era. From this period a sort of enterprise may be traced in every shire (*e*). In 1728, John Earl of Stair, now a statesman out of place, came from the turmoils of public life to the quiet pursuits of agriculture, at New-Liston in this shire. This able man at length introduced new maxims of husbandry and novel modes of cultivation. It was he, who first practised *the horse-hoeing husbandry*. It was he, who, in addition to the improvements of Lucerne and Saint-foin, which were then uncommon grasses in that country, cultivated turnips, cabbages, and carrots by the plough, that answered all the ends of summer fallow, says Maxwell, the agriculturalist (*f*). Charles, the first Earl of Hopetoun, followed the encouraging example of that illustrious statesman, and even going beyond him, he

(*d*) Old Sir Richard Maitland, who witnessed that change, bestows a whole poem, "aganis oppressioun of the commouns:"

"Sum commouns that hes bene weill stakit
"*Underkirkmen* are now all urakit;
"Sen that the teynd and the kirk-landis,
"Cam in grit temporale men's handis.

"Sic extortioun and taxatioun,
"Wes never sene into this natioun."

Such, then, were the terrible effects on the unprotected husbandmen, by that transfer of the lands and their labourers from the indulgent clergy to the lay-impropriators!

(*e*) On the 8th of April 1725, one Higgens and his copartners, began to sell at Cuffabout, near Borrowstounness, their *manure*, for improving ground, at one shilling a-bushel. Caledonian Mercury, No. 787. Though this project probably failed, yet is it an evidence of returning enterprise.

(*f*) Select Transact. of the Society of Improvers. After John, Earl of Stair, left Kirkwood's school at Linlithgow, he went to Leyden and spent much of his youth in the Low Countries.

released to his tenants, a thousand pounds of his rents, "in consideration of the bad crop in 1740 (*g*)." By this act of generosity he gave to the farmers on his estates a thousand pounds of additional capital for the improvement of husbandry. But they both died too soon to do all the good which they intended (*h*). Neither the country nor the husbandmen were sufficiently prepared to profit from their agricultural examples. Thirty years after those two noble agriculturalists had ceased to instruct by their practice and to encourage by their generosity, a race of projectors arose who went beyond them in usefulness. Some practical farmers with clear heads, enterprising hearts, and sufficient capital, undertook as a profession to rent farms and estates with design to improve them, and then to relinquish them to other farmers for an adequate profit (*i*). Such speculative farmers do more for the improvement of a country that many nobles, who, as they farm for amusement, are too high for the imitation of common husbandmen.

Meantime there was introduced into the Lothians "the practice of draining, "inclosing, summer-fallowing, sowing flax, hemp, rape, turnip, and grass "seeds; of planting cabbages and potatoes with the plough in fields of great "extent; and there was adopted other such commendable husbandry (*k*)." All this was said to have been done before the year 1743; and we may thus perceive who were the earliest improvers in this shire, and to what extent their improvements had been carried by rational management in the busy period which succeeded the epoch of 1723.

The forming of turnpike roads by tolls, as we have seen, and the improving of the cross roads by assessments, have enabled diligent husbandmen to carry those beginnings of "commendable husbandry" to great perfection. Since the days of Stair and Hopetoun this shire has been mostly all enclosed (*l*). The implements of farming have been rendered more commodious, and the *threshing mills*, which are said to have been *lately* invented, are allowed to be of great advantage (*m*). The number of draught cattle for the plough has been lessened one-half. Farm steadings are generally much improved during late

(*g*) Select Transactions, Dedication.

(*h*) The Earl of Hopetoun died in 1742; and the Earl of Stair in 1747.

(*i*) Wight speaks of the practice of several such improvers in Linlithgowshire. Report, iv.

(*k*) Maxwell's Select Transactions, which were published in 1743.

(*l*) Agricultural View, 14.

(*m*) Ib. 19. Yet it appears, from the Select Transactions of the Society of Improvers, 276, that Mr. Michael Menzies, an advocate at Edinburgh, had invented a *threshing machine* which was driven by water, and which that society recommended to general use. So seldom is it that any thing *new* can be found.

times (*u*). This shire is possessed by thirty or forty landholders, whose yearly incomes are from £200 to £6,000, besides some inferior holders of lands, who enjoy small heritages, near Linlithgow and Borrowstounness. The extent of the farms are from 50 to 300 acres; the greater number whereof being from 70 acres to 200, and the leases are commonly for the space of 19 years; though there are some instances of leases being extended to 57 years (*x*). The town of Linlithgow has long enjoyed mills, which are profitable to the burgh and advantageous to agriculture (*y*). This shire-town has a weekly market for corn. Bathgate has also seven fairs a-year, which are also helpful to husbandry (*z*). [In 1887, there were under cultivation in Linlithgowshire 15,435 acres of corn crops; 6,255 acres of green crops; 19,130 acres of clover and grasses under rotation; 18,298 acres of permanent pasture; 2 acres of flax, and 249 acres fallow land. In the same year there were in the county 2,148 horses; 10,705 cattle; 19,336 sheep, and 1,527 pigs.]

Horticulture was probably introduced into this shire in early times. As David I. had a castle here he must necessarily have had a garden, and where the royal family resided a garden must always have been. Early in the reign of James VI., the practice of gardening became general in Linlithgowshire. In 1623, John Reit and Alexander Dean were convicted and executed, for stealing herbs and roots and bee-hives, from the gardens of Barnbougle, Craigiehall, and Carlowrie (*a*). When John Ray came a botanizing to Linlithgow in August 1661, he found "Bailie Stewart had nourished in his garden divers exotic plants, more than one would have hoped to find in so northerly and cold a country (*b*)."

Linlithgowshire seems never to have enjoyed the benefit of manufacture, except domestic fabrics for family use. The linen which was once made here is no more manufactured (*c*). The town of Linlithgow has, indeed, some manufacture of *white leather*, which is, however, sent off for further improvement (*d*). The shire town formerly enjoyed the exclusive traffic throughout the whole country, from Cramond to the mouth of the Avon, when Blackness

(*n*) Agricult. View, 18-28. (*x*) Ib. 11-12.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 457-9. Jane Livingstone, the prioress of the nuns of Manuel, conveyed, in 1556, their mills upon the Avon, to the Corporation of Linlithgow. Keith's Rel. Houses, 282.

(*z*) As far back as 1594 there was an act of parliament in favour of the fair at Bathgate. Unprinted Act. (*a*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 305.

(*b*) Ray's Itinerary, 200; and he particularized "some such as he had not before seen."

(*c*) In 1728, it appears to have manufactured for sale 6,353 yards, and 29,128 in 1729; in 1792, it still manufactured 9,040 yards. But in 1801 and 1802, this shire had completely lost the manufacture of linen. Official Account.

(*d*) Pennant, ii. 233; and a detail of the number of skins and hides tanned and tawed. Stat. Acco. xiv. 552.

was its port, and like other corporate bodies. struggled a while to preserve its monopoly; but, in 1672, the parliament considering that *many hands* and *many purses* make a *rich trade* and a *wealthy people*, declared that burghs of regality and of barony were entitled to the same freedom of trade as royal burghs (*e*). But whether Linlithgow was formerly a place of *considerable trade, opulence, and splendour*, as we are told may well be doubted though it must be allowed that *considerable* admits of degrees of comparison (*f*). Salt is one of the earliest of the manufactures of this shire, and is still one of the greatest (*g*). Lime is manufactured to a great extent for domestic use, and formerly for foreign export (*h*). Freestone is also wrought to a considerable amount for both those purposes (*i*). The traffic of coal, perhaps, employs the greatest number of hands, except agriculture (*k*). There are considerable distilleries and breweries, which enrich various parts of this shire, as they are so intimately connected with its husbandry (*l*). The spinning of cotton has reared a new village at Blackburn, in Livingston parish (*m*). The Queen's Ferry has found the art of making the manufacture of soap and the catching of herrings profitable to its enterprizing people (*n*). At Whitburn, the influence of Glasgow is felt; the industrious inhabitants being employed by it in flowering muslins in weaving, and in working cottons (*o*). Such, then, are the various branches of manufacture which begin to spring up in this shire, while it cannot boast of its trade or its shipping (*p*).

After the persevering struggles of many years, the custom-house district of Borrowstounness was settled, in December 1713, in opposition to Blackness, which was the earliest port, and the shipping place of the shire town (*q*). The

(*e*) Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 81; and Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Pleadings, 134.

(*f*) Linlithgow town, however, enjoys the benefit of large breweries and distilleries; of tambour factories, of bleaching and printing cottons, of shoes for export, and of snuff for domestic use. Stat. Acco., xiv. 552-56.

(*g*) Sibbald, 18-19. In 1498, Sir Patrick Hamilton was appointed the governor of the castle of Blackness, with leave to build *salt-pans*. Scotstarvit's Calendar.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., xx. 390. (*i*) Ib., i. 237. (*k*) Ib., i. 98; xviii. 436.

(*l*) Ib., iv 467, 556; xviii. 431 (*m*) Ib., xx. 3. (*n*) Ib., xvii. 489. (*o*) Id., 301.

(*p*) On the 6th of October, 1724, being the next day after the annual election of the magistrates of Linlithgow, came on the election of a preses, for *the society* called "The neighbourhood of this Burgh, *for the Propagation of Trade;*" when John Bell, writer, was unanimously elected for the ensuing year. Caledonian Mercury, No. 707.

(*q*) During the reign of William the Lion, William de Vetereponte granted to the monks of Holyrood, "decimum denarium de omnibus *navibus* et batellis, in terra mea de *Blackenes*." Crawfurd's MS. Note, from the Autograph. The shipping here have been often burnt by the English, as we have seen.

port of Borrowstounness extends along the Forth, and upon the shore of Linlithgowshire, from Cramond to Higgen's-Nook, twenty miles; and it comprehends sixteen miles of the opposite coast (*r*). Queensferry was undoubtedly *a port*, as early as the reign of Alexander IV. (*s*). In 1656, Queensferry possessed one vessel of eighteen tons. Before 1692, this creek had acquired seven vessels, carrying in all 770 tons. They continued to increase; and Sibbald talks, magnificently, during the reign of Anne, that Queensferry and Borrowstounness had *six-and-thirty ships;* when Glasgow, Stirling, and Linlithgow carried on from thence, a great trade to Holland, Hamburg, and the Baltic (*t*). There appear to have been registered in 1789, within the several creeks of the port of Borrowstounness, 139 vessels bearing 11,910 tons (*u*). They seem to have increased to 165 vessels in 1792. But the shipping of this port appears to have somewhat decreased, before the year 1802, when Leith upon the east, and Carron on the west of Borrowstounness, begain to gain an obvious ascendency. We may form an accurate judgment, with regard as well to the employment of those shipping as to the trade of this port, from the subjoined detail, as it appears in the Custom-house Registers:

Years.	Foreign Trade.		Coast Trade.		Fishery.		The Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
In 1760 - - -	11	1,111	42	1,910	2	522	55	3.543
1770 - - -	20	2,000	93	4,135	4	451	117	6,536
1780 - - -	24	2,710	116	6,255	—	—	140	8,965
1790 - - -	43	4,885	133	8,284	2	719	178	13,888
1800 - - -	23	2,330	111	6,415	—	—	134	8,745

Yet, whatever may have been the melioration of the agriculture of this shire, the increase of its manufactories, the extension of its trade, and the progress of

(*r*) A MS. Custom-house Detail. On the south side of the Forth, this port comprehends the creeks of South Queensferry, Blackness, Avon water, Grangemouth, being the eastern entrance into the Forth, and Clyde Canal, and Carronshore. On the north side of the Frith, this port comprehends the creeks of Culross, Torry-burn, Crombie-point, Limekilns, Inverkeithing, North Queensferry, and St. David's castle. Id.

(*s*) Chart. Scone, No. 5. Robert I. granted to the abbey of Dunfermline, *Cocketam, cum nova magna custuma,* tum de burgis de Dunfermline, Kirckaldye, Musselburgh, et *Passagio reginæ.* MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*t*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17.

(*u*) MS. Regist. of Shipping.

its shipping, its population seems not to have been much affected. In the whole shire there were scarcely fifteen hundred more people during the year 1801, than it contained in 1755. It is, however, consoling to consider that they are more employed, more opulent, and more comfortable in their several situations, whatever may be the vicissitudes of the world.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] Little has been transmitted with regard to ecclesiastical notices in this shire. At the epoch of the union of the Picts and Scots in 843, the bishopric of Lindisfarne extended to the Avon, perhaps beyond it; comprehending within its ample range the whole area of West-Lothian (*a*). The monastery of Abercorn, within this county, had been settled in a prior age as the venerable seat of the Pictish episcopate, with Trumwin for its bishop (*b*).

The extinction of the Northumbrian monarchy and the fall of its bishopric seem to have left whatever churches existed under the authority of the bishop of St. Andrews, whose authority appears to have been co-extensive with the Scottish territories. At the era of record, we see him exercising his functions over every district of the Lothians (*c*), and the *Decanatus* of Linlithgow contained not only the churches of this shire, but even several parishes in Edinburgh and Stirling shires (*d*). At Kirkliston, which was a town of regality, and the seat of its court, the bishop of St. Andrews had a sort of sovereignty under the king's grant; extending to the whole lands of the bishopric on the south of the Forth. The Earl of Wintoun was long the heritable baillie of this extensive reality. The Earl of Hopetoun, who succeeded him in this office, by purchase, was compensated for the loss of it when heritable jurisdictions were happily abolished (*e*). When the bishopric of Edinburgh was erected

(*a*) Smith's Bede, l. iv. c. 26; App. ii.; Anglia Sacra, i, 698.

(*b*) Simeon of Durham, 62—139; Hoveden, 418.

(*c*) Smith's Bede, App. xx.

(*d*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 3-4; MS. Chart. of Arbroath for a detail of the churches in the *deanery* of Linlithgow. The *archdeaconry* of *Lothian* as we know from the *ancient Taxatio*, was of old subdivided into three *deaneries*: 1st, The *deanery* of *Linlithgow*; 2d, The *deanery* of *Lothian*; and 3d, The *deanery* of the *Merse*. The *archdeaconry* extended at the epoch of that *Taxatio*, from the Forth at Stirling on the north-west, to the Tweed as high as the influx of the Gala on the south-east, and it comprehended within its ample bounds, the east half of Stirlingshire, the whole of Linlithgowshire, Edinburgh, Haddington, and Berwickshire, and those parts of Roxburghshire which lay on the northern side of the Tweed. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the *archdeaconry* of *Lothian* was rated at £20. Currie was the *mansio*, or seat of the archdeacon of Lothian.

(*e*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12-13; List of Claims and Compensations.

in 1633, the churches of Linlithgowshire were placed under his authority, with a reservation, however, of the archbishop's regality and other temporal rights (*f*). But his authority, after successive struggles, was in 1690 abolished for ever. In the town of Linlithgow there were a monastery of *Carmelites*, and one of *Dominicans*. The first was founded by the burgesses in 1290, and consecrated to *the Virgin* (*g*). The origin of the Dominican convent is more obscure, though the vestiges of their house may still be traced in the eastern division of the town (*h*). In the vicinity of this town there was of old an establishment of the *Lazarites* (*i*). This house seems to have fallen into decay; and was restored under James I., as an *hospitum* for the entertainment of pilgrims; which was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and was governed by a preceptor (*k*). There were several chaplainries and altarages about this town, which had been founded by pious persons in pious times; and which were all dilapidated by interested men in a fanatical age (*l*). There was another convent of Carmelites near Queensferry, which was founded in 1130 by the laird of Dundas, and consecrated to *the Virgin*. The remains of their house may still be seen by antiquarian eyes, and their church, which is almost entire may still be examined by those who delight to trace Gothic architecture (*m*). In this shire, however, there were not many *religious houses*, though it contained the seat of the *Templars*. The knights of St. John had their principal seat at Torphichen. This order came into Scotland during the reigh of David I.,

(*f*) See the Charter of Erection in Keith's Bishops, 29.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 505. The rising ground on the southern side of the town, whereon their convent stood, is still called *The Friars Brae*; and an adjacent spring is called *The Friars Well*. Stat. Acco. xiv. 569.

(*h*) Id.

(*i*) Under Alexander II., John White, the son of John the grandson of Gilbert, gave to Liulph the son of Liulph de Preston, a perticate of land, with a croft and part of a toft which he held "de fratribus de *Sancto Lazaro*," in Linlithgow town, in burgage. Chart. Newbotle, 205.

(*k*) Keith, 291; This *hospitium* stood on the eastern side of the town, on the base of an eminence that is still called *Pilgrim's Hill*. One of the ancient fairs of Linlithgow is still named *Mary Magdalen's Fair*. In 1426, James I. on his queen's recommendation, appointed Robert de Lynton the preceptor of Mary Magdalen's hospital. Spottiswoode, 534. In 1528, James Knolls, canon of Ross, and preceptor of this house, granted with the consent of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the whole lands which belonged to this establishment, to Sir James Hamilton of Finard, and this grant was confirmed by James V. This favourite having plotted against the life of his sovereign, was convicted and executed as we have seen.

(*l*) MS. Rec. of Donations.

(*m*) It stands within Dalmeny parish, though it be close to the burgh of Queensferry. Stat. Acco. i. 238.

who endowed it with many lands, uncommon privileges, and valuable exemptions (*o*), and these were all confirmed and enlarged by successive kings; and allowed by several popes. In July 1291, Alexander, "prior hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerusalemitani, in Scotiæ," swore fealty to Edward I. in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*p*). In August 1296, Alexander de Wells, "gardeyn de hospital de Saint John de Jerusalem, en Escose," swore fealty to the same king (*q*). The gallant Wells was probably succeeded by Randulph de Lindsay, who was preceptor vnder Robert I, (*r*). Sir Henry Livingston was preceptor under James II.; and died in 1463: He was succeeded by Sir Henry Knolls, who governed this order in Scotland during half a century; and was commonly called Lord St. John. He was appointed treasurer by James III. in 1468; and was removed in 1470. He now joined the rebellious faction. who pursued that unfortunate king to his unhappy end. He was restored by the influence of the same faction, in 1488, to whom, there is reason to believe, he lent money for accomplishing their treasonous purpose. Knolls was amply repaid by the new rulers (*s*). After being much employed by James IV., Knolls fell fighting by his side on Floddon-field. He was succeeded by Sir George Dundas in 1513, who was the school-fellow of Hector Boece at Paris; and is praised for his learning. Under James V., Sir George was succeeded as preceptor by Sir Walter Lindsay (*t*). Soon after his death, he was snceeded by Sir James Sandilands. In 1560 he joined the reformers;

(*o*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Chart. Newbotle, 242; and Chart. Aberdon, 21-27-34.

(*p*) Rym., ii. 572.

(*q*) Prynne, 656. This prior was slain in the battle of Falkirk, on the 22nd July 1298. Lord Hailes' An., i. 261. Meantime, Edward I. had issued precepts to almost every sheriff in Scotland, to restore the property of the knights of St. John. Rot. Scotiæ, 25, They seem to have had no estates in Argyle, Bute, and Orkney.

(*r*) Roberts Index, 11.

(*s*) He was appointed, in February 1489-90, to collect the king's revenues in Linlithgowshire. Parl. Rec. 364. He also received many grants of much property. Ib., 367. In October 1488, the rights of this order were considered by the parliament. Ib. 340.

(*t*) In February 1533-4, Sir Walter Lindsay, as the head of this order, granted to James Dundas of Craigton, and Elizabeth Hamilton his wife, the lands of Nether-New-Liston. He rose to be Justice-General of Scotland. He was remembered in Lindsay's *Testament of Sqwyer Meldrum:*

> "The wise Sir Walter Lindsay they him call,
> Lord of St. Johne, and knight of Torphichane,
> By sea and land, a valliant capitane."

Sir Walter died in 1538, as we may learn from the inscription on his tomb. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 25; and Monteith's Theatre of Morality.

forseeing that he might thereby obtain the remaining estates of his order as a temporal barony; and he obtained this desirable end by a grant from Queen Mary in January 1563-4, on paying 10,000 crowns and yielding a rent of 500 marks for ever. Much was dilapidated, yet much remained of the knights estates, when Sir James died as Lord Torphichen in 1618 (*u*). The hospital of St. John at Torphichen, stood at a little distance from the village on the north-east. There only remain a square tower and the choir of the ancient church, which still has gothic remains sufficient to gratify antiquarian eyes (*x*).

The Reformation by casting down all those establishments, left the religious house and the ecclesiastical districts in this shire, under the regimen of a presbytery consisting of nineteen parishes, whereof Linlithgow is the seat; and this presbytery, with those of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Haddington, Dunbar, Peebles, and Biggar, form the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale (*y*).

Fable and Sibbald trace up the origin of LINLITHGOW town to King Achaius, who is said to have erected a cross here, which vulgar antiquaries have called *King Cay's Cross.* On the promontory which projects into the middle of the lake, there appears to have been erected, indeed, a chapel, even before the accession of David I. Of old, every royal castle had its peculiar chapel. The castle and the royal residence gave rise to a village in the royal demesne, which required a church. The present parish of Linlithgow comprehends the ancient parishes of Linlithgow and Binning, which were united after the Reformation; and upon the height near the royal palace, stands St. Michael's church, whose statue yet remains upon the Steeple, which is very high and is of excellent structure in the judgment of Sibbald (*z*). David I. granted to the

(*u*) In December 1618, James, Lord Torphichen, was served heir to James, his father, in many lands, with the privilege of a free chapel and chancery, with the advowson of churches. Inquisit. Speciales, vii. 108.

(*x*) Stat. Acco., iv. 469.

(*y*) During one-and-twenty years, indeed, the churches of Linlithgowshire were placed under the rule of a superintendent. This presbytery was not formed till some years afterward; and it contains nineteen parishes, of which two are in Mid-Lothian, four in Stirlingshire, and the remaining thirteen in Linlithgowshire. The ancient seal of this presbytery has been lately found, with the year 1583 engraved upon it. This curious and long-lost seal was made of brass, of a size somewhat larger than a crown piece. Round the edge is this inscription: "Sigillum Presbyterii Linlithcu." And in the midst of some decorations it has these words of instruction: "Verbum autem Dei nostri stabit in æternum." Stat. Acco., xiv. 570.

(*z*) Linlithgow, 15. One of the wells in the town bears the name of St. Michael; and the

prior of St. Andrews the church of Linlithgow, with the chapel, and with their lands both within and without the burgh (*a*). In the *ancient Taxatio*, there is the *ecclesia* de *Lynlythku*, which was assessed at 120 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, there is the *vicaria* de *Lynlythgu*, which is valued at £5; the rectory being in the prior of St. Andrews. In the days of David II., there appears to have been, in Linlithgow, a *perpetual vicar*, who was incidentally the king's chaplain (*b*). There were several chaplainries erected within St. Michael's church (*c*). There was, in ancient times, a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian at the West Port of Linlithgow. In 1606, there was a *general synod* of the church held at Linlithgow, and there was a *conventus ecclesiasticus* at the same town, in July 1608 (*d*). [The Parish Church has 932 communicants: stipend, £400. A Free Church (1873-4) has 253 members. Two U.P. Churches have 494 members. There are also R.C. and Congregational and Evangelical Union Churches.]

Of old Binning parish lay eastward of Linlithgow, having its appropriate church. In the ancient Taxatio, there is the *ecclesia* de *Bynyn*, in *decanatu* de *Linlithcu*, which was assessed at ten marks. From those intimations we may infer that this district formed, in those times, a distinct parish, which was subsequently annexed to the parish of Linlithgow. The town had formerly two ministers to perform this double duty; but one of them was dismissed by the magistrates, when it was forgotten that there were two parishes to be served (*e*). *Binning* derived its name from the Gaelic *Binn*, or *Bein*, a hill, and this appellation was no doubt applied to a neighbouring hillock; and the

arms of Linlithgow exhibit him with this inscription: "Vis Michaelis collocet nos in cœlo." Stat. Acco., xiv. 567. James V. erected a throne and twelve stalls in this church for himself and *the knights of the Thistle.* Ib. 568.

(*a*) Reg. of St. Andrews, and Crawfurd's MS. Collections, 437. In 1477, there was an agreement between John, the prior of St. Andrews, and the corporation of Linlithgow, about the building and upholding the quire of the church of Linlithgow. MS. Chart. in the Adv. Library.

(*b*) In 1363, David II. granted to Ade, the perpetual vicar of *Lynlithcu*, the king's chaplain, £10 Sterling yearly, out of the *royal customs* of that *burgh* during the life of the vicar. Regist. David II. lib. 72. In a charter of David the bishop of St. Andrews, 1240 A.D., he reserved the dues of *the vicar of Linlithcu*, who performed the service, according to the *taxation* of William his predecessor. Charters in Harl. Library. John Laing the vicar of Linlithgow rose in 1474 to be bishop of Glasgow. George Crichton the vicar of Linlithgow became abbot of Holyrood in 1500, and bishop of Dunkeld in 1522. His attachment to his old vicarage induced him to erect on the chancel a durable roof, which is adorned with the arms of the see of Dunkeld, and with the initials of his name. He died in January 1543-4. (*c*) MS. Donations; Wight on Elections, 465.

(*d*) Spottiswoode's Church Hist., 500-5.

(*e*) There are now two seceding churches in Linlithgow; a Burger and an Antiburger. Stat. Acco., xix. 576.

diminutive of *Bein* is Bein-an, a little hill. In October 1495, the lords auditors in parliament heard the suit of the executor of the parson of *Bennin*, claiming the tithes and other dues of the church of *Bennin* (*f*). In the 12th and 13th century, the manor of Bynyn belonged to the family of Lindsay. Before the year 1195, William de Lindsay granted to the monks of Cambuskenneth a carucate of land in the manor of *Bynyn* (*g*). In the reign of James VI., the barony of Binning was acquired by Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was created Lord *Binning* and Earl of Haddington (*h*). After the Reformation, the parish of Binning was annexed to that of Linlithgow. In 1633, the minister of Linlithgow was constituted one of the prebendaries of Edinburgh diocese. In 1635, the advowson of the church of Linlithgow, which had belonged to the priors of St. Andrews, with the other churches and lands of that priory, were conferred on the archbishop of St. Andrews, as a compensation for the loss of that part of his diocese that formed the bishopric of Edinburgh (*i*). On the abolition of episcopacy, in 1690, the patronage of the church of Linlithgow, whose British name has been already explained, fell to the king (*k*).

Of the name of the parish of ABERCORN, nothing more than probable conjecture can now be stated, saith the learned minister, with respect to its etymology. The church and village of Abercorn are situated upon an angular point, which is sixty or eighty feet above the level of the Firth. About a hundred yards below the church, the Cornie and Midhope burns unite, and after running a hundred yards further, fall into the Forth. The minister thus describes the location of the thing signified, without being able to etymologize the name, which denotes the place ; but neither the history of the various settlers here, nor the dictionaries of their several languages, were at hand. *Aber* cornie is merely the *confluence* of the *Cornie*, in the British speech of the first settlers, near the two confluences, which have been mentioned of the Cornie with the Midhope, and both with the Forth (*l*). During the middle ages this place was

(*f*) Parl. Rec., 469.

(*g*) Chart. Cambusken., 29.

(*h*) In June 1637, Thomas, Earl of Haddington, and Lord *Binning*, was served heir to his father in the barony of *Binning*, with the mills and church-lands of Easter and Wester Binning, with the pertinents. Inquisit. Speciales, xv. 140.

(*i*) Reliq. Divi. Andreæ, 181.

(*k*) The church is ancient, and forms a specimen of Gothic architecture. Many of its ornaments were destroyed at the Reformation. The statue of St. Michael escaped ; as on the top of the steeple it could not be reached. For other particulars see the Statistical Account, xiv.

(*l*) *Aber* is the well-known British term which is so familiar in the topography of Wales and of North-Britain for a *confluence of waters*, the junction of streams, the fall of a lesser river into a

called Abercurnig, or rather Abercornie, as we may learn from Bede and Ussher (*m*). In the successive charters of Robert I., David II., Robert II., and other kings, this district is called the barony of Abercorn and of Abercorne (*n*). Of the monastery which is mentioned by Bede, there is not a vestige, saith Sibbald. This ancient monastery, the seat of the bishop of the Picts, seems to have been early transferred to the bishopric of Dunkeld. In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches *without* the bishopric, the *vicaria* de *Abercorn* was valued at fifty-three shillings and four-pence. The church-lands of Abercorn, which belonged to the bishops of Dunkeld, were, with the other lands which they held on the south of the Forth, included in their barony of Aberlady. The manor of Abercorn belonged as early as the reign of David I. to Robert Avenel. His descendant, John Avenel, contended for the patronage of the church of Abercorn with the bishop of Dunkeld, who prevailed. During the reign of Alexander III., the heiress of Avenel carried the manor to Nicolas de Graham of Dalkeith, whom she married; and their descendant, Sir John Graham, conveyed it to Sir William More; and, in the reign Robert III., the manor passed from David More to Archibald Earl of Douglas, and it was forfeited by his descendant, Earl Douglas, in 1455 (*o*). In 1601, James VI. granted this barony to James Hamilton, the eldest son of Claud, Lord Paisley. In 1603, he acquired a charter from the same king erecting Abercorn and other lands into a free barony, and in 1606 he was created Earl of Abercorn, and died in 1618 (*p*). This barony afterward passed from this family; and in 1678 it was sold by Sir William Seton to John Hope, from whom it descended to his son Charles, the Earl of Hopetoun, who acquired the patronage of the church after the abolition of episcopacy, in 1690 (*q*). [The Parish Church has 283 Communicants; Stipend, £392. A Free Church has 99 members].

The name of the parish of CARRIDEN, which is vulgarly pronounced *Carrin*, is certainly of Celtic origin, saith the learned minister (*r*). The site of the ancient

greater, or the confluence of a river into the sea. Owen's Dict.; as Camden and Ussher had said before him. The *Cornie* takes its rise about a mile above its junction, from a marshy piece of ground, and runs through Lord Hopetoun's park; but it is so narrow and feeble that you can scarcely perceive it to be a burn. Its course is circular or bending, as we may see in the map of the Lothians. Now, *Cor-an* signifies the bending water.

(*m*) Primordia, 602. (*n*) Robertson's Index.

(*o*) Robertson's Index, i.; Chart. Inchcolm; Regist. Dav. II., lib., i. 74; and Regist. Rob. II., Rot. F., 16. (*p*) Dougl. Peer., 2.

(*q*) The church is ancient, and stands at the village of Abercorn, on the angle formed by the union of the Cornie with the Midhope burn. Stat. Acco., xx. 383-395.

(*r*) Ib., i. 97.

church formed the eastern extremity of the Roman wall. *Caer-Adin* or *Eden* signified, in the British language of Roman times, the *fort* on the wing, or projection like a wing (*s*). Carriden house, near which stood the ancient church, stands on the brink of a high and perpendicular bank of the Forth, and at Caereden there are vestiges of a *fort*, saith Horsley (*t*). This place was mentioned by Gildas, and it was called *Caer-Eden* during the middle ages, as we know from Ussher (*u*). In the ancient *Taxatio* there is the *ecclesia* de *Karedyn*, in decanatu de Linlithgow, which was rated at 25 marks (*x*). The church of Carriden was bestowed by William de Vetereponte on the monks of Holyrood in the twelfth century. It was confirmed to them by successive bishops of St. Andrews. and particularly by David, the bishop of the same see in 1240 (*y*). When the bishopric of Edinburgh was erected this church was transferred to it with the other churches which belonged to that monastery, and was disannexed from it when that episcopate was abolished (*z*). [The Parish Church, erected in 1766, has 270 communicants; stipend £415].

The parish and the name of BORROWSTOUNNESS [or Bo'ness] are both very modern (*a*), and were of old known by the name of *Kinneil*. It has been supposed by some that *Kinneil* was the *Penuahel* and Penueltun of Bede, and Nennius, the head or end of the Roman wall. But the fact does not warrant the supposition. Bede's *Penuahel* is only two miles from Abercorn, and Kinneil is nearly seven miles from the same place. The ancient spelling of this kirk-town was *Kynell*. In the charters of the 14th century the name is written Keneill and *Kineill*. There are other places in Scotland of the same name (*b*). Those names are obviously Gaelic, though the etymon cannot be decisively settled. *Cin*-aill, in the Gaelic, signifies the *head* or *end* of the steep bank. *Kineil*-house, in this parish, stands on the top of a bank fifty feet above the

(*s*) See Owen's Dict., in vo. Aden. The etymology above may be supported by the ancient form of the name.

(*t*) Brit. Rom. 159.

(*u*) Primordia, 602.

(*x*) It is often mentioned as a barony, in the charters of David II., by the name of *Carriden* and Caredyn. Robertson's Index.

(*y*) Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*z*) Keith, 33. After that abolition, the patronage of the church was acquired by the family of Hamilton.

(*a*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17.

(*b*) Kinnell is the name of a parish in Forfarshire; and there is in Perthshire a place named *Kinnell*, which in a charter of Robert I. is written Kinneill. Robert's, Index, 16.

level of the Forth (*c*). These coincidences seem to establish the real origin of the name of *Kinneil*. In the ancient *Taxatio* the church of Kynell is rated at 25 marks. It was granted in the 12th century to the canons of Holyrood, and it was confirmed to them by the successive diocesans, particularly by David, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1240 (*d*). It continued with them till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The canons enjoyed the revenues of the rectory, and the cure was served by the vicar. This barony was probably forfeited during the succession war. It was granted by Robert I. to Walter, the son of Gilbert, with the lands of Lethberd and Alcathie (*e*). Robert III. granted the barony of Kinneil to James Hamilton (*f*); and with the family of Hamilton it still continues. In 1623 this parish and church formed a part of the episcopate of Edinburgh and followed it fate. The site of *Borrowstounness* upon a promontory or *ness*, which projects into the Forth in the vicinity of the ancient burgh of Linlithgow, gave a name to a flourishing port. In 1634, the inhabitants of Borrowstounness built a church for themselves; and they petitioned the parliament in 1649 to declare it a parish church. This rising town during an active age, was, with a determinate district, erected into a separate parish. In 1669, the Duke of Hamilton obtained an act of parliament for uniting this with the old parish of Kinneil, and declaring the church of Borrowstounness to be the parish kirk of both the parishes as well as the barony of Kinneil (*g*). Such are the changes which society in its progress is constantly making, and which confound the weakness of ignorance and embarrass the researches of learning. [The Parish Church, 900 members; stipend £400. A Free Church has 259 members, and a U. P. Church 283 members.]

The present parish of DALMENY comprehends the ancient parishes of *Dumanie* and *Aldcathie*. *Dalmenie* is merely a corruption of *Dumanie*. In charters from the 12th to the 17th century the name is written in the Latin form, *Dumanyn*,

(*c*) Stat. Acco., xviii. 425. The church of Kinneil in Forfarshire, stands on the end of a height, which forms the bank of the Lunan water, and is about forty feet high. The Kinneil in Perthshire, stands on the bank of the river Dochart, where it joins the Lochy.

(*d*) Reg. of St. Andrews. In 1512, John Stirling granted £10 sterling, yearly, from his lands of Easter-Craikey, to a chaplain for performing divine services at one of the altars of Kinneil church. MS. Donations. (*e*) Roberts. Index., 11. (*f*) Ib., 139.

(*g*) Unprinted Act, 1669; Sibbald, 17; Stat. Acc. xviii. 423-437. The ruins of the old church of Kinneil with its burying-ground are still to be seen, a little westward from Kinneil house, which was once dignified by the residence of the Duke of Hamilton, and was ruined by the reformers, as we have seen. The two parishes, with the old and new stipends, were now merged in one parish. In 1672, an act of parliament was made for repairing the kirk of Borrowstounness. For other notices, see the Stat. Acc., xviii.

which changes in the vulgar speech to Dumanie. The Scottish termination of (ie) or (y), was uniformly converted into (in) or (yn) by the Latin scribes of the chancery. *Dumanie*, in the Gaelic, is said to mean a *black heath*, of which, probably, a great portion of its higher grounds once consisted (*h*). In the ancient *Taxatio* there is the ecclesia de *Dumanyn*, in decanatu de Linlithcu, which was valued at 50 marks (*i*). The name is Celtic, but not Gaelic (*k*), and it is *British*, the original appellation which was imposed by the first settlers a thousand years perhaps before the Scottish people advanced to the Forth. The pristine name was *Du-manan*, signifying in that descriptive language the black or gloomy places or spots (*l*). The church of *Dumanin* was very early granted to the monks of Jedburgh; and this grant was confirmed by David, who was the bishop of St. Andrews from 1233 to 1253 (*m*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., there is the *vicaria* de *Dumany*, which is assessed at £2 13s. 4d. Dalmeny was a parsonage during the 12th century (*n*). It continued to belong to the monks of Jedburgh till the Reformation dissolved the ancient connection. The monks meantime enjoyed the revenues of the rectory, while the cure was served by a vicar (*o*). Before that epoch there were several altars in the church of Dalmeny, with appropriate revenues (*p*). During that period the parsonage tithes were often by the monks leased to the neighbouring country gentlemen, according to the frequent practice of that penurious age (*q*).

(*h*) Stat. Acco., i. 227.

(*i*) In a charter of Robert I. it is called the barony of *Dummanyn*. Robertson's Index; and in Macpherson's Illustrations the name is Dumanyn.

(*k*) In the Gaelic, Du-Monáh signifies the black heath or moor.

(*l*) The change of the name appears not to have taken place till the 17th century. In an act of parliament, 1597, it is written *Dumany*. In Pont's Map of the Lothians it is *Dunmeny*.

(*m*) Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*n*) There is a charter of Waldeve, the Earl of Dunbar, from 1166 to 1182, to the monks of Dunfermline, which was witnessed by Helia de Dundas and Robert Avenel, *the parson* of Dumanie. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 103. During the reign of William or Alexander II., the church of this parish was granted to the monks of Jedworth, and was confirmed by the diocesan. Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*o*) William, the vicar of Dumany, swore fealty to Edward I., in August 1296, and received back his estates in return for his submission. Prynne, iii. 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

(*p*) There was an altar dedicated in that church to St. Cuthbert, and another to St. Brigid. MS. Roll of Small Benefices, at the Reformation.

(*q*) In May 1471, the lords auditors in parliament, assigned a day to the lairds of Dundas, Barnbougle and Craigie, to prove that Robert, late Lord Boyd, had a sufficient lease from the

The church and hamlet of Aldcathie appear to have borrowed their names from the rivulet on which they stood; Alcathie, in the Gaelic, signifying the rivulet of the breach or defile. The church was but of little value of old. In the ancient Taxatio it is rated at only four marks. It appears not to have been taxed in Bagimont's Roll, as it seems to have belonged to some religious house. After the Reformation, this parish, which was of small extent, was annexed to Dalmeny; and the church of Aldcathie was suffered to fall into ruins. The antiquarian eyes of Sibbald saw it in a very ruinous state (*r*). The ancient lords of the manor of Aldcathie seem to have forfeited their estate during the succession war, and it was granted by Robert I. to Walter, the son of Gilbert, as we have seen (*s*). The manor of Dalmeny appears to have belonged to the Moubrays during the 13th century. It was forfeited, early in the succession war by Rodger Moubray, and Robert I. granted the manor to Murdoch Menteith (*t*). It was, after various transmissions, acquired, during the reign of Charles II. by Archibald Primrose, who was created Viscount Primrose in 1700, and Earl of Rosebery and Lord *Dalmeny* in 1703. His descendant, the Earl of Rosebery, is now the proprietor of the parish and patron of the church, which is very ancient, and is interesting to those who delight in the study of architectural antiquities (*u*). [The Parish Church has 337 communicants; stipend, £380].

The parish of QUEENSFERRY is co-extensive with the limits of the burgh. It was comprehended in the parish of Dalmeny, as we have seen, till the year 1636, when it was erected into a separate parish (*x*). There was, indeed, in ancient times, saith Sibbald, a chapel of ease at this place, which had been built by Dundas of Dundas, and which might still be traced from its ruins by antiquarian search (*y*). The name is modern as well as the district. This place was first distinguished, as we have perceived, in the charters of Mal-

abbot of Jedworth of the tithes of Dumany church. In August 1473, the lords auditors adjudged that the lairds of Craigie and Dundas should pay to the abbot of Jedburgh 100 marks for the tithes of Dumany during the bygone year. Parl. Rec., 162-180.

(*r*) Hist. Linlithgow, 20. But he mistakingly placed the ancient church in Abercorn parish, which does interpose between them. The parliament of December 1597 passed an act with respect to Dumany kirk. Unprinted Act.

(*s*) Roberts. Index, 11. After various transmissions, it passed, before the reign of Charles II., into the hands of a gentleman named Monteith, and from him it passed to the Hopes; and the Earl of Hopetoun now claims a portion of the patronage as proprietor of Aldcathie; but he has not yet made good his claim. Stat. Acco., i. 236. (*t*) Roberts. Index, 11.

(*u*) Stat. Acco., i. 235-6, for more particular details.

(*x*) Stat. Acco., xvii. 489. (*y*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 11.

colm IV., by the designation of *Passagium Reginæ*, from the frequent use of this ferry by his great-grandmother, Margaret, the celebrated queen of Malcolm Canmore. The opposite landing-place on the Forth was also called Queen's-ferry, North Queensferry, and North Ferry (*z*), which must always be distinguished from this burgh and parish on the southern side of the Firth. [The Parish Church has 357 communicants; stipend, £355. A U.P. Church has 328 members].

The ancient name of the parish of KIRKLISTON was Temple-Liston, says the minister, who adds, that *Lioston*, in the Gaelic, signifies an *enclosure on the side of a river* (*a*). The ancient name of the district was *Liston*, and it was probably a mere compound of the British *Llys*, signifying a court, a hall, a manor-place, to which some Saxon settler added *tun*, the notation of his dwelling. The word *kirk* was prefixed to Liston during the 16th century, to distinguish the kirk-town from other places within the parish of the same appellation of Liston (*b*). The manor of Liston was granted, during the 12th century, to the knights of the Tenple, from whom it acquired the name of *Temple-Liston*. Their successors, the knights of St. John, enjoyed this manor till the Reformation, though not without dilapidations (*c*). Sir James Sandilands, the chief of the order of St. John, now acquired their whole estates, as a temporal lordship, as we have seen. The church of Liston was early of great value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* was rated at 70 marks. The church, with the village, the mill, and much of the adjacent lands, called the *mains*, or demesne, and kirk-lands of Kirkliston, were granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, though at what time is uncertain; but Liston was formed into the seat of the regal jurisdiction, which the bishop and his successors acquired over their estates on the southern side of the Forth (*d*). Liston was of old a rectory (*e*). A perpetual

(*z*) Stat. Acco., xvii. 489; Ib., x. 506; Blaeu's Atlas, No. 9-10; Map of the Lothians.

(*a*) Stat. Acco., x. 68.

(*b*) Such as, Hall-Liston, Old-Liston, New-Liston, and Iliston, or High-Liston.

(*c*) Dundas of Craigton obtained New-Liston in 1543, whose descendants enjoyed it till the Revolution, when it was carried into the family of Dalrymple by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Dundas, who married the second Viscount of Stair. In 1703 he was created Earl of Stair, and, with other titles, Lord *New-Liston*. And it was to New-Liston that the field marshal, Earl of Stair, like another Cincinnatus, retired from wars alarms to agricultural pursuits and local improvements, which ended only with his life, in 1747.

(*d*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12. The hall wherein the baillie of this jurisdiction held his courts was standing when Sibbald wrote.

(*e*) In July 1296, William de Kinghorn, the rector of Liston, swore fealty to Edward I., and thereupon obtained a return of his property. Prynne, 650-62; Rot. Scotiæ, 24. In 1358 and 1365, W. Houbert, or Hundebit, the rector of Liston, travelled into England, attended by six horsemen. Rym., v. 105-463. In 1406 and 1409, Andrew de Hawick, a canon of Dunkeld, was rector of Liston, secretary to the regent Albany, whose charters he witnessed. Roberts. Index, 160.

vicarage appears to have been established for the cure of the church, while the parsonage was enjoyed by the archbishops of St Andrew as a mensal benefice. In 1593, the parliament passed an act for dissolving the parsonage and the vicarage of Kirkliston (*f*). During the reign of James VI., Kirkliston, as belonging to the archbishop of St. Andrews, was attached to the presbytery of Dunfermline, with which it continued till episcopacy was abolished in 1690 (*g*). At that epoch, the patronage of the church of Kirkliston fell to the king. The church, which is a very ancient building, stands at the kirk-town, upon a rising ground, on the northern bank of the Almond river (*h*). [The Parish Church has 755 communicants; stipend, £473. A Free Church has 198 members.]

Whether the church of ECCLESMACHAN was dedicated to a saint of that name is uncertain, saith the learned minister (*i*). Yet, as the name implies, the church was certainly dedicated to St. Machan (*k*). The church of Ecclesmachan appears to have been of old only of middling value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* it is rated at 24 marks. It continued a rectory till the Reformation. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Inchmacham was taxed at £6 13s. 4d.; and the same rectory appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547. Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor of the knights of St. John, claimed the patronage of this parish, though without absolute right, as we see the church taxed in Bagimont's Roll. Whatever there may be in this, the lands of Ecclesmachan, and the patronage of the church, were afterwards acquired by the Hopes, who are now represented by the Earl of Hopetoun, who is proprietor of one half of the parish. [The Parish Church has 1012 communicants; stipend, £399].

The parish of UPHALL was formerly called *Strathbroc*, which is a Celtic word, signifying the valley of brocks or badgers. The parish consists of a strath or vale, through which runs Brox-burn (*l*). The old parish church was dedi-

(*f*) Unprinted Act.

(*g*) In a Roll of the Churches, within the diocese of St. Andrews, 1683, Kirkliston is mentioned as being in the presbytery of Dunfermline. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 59.

(*h*) The hamlet of Old Liston, and about a fourth of the parish, lie on the south-east of the Almond, in Edinburghshire. (*i*) Stat. Acco., ii. 307.

(*k*) Dempster's Menologia; Keith, 233. He flourished during the 9th century, and finished his useful career on the 28th of September. Id. *Eglwys*, in the British, signifies a church, and Eglais, in the Gaelic, equally signifies the same; and both those Celtic terms have been corrupted, by popular use, into *Eccles*. There are several other churches in Scotland dedicated to St. Machan, whence we may infer his popularity, arising from his usefulness. By some strange perversion, the name of this parish was converted into *Inchmachan*; and so it is called in Pont's Map of the Lothians.

(*l*) Brox-burn, says Sibbald, Linlithgow, 14, runs through much of the valley of this name before it falls into Almond water. There are other *Brox-burns* in Scotland.

cated to St. Nicholas (*m*). It stood on the northern side of the village of Strathbroc, 700 yards north-east from the mansion-house of *Kirk-hill.* It seems of old to have been of considerable value, and in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 40 marks. The church was a rectory in early times (*n*). The rectory of Strathbroc was annexed to the provostry of Kirkheugh, and formed one of the prebends of that establishment (*o*). When this provostry was annexed by parliament to the archbishopric, the parsonage of Strathbroc was reserved (*p*). The patronage of the rectory, after the dissolution of the provostry, appears to have been conferred on the proprietor of the lands. The manor of Strathbroc was granted by David I. to *Freskyn* the Fleming, as we know from an inspeximus charter of William the Lion (*q*). Strathbroc was inherited by the descendants of Freskyn till the reign of Alexander III., when Mary the eldest daughter of Freskyn de Moray, carried the manor of Strathbroc to her husband Reginald le Chene of Inverugie. It descended to their son and grandson, and Reginald le Chene, the grandson, dying in 1350, left two daughters, Mariot and Mary, who enjoyed his estates. Strathbroc was inherited by Mariot, who in 1366 settled the half of the barony of Strathbroc on her son by her late husband John de Douglas, and in 1390, she resigned the other half of the same barony to Andrew de Keith, one of her sons by her second husband. After various transmissions, that part of the barony of Strathbroc which comprehends the kirk-town, was acquired by that eminent lawyer, Sir Lewis Stewart, who flourished under Charles I.; and who transmitted his estate to his son Sir James, whose daughter Catherine carried it to her husband Henry, Lord Cardross. The great-grandson of this marriage, the Earl of Buchan, now enjoys from them this estate with the patronage of the church. During the 17th century, a new parish church was built a mile higher up the vale, at a place called *Uphall*, whence the parish obtained its present name (*r*). There appears to have been a chapel of old at Bangour, in

(*m*) The inscription upon the bell of the old church is, "Campanum Sancti Nicholai de Strathbroke, 1441." This bell, which was removed from its ancient steeple to the new church at Uphall, proves the dedication of the church to St. Nicholas. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., 150-5.

(*n*) In 1296, Ferchard, the parson of the church of Strathbroc, swore fealty to Edward I., and obtained thereupon restitution of his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 24. In Bagimont's Roll, it was taxed at £10. And the same rectory appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*o*) In March 1594-5, the parson of Strathbroc signed a deed, as one of the prebendaries of Kirkheugh, with the provost. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 217.

(*p*) Unprinted Act, 1621.

(*q*) Freskyn afterward acquired, from David I., various lands in Moray, and he thus became the unquestionable progenitor of the Morays and Sutherlands, who both trace their pedigrees to the same source.

(*r*) In 1524, Archdeacon Dingwall granted to the church of Strathbroc a mansion and yard, called the principal mansion of Strathbroc-Wester, with four acres of land, and six acres, called Seiterland,

this parish. This estate was long the inheritance of the Hamiltons, and it was dignified, at length, by the birth of the elegant poet Hamilton of Bangour. [The Parish Church has 535 communicants; stipend, £453. A Chapel of Ease at Broxburn has 235 commnnicants. A Free Church at Broxburn has 435 members, and a U.P. Church at the same place has 262 members. There is also a R.C. Church at Broxburn.]

The name of the parish of TORPHICHEN is said to signify *ten hills.* A range of hills, having so many particular tops, lie in the vicinity of the village of Torphichen (*s*); but there is a mount having a fine prospect, called *Torphichen hill,* in the southern parts of Edinburghshire (*t*). The old form of the name is *Torfechin* and *Torfichen.* The Celtic word seems to be most naturally derived from the Gaelic *Torfeachan,* signifying the mount having a good view, or *prospect hill.* The village and church stand on an elevated terrace, which commands a beautiful view; and they are at the base of several small *tors* or hills, which command extensive prospects of the Forth, and of the countries on either side of that firth. Torphichen was the great seat of the knights of St. John in Scotland; and it furnished their last preceptor, Sir James Sandilands, with the title of Lord Torphichen, to whom it was granted as a temporal lordship in 1563-4. The chapel appeareth to be old, says Sibbald (*u*); and the church of Torphichen does not exist in the ancient *Taxatio,* being exempted from assessments, as the peculiar of those knights of Jerusalem, whose last preceptor has long enjoyed their estates, and is now the patron of the church. [The Parish Church, erected in 1756, has 241 communicants; stipend, £204. A Free Church has 157 members, and a Free Church mission at Blackridge has 71 members].

The parish of BATHGATE had once the honour of being a sheriffdom, and has been long dignified by the location of many gentlemen's seats within it. In the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name of this place is written *Bathket, Batket, Bathkat,* and *Bathcat.* The name is obviously Celtic, but the etymology is difficult. *Bad-cad* in the Gaelic, would signify the high bush or clump of wood; *Bad-caid* would mean the bush or clump on the summit; and Bad-coed, *Bad-cat,* would convey the idea of a bush of wood. It seems impossible to fix the meaning of the name which has been corrupted, on any satisfactory principle. The church of old appears to have been of middling value. In the ancient *Taxatio* of the churches in decanatu de Linlithcu, there is the ecclesia de *Bathket,* which was assessed at 30 marks (*x*). Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Holyrood the church of *Batket,* with the land, which was set out by Galfrid de Malleville and Uchtred, the sheriff of

and also an acre, called the Tenand-land, lying in the barony of Strathbroc. This donation was confirmed by a charter of James V. MS. Donations.

(*s*) Stat. Acco., iv. 465. (*t*) Map of the Lothians. (*u*) Linlithgow, 24.

(*x*) *Bath* is a very frequent prefix to the names of places in Scotland.

Linlithcu (*y*). Robert, the diocesan, who died about 1159, confirmed to those monks the church of Bathgate, with a carucate of land, and the tithes and pertinents (*z*). During Robert I.'s reign, the church of *Bathgate* and its tithes lands, and pertinents, were transferred by the abbot and monks of Holyrood, to the abbot and monks of Newbotle, in satisfaction of a long arrear of rent which was then due, for some salt-works and estates in the Carse of Callander; and this interested transfer of difficult times was confirmed by the diocesan bishop Landels in 1327 (*a*). The monks of Newbotle now enjoyed the church of Bathgate till the Reformation, the cure being served by a vicar. Since the Reformation, the patronage of the church has been enjoyed generally by the proprietor of the estate. The church was built in 1739, within the ancient town of Bathgate, and here also have the seceding Burghers a meeting-house, though they are not very numerous. [The Parish Church, rebuilt in 1882, has 954 communicants; stipend, £346. A *quoad sacra* church at Armadale has 332 communicants. There are also two Free Churches, (590 members), U.P. (176 members), Evangelical Union, Wesleyan Methodist, and R.C. churches].

As to the name of the parish of *Livingston*, the learned minister says he will not offer a conjecture (*b*). The name was originally Levings-tun, the *ton* or dwelling-place of Leving, who lived here as early perhaps as the age of Alexander I. In a charter of Robert the bishop of St. Andrews, confirming David I.'s grant to the monks of Holyrood, Thurstanus filius *Levingi* is a witness (*c*). The *peel* of Livingston still remains the undoubted memorial of a baronial strength; having high ramparts, with deep ditches which are full of water (*d*). The church is a little way to the west of it; and half a mile further west is the town of Livingston (*e*). Livingston parish was formerly of great extent. It comprehended the present parishes of Livingston and Whitburn; the last, containing nearly two-thirds of the ancient parish, was disjoined and made a separate parish in 1730. The church of Livingston appears to have been of old only of middling value, and in the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at 25 marks (*f*). The monks of Holyrood enjoyed the church of Livingston till the Reformation dissolved such connections; and the cure was served by a vicar (*g*). After the Reformation, the patronage of the church appears to have

(*y*) Chart. Newbotle, 159. The land thus laid off was merely a carucate, or plough of land.

(*z*) Ib., 160. (*a*) Ib., 179. (*b*) Stat. Acco., xx. 12.

(*c*) Sir J. Dalrymple's Col., 421. Sir James says, the original charter Thurstanii filii *Levingi* is yet to be seen, whereby he granted to the monks of Holyrood "ecclesiam de Levingestune" [Livingstun]. And he adds that Thurstan and *Living* were the predecessors of the Livingstons, and gave their name to the land, and to the surname of Livingston of that *ilk*. Ib., 421. Dougl. Peerage, 409-10. (*d*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 21. (*e*) Id.

(*f*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the vicarage of Livingston was taxed £2 13s 4d.

(*g*) In 1488, Alexander Curror, the vicar of Livingston, granted a perpetual annuity of 20 marks Scots to the Trinity altar in St. Andrews church, near the castle of Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin., 206.

been transferred to Dundas of Dundas, who obtained a parliamentary ratification of it in 1612 (*b*). The parish church and manse, which stand on a dry mount in a curve of the river Almond, are modern and convenient (*i*). [The Church was repaired in 1837, and has 264 communicants; stipend, £232. A Free Church has 87 members.]

Whitburn, as we have seen, was of old a large portion of the parish of Livingston, till it was separated in 1730, and formed into a new parish, the most modern of any in Linlithgowshire (*k*). The learned minister supposes that it took its name of Whitburn, from the settlement here of many families of the name of *White* (*l*); yet was it obviously named Whiteburn, in contradistinction to Blackburn, which, on the eastward, runs at no great distance. For the purpose of erecting the church of Whitburn, money was raised by subscription throughout Scotland. So much more was thus raised, as to buy land, which rents for £100 sterling yearly, and which forms much of the stipend. To this was added £28 6s. 8d. from the teinds of the parish, by a decree of the commissioners for plantation of kirks. A contest immediately ensued for the patronage of the church thus newly erected, the patron of the old claiming the patronage of the new, and on an appeal, the House of Lords decided in favour of the old patron of Livingston parish. This decision, however consonant to law, gave such disgust to the parishioners of Whitburn, that two-thirds of them seceded from the Established Church; and there are now in Whitburn two seceding congregations; the one of Burghers, and the other of Antiburghers (*m*). [Established Churches at Whitburn and Fauldhouse, have 710 communicants, a Free Church has 128, and a U.P. Church 415 members.]

To the foregoing notices of ecclesiastical history, there is here subjoined, as an useful supplement, a *Tabular State* of the several parishes in Linlithgowshire; yet it may be proper to remember that a fourth part of Kirkliston parish, lying on the eastern side of Almond river, is in Edinburghshire. The stipends of all the parishes in this shire, except Torphichen, Queensferry, and Whitburn, have been lately augmented. In 1755, Linlithgow had two ministers, whose stipends were, for the first, £84 7s. 11d.; and for the second, £55 11s. 1d. In forming the estimate of all those stipends, the value of the glebes are included, but not the value of the manses; and the victual, which forms so much of the stipends, was valued, according to an average of the fier prices of the middling sorts of victual in this shire, during the seven years ending with 1795 (*n*).

(*h*) Unprinted Act. (*i*) Stat. Acco., xx. 13. (*k*) Ib., xvii. 302.
(*l*) Stat. Acco., xvii. 298. (*m*) Ib., xviii. 302-3.
(*n*) The Linlithgow boll of wheat contains 4 bushels 10 pints, and 6.7 cubic inches; of barley and oats, 6 bushels 3 pints, 25.5 cubic inches, English standard measure; and the boll of meal is 8 stone, or 128 pounds Scots Troy. The wheat was valued at 25s., the barley at 18s. 0½d., the oats at 14s. 2d., and the oatmeal at 16s. 2d., all per boll.

The TABULAR STATE.

Parishes.	Extent in Acres.	Inhabitants.			Churches.						Stipends.						Patrons.	Valuation.		
		1755.	1801.	1881.	Est.	Free.	U.P.	R.C.	E.U.	W. Met.	1755.			1798.				1887-88.		
											£	S.	D.	£	S.	D.		£	S.	D.
Linlithgow,	11,603	3,296	3,596	5,619	1	1	2	1	1	—	84 55	17 11	11 1	193	10	5	The King.	34,081	1	2
Dalmeny,	6,797	1,103	765	1,643	1	--	—	—	—	—	73	4	2	149	12	7	The Earl of Rosebery.	19,491	9	6
Kirkliston,	7,716¾	1,070	1,206	2,580	1	1	—	—	—	—	88	16	0	162	4	3	The King.	21,441	7	1
Carriden,	3,309¾	1,164	1,504	1,985	1	—	—	—	—	—	75	15	0	160	6	8	The Duke of Hamilton.	9,402	2	10
Bathgate,	10,887½	1,594	2,513	9,450	2	2	1	1	1	1	73	8	11	141	4	1	The Earl of Hopetoun.	44,968	9	10
Queensferry,	—	451	454	1,966	1	—	1	—	—	—	60	16	3	108	3	5	The Magistrates.	——		
Borrowstounness,	4,277½	2,668	2,790	6,080	1	1	1	—	—	—	85	13	4	161	1	10	The Duke of Hamilton.	27,376	10	2
Abercorn,	5,265	1,037	814	865	1	1	—	—	—	—	74	17	11	178	6	8	The Earl of Hopetoun.	11,887	0	1
Whitburn,	9,807¾	1,121	1,537	6,326	2	1	1	—	—	—	49	14	7	133	6	8	Thomas Gordon.	23,322	14	9
Torphichern,	9,956¼	1,295	1,028	1,526	1	2	—	—	—	—	64	11	9	93	13	3	Lord Torphichen.	10,619	6	1
Livingston,	5,391	598	551	1,484	1	1	—	—	—	—	68	17	9	143	18	0	Cuningham of Livingston.	11,989	10	6
Uphall,	4,561¼	690	786	4,812	2	1	1	1	—	—	67	19	7	128	12	8	The Earl of Buchan.	49,772	5	3
Ecclesmachan,	2,647½	351	303	278	1	—	—	—	—	—	64	11	1	123	1	4	The Earl of Hopetoun.	6,068	16	2
Totals,					16	11	7	3	2	1	985	15	4	1,877	1	10		271,183	17	5

CHAP. VII.

Of Peebles-shire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this county is obviously derived from the Celtic name of the shire-town. In ancient records, the old word is written *Peblis* or Pebles (*a*). The first British settlers here no doubt imposed this name, which, in the British *Pebyll*, is the same in sense as the Saxon *Shiels*, signifying moveable habitations, being merely the plural of *Pabell*; and *Pebyllias* means a place where tents or movable habitations are placed (*b*). It is, however, probable that the (s) final in this name is the English plural termination, which has been added by colloquial corruption to the British word *Pebyll* (*c*). The learned minister of Peebles however, derives the obscure name of his parish from a more obvious origin, the *pebbles* under his feet, though we are not told, indeed, that pebbles are very plentiful in this ancient town of the British tribes. We thus sometimes see antiquaries "collecting toys, as children gath'ring *pebbles* on the shore." When the British Gadeni pitched their tents on this commodious site, the English speech had never been heard on "smooth-meand'ring Tweed." The ancient

(*a*) We first see it in the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, 1116 A.D., which found that there had belonged to the episcopate of Glasgow, "in le *Peblis*," one carucate of land and a church.

(*b*) Davis, Owen, and Lhuyd's Arch., 287. In the sister dialect of the Irish, *Pabal* has the same signification as the British *Pabell*. O'Brien and Shaw.

(*c*) Several other places, both in North-Britain and in Wales, derive their names from the same source. *Peebles* is the name of an estate, a mansion-house, and a hamlet, in St. Vigean's parish, Forfarshire; a hamlet in Kirkmabreck, in Kirkcudbright, is named *Pebble* or *Pebbil;* and a hamlet in Fortingal parish, Perthshire, is named, according to the Irish idiom, *Pabal*. Such are the similar names in North-Britain! In Wales the place near Bala, on Lynn Tegid, where the British bard, Lywarch hên, long lamented his misfortunes, is called *Pabell* Lywarch hên, signifying the *tent*, or dwelling of Lywarch, the aged. Another place, in Wales, is called *Cîl-y-Pebill*, the recess or retreat, where stood the *tents* or movable dwellings. Owen. The reader, to feel the full force of this investigation, must constantly recollect that the site of Peebles was originally settled by British tribes, who imposed this descriptive name in their significant language; for without this recollection such disquisitions were made in vain.

town or *shielings* stood upon the northern side of the Tweed, and on the western side of Peebles water, which here "pours its sweetness in its genial bosom." A new town afterward arose on the opposite side of the Peebles water, northward from the Tweed to some distance. The two towns are connected by two bridges over Peebles water; and at the south-west corner of the new town, there is an old but well built bridge of five arches over the Tweed (*d*). The colloquial name of this shire is *Tweeddale;* signifying in the Saxon tongue and Norman idiom, the dale or valley of the *Tweed.* This river, which is the fourth of Scotland in size, rises from a spring fifteen hundred feet above the sea level, on Tweed-moor, on the western verge of this shire (*e*), and meandring through its centre while it receives many tributary streams, the Tweed drains the ridgy country, "where stray the muses in what lawn and grove." The earliest recorded notice of this celebrated river, the favourite of the lyric muse, is the charter of Selkirk by Earl David, before he became king by the Latin name of *Tweda*, the British *Tued.* The most ancient mention of Tweeddale is in the charter of Kelso, 1126, by the name of *Tueddal*, before the district had yet been placed under the useful regimen of a sheriff-wick (*f*). It was probably the Anglo-Norman people, who came in here soon after the Norman invasion of England, who imposed upon the country which was washed by the Upper Tweed, the appropriate name of *Tweddal*, which was soon softened to Tweeddale.

§ II. *Of its Situation and Extent.*] The county of Peebles has Dumfries-shire on the south; Lanarkshire on the west; Edinburghshire on the north and north-east; and Selkirkshire on the east (*g*). Peebles-shire lies between

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xii. i.; and the plan of Peebles on Armstrong's Map of this shire.

(*e*) "The Twede aforesaid, saith Camden, runneth through the midst of a *dale*, taking name of it; a very goodly river, which springing more inwardly westward, runneth by Drummellier castle to Peblis, a market town."

(*f*) David I. granted to the monks of Kelso the tenth of the cheeses, yearly made, in *Tueddal.* Chart. Kelso, No. 1. This is a high authority for the popular pronunciation of *Tuaddal*, for the name of the marquisate. Before the year 1159, the most ancient name of *Tueddal* had been softened to *Twede-dale*, as we may learn from a charter of Malcolm IV., in the Diplomata Scotiæ. In several Bulls, during the reign of William the Lion, the name is softened still more into *Twedale*, as we may see in the Chartulary of Glasgow. In the charters of more recent times, Tweeddale is called "*Valle* de *Twede.*"

(*g*) Armstrong, the surveyor of this shire, has mistaken in his map the boundary between Peebles and Selkirkshire, on the northern side of the Tweed. The real boundary between these shires, on this quarter, is Gaithorpe burn, from its influx into the Tweed along its whole course to Windlestraw law.

55° 25′ and 55° 50′ north latitude, according to Ainslie and Armstrong, and it is placed in Armstrong's map of this shire, 0° 14′ east to 0° 22′ west of Edinburgh, or from 2° 58′ to 3° 34′ west from Greenwich (*h*).

By an average mensuration of Armstrong's map of Peebles-shire, and of Ainslie's map of Scotland, the full length of this county extends from north to south about twenty-eight [29] miles, the mean length being twenty-seven miles. The north end of it is twelve miles broad, the middle is eighteen miles, and the southern end is rather more than ten miles; so that the mean breadth is thirteen one-half miles, and of consequence, the superficies of this shire ought to be 364 square miles, and its contents 232,960 English acres. But from a minute calculation made, by dividing the surface on Arrowsmith's map of Scotland into several parts, and by ascertaining the contents of each, it appears that the superficies of the whole shire is 338 [354] square miles, containing 216,320 statute acres (*i*). The number of people in Peebles-shire being 8,735, according to the enumeration of the year 1801, gives 25.84 for each square mile of its real population, and the recent returns evince, that 5.$\frac{1}{4}$ persons to each house is the average rate of the inhabitation, within this pastoral shire.

§ III. *Of its Natural Objects.*] The outline of the surface of Peebles-shire, consisting of alternations of hill and dale, is the most striking of its natural features. From the *dale* of the Tweed, which forms the centre of the county, the surface rises on both its sides to the south and to the north. The lofty hills towards the extremities of the shire, mount to the greatest heights, and the mountains which separate Tweeddale from Annandale, are the highest of the hills in Southern Scotland (*k*). On the boundary with Selkirkshire, Blackhouse

(*h*) According to Armstrong, the meridian of Edinburgh runs through the shire town of Peebles, which, therefore, is 3° 6′ west from London. This metropolis of Tweeddale is situated in 55° 38′ 40″ north latitude. Armstrong's Map.

(*i*) From those calculations upon the Engineer's Survey, the general result, both of the superficies and contents, is somewhat different from those of Armstrong's Map, the Agricultural View, and the Agricultural Survey.

(*k*) Hartfell rises 2918 [2651] feet above the level of the German sea. The conical top of Whitecomb edge is supposed to be somewhat higher, though its cloud-capped summit can seldom be seen through its surrounding mists. Broad Law raises its flat and circular top 2850 [2754] feet above the sea level. Of *Broad* Law, Armstrong remarks, that its summit would admit a horse course of two miles circuit without the smallest inequality of surface. Companion to the Map of Peebles-shire, 107-10-11. Near the utmost acclivity of Broad Law, there is an excellent spring, which is known, popularly, as Geddes's Well. Dollar Law rises 2,840 [2680] feet above the sea level. Id. Stat. Acco., iii. 388. Scrape hill also rises nearly to the same height.

heights rise 2,360 feet above the level of the German Ocean. About two miles northward from those eminences, Scawd law mounts to 2,120 [2,249] feet above the same level (*k*). On the south-east of Peebles-shire, where it marches with Selkirkshire, the wide-spreading mountain of Minchmoor rises 2,285 [1,856] feet above the sea (*l*). On the north-east of Peebles-shire, the huge mountain called Windlestraw law rears its mossy summit 2,295 [2161] feet above the same level (*m*), and Dundroich rises to the height of 2,100 feet above the sea (*n*). On the north and north-west of Peebles-shire, the hills are not so high as those upon the south and south-west. Cairn hill, at the springs of Lyne water, rises 1,800 feet above the sea level (*o*). On the west, the Pykitstane rises 2,100 feet above the same level (*p*). Broughton heights rear their head 1,483 feet above the level of the sea. From these mountains, south-south-west, Candon hill mounts to an elevation of 1,400 feet above the level of the Tweed, and upwards of 2,200 feet above the level of the sea, and this is the highest mountain on the western side of Peebles-shire (*q*). This country, saith Doctor Pennecuick, is almost everywhere swelled with hills, which, for the most part are *green*, *grassy*, and *pleasant*, except a ridge betwixt Minchmoor and Henderland, which is black, craggy, and of a melancholy aspect, with deep and horrid precipices (*r*). This range of hills lie along the south-eastern border of

(*k*) Armstrong's Companion, 92 ; Stat. Acco., xii. 370 ; and eastward from those, Gumscleugh, and several other hills in Traquair parish, are still higher. Id.

(*l*) Companion to the Map, 100. On the north side of Minchmoor, near the road from Peebles to Selkirk, there is a fine spring, called, from whatever cause, the *Cheese* Well. In travelling from Tweeddale to Selkirk, from the summit of Minchmoor, are first seen Newark castle ; the water of Yarrow, and the forest lying on either side of it.

(*m*) This mountain has a deep mossy surface to the very summit. Companion, 48.

(*n*) Dun-droich, in the Gaelic, signifies the Druid's-hill. This name intimates that the Druids must have left here some memorial of their worship. In fact, there is, on the summit of this huge hill, which is also called Brown Dod, a large collection of stones that now marks the conjunction of three contiguous estates. In this vicinity, and within the parish of Inverleithen, there are several other mountains, which are also remarkable for their elevations, such as, Dunslair, Sole, Whitehope law, Blackhope Scars, and Bowbeat. Companion, 49.

(*o*) In the north-east part of Linton parish, upon the Black burn, there is a natural curiosity called the Harbour Craig. Ib., 58.

(*p*) Ib., 30. On the summit of this mountain, there is a rude collection of stones, which now marks the contiguous marches of three estates. We may easily suppose that the rude stones existed here many an age before those estates existed.

(*q*) Stat. Acco., iv. 325.

(*r*) Description of Tweeddale, 3. One of those terrible chasms is called *Gums-cleugh*, upon the head of Quair water. The cliffs that form this chasm are called *Glendenns banks*, and are more than half a mile in length, and from 200 to 300 feet high. Stat. Acco., xii. 378.

this shire, along the marches of Ettrick forest, and is the most inhospitable part of Peebles-shire. Most of the hills of this shire, says the surveyor of its mountains and vales, wear an agreeable aspect, are easy of ascent, and are abundant in herbage. Nor are they so often deformed by hideous mosses, nor so frequently interrupted by horrid precipices, as many of the Scottish mountains (*s*).

From the hills of this shire to the valleys below, the transition is easy. The *dale* of the Tweed forms, indeed, the great body of Peebles-shire. From it many vales branch off along the channels of the streams, which hasten to mingle their kindred waters with "the Tweed's silver flood." These vales must necessarily be of various extent and different fertility. The most considerable and the most fruitful are the valleys on the Lyne and Eddlestone waters. In general, the dales and the dingles are most fertile, and the hills the most pleasant in the north and west of this shire, while in the south and east, the vales are more barren, and the mountains are more bleak.

In the midst of all those inequalities of surface, Peebles-shire cannot boast of her *lakes*. Neither can the topographers of this county be allowed to assume the St. Mary Loch of Selkirkshire as their own, though its western margin, for more than a mile, forms the boundary of Peebles-shire. The most considerable lake in this county is the *Water-loch* in Eddlestone parish (*t*). This beautiful lake is nearly three quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad, and abounds in pike and eels, while it is the periodical resort of wild-fowl which dip the wing in water (*u*). On the estate of Slipperfield, in Linton parish, there is a lake of nearly a mile and a half in circumference, which breeds pike and perch, but not eels, as the water is impregnated with moss (*x*). The only other lake which diversifies this shire, is Gameshope loch, within the bosom of an uninhabited glen, in Tweedsmuir parish, and which is emptied by Gameshope burn, one of the sources of Talla water (*y*).

Yet is Peebles-shire well watered by many streams. The *Tweed*, however, is the great channel which collects and carries off the whole moisture of "this misty mountain ground." This celebrated river rises on the mountainous ridge that separates Tweeddale from Annandale; and that sends the Tweed to the

(*s*) Armstrong's Companion to his Map, 26.

(*t*) This absurd name of *Water* loch it may have obtained, during ignorant times, from its being the source of the *Esk*, which in the Celtic literally signifies *the water*.

(*u*) Armstrong's Companion, 40; Stat. Acco., xvii. 182.

(*x*) Ib., i. 127.

(*y*) Ib., 111.

east sea, and the Annan to the west (*z*). In a rapid course of ten miles through the mountainous tract of Tweedsmuir the rivulet Tweed becomes a considerable riveret by receiving the sister streams of the Fruid, the Cor, and the Tala (*a*). From Tweedsmuir the Tweed now takes a northern course to Drummelzier, where this riveret receives the united streams of Holms, Kilbucho, and Biggar (*b*). The Tweed turns eastward from Drummelzier, and runs in an east-north-east direction, till this common channel receives the Lyne river at the south-east extremity of the Sheriff moor. From this junction the Tweed continues a winding course to Peebles town, receiving in its run the water of Manor from the south, and having also received at the shire town, Eddlestone water, the Tweed courses eastward in a winding direction; and receiving in its flow the Quair, the Leithen, among smaller streams, this augmented river leaves Peebles-shire and enters Selkirkshire at the influx of Gaithope

(*z*) The stone monument called Tweeds Cross stands 1632 feet above the sea level. Armstrong, who is a better surveyor than an antiquary, supposes this stone to have been an object of Druidical worship; but as it stands on the roadside, where the way passes the summit of this ridge, it was probably placed here as a direction-post, and afterwards converted into a land-boundary.

(*a*) *Fruid* is a large stream which falls down the Hart-fell mountain, and is merely, in the origin of its name, the British *Frewd*, signifying a stream, a *torrent*. Davis and Owen. The Cor hastens, in many a *turn*, to join the Tweed, and derived its significant name from the British *Cor*, which in this, as well as in the congenerous speech of the Irish, means a *round* or *turn*. The *Talla*, coming down from the northern face of the mountainous ridge which sends the Moffat to the south, is remarkable, in both its sources, for its many cataracts, which are here called *linns*, from the British *linn*, that is commonly applied, in Scotland, to the cataract rather than to the pool below. The *Talla* may have taken its British name from the lofty precipices under which it tumbles; *Tal*, in the British speech, signifying what is *over*, or tops, what towers; or from the kindred Gaelic *Talla*, murmuring. The eagle, called the ern, finds among those precipices a secure place for her frequent incubation.

(*b*) After draining the whole parish of Glenholm, the Holm water, at the lower end of it, joins Biggar water. Both the parish and the stream take their analogous names from the *holms*, or meadows, along the water side. The Biggar derives its name from the town of Biggar, by which it glides; and coming soon upon the north-west corner of Kilbucho parish, it courses along the whole northern boundary of this district, when it receives the Kilbucho water; and falling into the Holms water, they all find repose in the Tweed. The Kilbucho water derives its name from the parish which it drains. The Clyde, which has its sources in the same ridge with the spring of the Tweed, by a congenerous curvature, comes within a mile of Kilbucho parish; and, if it were expedient, the Clyde might be easily conducted, as Armstrong observes, through the channel of Biggar water to the Tweed. In high floods, indeed, some of the waters of the Clyde overflow into the Biggar water, and are carried with it to the Tweed. Agricult. Survey, 4.

burn (*c*). The Tweed, from its source to the sea, descends from a height of 1,550 feet, one half of which it falls before it has coursed twenty miles. It has only one cataract, within eight miles of the spring, before it has been swelled by so many streamlets (*d*). The Tweed is the longest river in the south of Scotland, but not the largest within that country, as Armstrong supposes, and as we have seen from mensuration. Tweed formerly abounded with salmon, which have been nearly destroyed by artifice, at the call of interest; yet Tweed and all its streams abound with trout. Tweed turns few mills, nor has its waters been contaminated much by noxious manufactures (*e*).

Of the numerous streams which bestow their waters on the Tweed within this shire, the most considerable are the Lyne, the Eddlestone, and the Leithen, which fall into this common reservoir on the north, and the Manor and Quair on the south. The Lyne rises in the southern declivity of Cairn hill, on the north-western limits of Peebles-shire; and collecting in a course of one-and-twenty miles the streamlets that drain the parishes of Linton, Newlands, Kirkurd, and Lyne, it consigns all their cognate waters to the Tweed. The *Lyne* has retained through many a change, its British appellation, which is nothing more than the British *Llynn*, signifying what flows, a fluid (*f*).

(*c*) The whole course of the Tweed through Peebles-shire is about - - - 41 miles.
Through Selkirkshire - - - - - - - - - 9
Along Roxburghshire nearly - - - - - - - - 30
Along Berwickshire something more than - - - - - - 22

The whole course of the Tweed - - - - - - - 102 miles.

Thus, the Tweed, in the south, runs - - - - - - - 102 miles.
The Tay, in the centre of Scotland, runs - - - - - - 108
The Spey, in the north, runs - - - - - - - - 102

And those large rivers fall into the east sea.

(*d*) The cataract, which is near Tweedsmoor bridge, is called Carlow's linn.

(*e*) Tweed was called *Vueda*, by Ptolomy, and Tueda by Richard; Tuid by Bede; and Tued by the British people, in whose speech the word signifies what is on a side, border, or region. Davis, Lhuyd, and Owen. All the blandishments of poetry have been bestowed on the Tweed. Drayton speaks of "Tweed's fair flood;" Ramsay delights to sing of "smooth-meand'ring Tweed;" Burns laments the "the Tweed's silver flood;" Hamilton of Bangour chants of "the flow'r-blushing banks of the Tweed;" and Crawford, the Scottish Shenstone, carols of "the sweet-winding *Tay*, and the pleasanter banks of the *Tweed*."

(*f*) Davis and Owen. Upon Lyne water, there were, in Dr. Pennecuick's time, four bridges and two corn mills. Descript. of Tweeddale, 10. Of the streamlets which the Lyne receives, the principal are the Tarth and the West water. The Tarth is chiefly formed by the eastern branch of the Medwin,

Eddlestone water rises from Kings-seat hill, in Eddlestone parish, and forms the great drain of this district, by running through its centre from north to south; and entering Peebles parish, falls into the Tweed at Peebles town, after a course of thirteen miles (*g*). This stream has long lost its Celtic appellation, and takes the unmeaning name of the village through which it glides. Lower down, in its course to the Tweed, it assumes the name of the shire-town. Leithen water rises from a spring called the Water-head, in the north-west extremity of Inverleithen parish, throughout the extent of which it runs a rapid course of twelve miles; collecting in its descent the streamlets that drain that mountainous country, and falling into the Tweed a mile below Inverleithen church, which derives its Celtic name from that influx or *Inver*. The ancient British name, which the Leithen still retains, denotes its qualities of overflow; *Llidd* or *Lith*, according to the English pronunciation, signifying an *effusion*, a *gush*, a *flood*. In fact, this mountain torrent frequently floods the adjacent grounds, and often threatens the village on its bank (*h*). Manor water rises at Foulbrig, in the southern extremity of Manor parish, through which it runs a course of twelve miles, and which it drains as it courses with other streamlets to the Tweed. The Quair rises at Glendean Banks, in the south-west of Traquair parish; and

which, rising at the base of Hinchy hill, courses four miles between the contiguous shires of Lanark and Peebles, till, at the Salmon Leap, it separates into two streams; the western falling into the Clyde, and the eastern into the Lyne and Tweed. This remarkable separation may explain the fact, which has puzzled naturalists who caught salmon above the impassible cataracts of the Clyde at Corhouse, Stonebyres, and Bonington. The British name of the *Tarth* seems to allude to that well-known separation of it from the Medwin; for *Tardd*, which is pronounced as *Tarth* in English, signifies a breaking through, an issuing from. Davis and Owen. The Tarth is also famous for its trouts, owing perhaps to its slow motion and commodious pools. The West water, which joins the Lyne in Linton parish, retained, in Pennecuick's time, its Celtic name of *Pol-an-tarbh*, which, in the Scoto-Irish, signifies the *bull's rivulet*, with an allusion, perhaps, to the ancient superstition that supposed the existence of a *water bull*, or *Tarbh uisque*, that possessed the power of working good or ill to those who feared him; and hence, too, the Gaelic *Tarbh*, which is pronounced as *Taru*, or *Tarf*, appears in the names of many waters; as, Tarf water and Tarf loch, in Inverness-shire; Tarf water, in Perthshire; Tarf water in Kirkcudbright; and Tarf water in Wigton; so, Loch-an-tarf in Moray and Loch-an-tarf in Sutherland.

(*g*) One of the branches of this stream forms a cataract of thirty-five feet fall, which is called *Cowie's Linn*. Companion to the Map, 40; Stat. Acco., xvii. 183.

(*h*) The Companion, 46; and the Rev. Charles Findlater's MS. Description. This torrent is mentioned by the same name in several charters of Alexander II. Chart. Newbotle, No. 129-30. Leith*an* is either the diminutive or the plural of *Llith*. Owen. The *Leith* water of Mid-Lothian derives its British name from the same source, and is remarkable for the same qualities.

receiving many rivulets in its course, falls into the Tweed below Traquair house. The *Qair* derived its Celtic name from its *curvatures; Qwyr* in the British, and *Cuar* in the Irish, signifying *crooked* or bending (*i*).

The only stream in Peebles-shire which does not convey its waters to the Tweed, as the common receiver of the moisture of this country, is the Megget. Originating in two sources, the one rivulet from the declivities of Cairn law, and the other rill from the moss of Winterhope, the Megget drains the dreary parish of Megget, and pours its collected waters into St. Mary's loch, whence they pass on to the Yarrow and the Ettrick, while both join the Tweed, as we have seen. The Megget derives its name from the Celtic *Meag*, intimating the whey colour of its waters; and the sister Megget in Dumfries-shire, the kindred *Meag* and the congenerous Maig in Limerick county, all derive their Celtic appellations from the same source owing to similar circumstances (*k*). The two Esks of Lothian have, indeed, a slight connection with Peebles-shire. The South-Esk, as we have seen, springs from *the water* loch in Eddlestone parish, and after running a course of nearly four miles, enters Mid-Lothian and finds its influx in the Forth. It joins in its career the North-Esk, which also rises within Peebles-shire from two sources, from the eastern base of Cairn hill and from Weather law; and after meandering for six or seven miles along the northern border of this county it enters Mid-Lothian, joins South-Esk, and is absorbed in the Forth. Every water in streamy Tweed-dale produces trout, some of them par and some of them salmon; and each gives its usefulness and each contributes its ornament (*l*).

Peebles-shire abounds as much in minerals as Selkirkshire is deficient. Newlands and Linton parishes supply the whole county with coals, except the eastern districts, which derive their coal and lime from the Lothians. The coal of Tweed-dale is only an extension of that vast seam of seventy or eighty

(*i*) Davis and Owen, O'Brien and Shaw.

(*k*) The two Meggets, as they are streamlets, probably acquired the diminutive form from that circumstance. See O'Brien and Shaw, in vo. Meadhg, and Owen, in vo. Maiz. A zealous Briton might perhaps derive the name of *Maig*, from the British *Maig*, signifying a sudden turn or curvature; but this circumstance does not apply to the whole class of those names. In fact, the Ross-shire *Meag* is remarkably free from *turns* or curves. Of the various streamlets that fall into the Megget of Peebles-shire, two are remarkable for having retained their Celtic names. Cram-alt, signifying a crooked rill, which is descriptive of its course; and Glean-gabhar, meaning the goats valley. A third streamlet that joins the Megget, forms, near Henderland, a *cataract* called the *Dowlinn*, signifying the *black pool*, both in the British and Irish languages, which is descriptive of the pool formed below by the water-fall above.

(*l*) Stat. Accounts; Agricult. Survey; and Companion to the Map of Tweeddale.

miles broad which runs from the Forth along the North-Esk, throughout an extent of fifteen miles. The abundance of the supply has produced the general use of coal, since the days of Pennecuick, when the gentry and the town of Peebles only used this coaly fuel (*m*).

Limestone also abounds in Peebles-shire. It happily abounds the most where there is the most coal. Much lime was manufactured for manure even in the days of Pennecuick. The farmers, however, of the eastern districts of this county, bring their lime for all the uses of agriculture from the many lime-works of Mid-Lothian (*n*). Marl also is found where the lime-stone exists. In Linton and Newlands are various beds of marl of the white or shelly, and also of the blue kind; yet marl was here known and used when Pennecuick perambulated Tweeddale (*o*). In Newlands parish, on the estate of La Mancha, there is an endless variety of clays. It has, particularly, a very thick bed of *fire* clay like that of Stourbridge. It has *alum slate* in abundance; and there are also in Newlands parish, both red and yellow ochres with veins of *Manganesia* (*p*). In Linton parish a small seam of *fullers earth* has been discovered on Lyne water, near Bridge house (*q*). Newlands and Linton parishes also abound with *freestone*. Between both those parishes, on the hilly ridge of Broomylees, there are several quarries of red freestone, which is of a firmer texture than the white (*r*). These are the only freestone quarries, which are worked for public sale and general use. But whinstone is the prevailing rock throughout Peebles-shire, though, being very plenty, it is not much demanded (*s*). The slate quarries in this shire have long been famous. In Tramore hill, within Stobo parish, there are two seams of *blue slate*, which have been manufactured for many uses, during several years. They are sent far beyond the limits of this shire; and, indeed, Pennecuick informs us how far the slate of Stobo was carried, in his time, for covering the houses of the nobles and gentry (*t*). Marble, too, white marble, has been found at White-

(*m*) Pennecuick's Description, 4; Companion to the Map, 43; Agricult. Survey, 21; and the Stat. Acco., i. 131-149.

(*n*) Agricult. Survey, 21.

(*o*) Description, 5; Stat. Acco., i. 131; Ib., xxi. 52.

(*p*) Stat. Acco., xxi. 52-53; i. 149.

(*q*) Stat. Acco., i. 131.

(*r*) Id.; Agricult. Survey, 20.

(*s*) Id.

(*t*) Description, 29. A blue slate quarry, in Glenholm parish, was long worked with great advantage; but it gave way at length to the competition of the Stobo slates. Companion, 44. At Grieston, in Traquair parish, another slate quarry, which was once in repute, also feels the competition of the Stobo quarries, which, perhaps, have some local advantages. Pennecuick, 5; Stat. Acco., xii. 370.

field, in Linton parish, which is rich in minerals (*u*). Newlands parish abounds in iron ore and iron stone; but experience has shown that it is not metallic enough to bear the carriage to distant foundries (*x*); and Pennecuick, who was a mineralogist, as mineralogy was in his day understood, assures us that there are both ironstone and copper in Linton parish (*y*). But the hills of La Mancha are superior to every other district in the variety and richness of its iron ores (*z*). And in one of those hills, thus fruitful in minerals, there is a vein of stone which is supposed to be a native *loadstone*, that is to be found in most places where iron ore abounds (*a*).

In Lead Law, a hill above Linton, several *lead* mines were formerly wrought; and some silver was extracted from the ore. The sinks or pits, which were wrought on *Lead law*, are still apparent; and even now bear the appropriate name of *Silverholes*. About sixty years ago these mines were again tried; but the attempt was soon discontinued as unprofitable (*b*). They were, probably, unable to withstand the competition of the richer mines of *Lead hills* and Wanlock-head upon the Clyde. In Traquair parish, several attempts have been made to discover *lead* mines; and some ore has been found, though not sufficiently rich to pay the expense of working. A specimen of *Galena* ore was found not long since in one of the streams that fall into the Quair. In this parish a feeble attempt was made, in 1775, to sink a *lead* mine above the village of Bold (*c*).

If we may believe our ancient historians, Boece and Buchanan, *gold* has been formerly found in Glen-Gaber water, which traverses Megget parish, the poorest district, with all its *gold*, in Tweeddale (*d*).

Mineral springs may be expected in a country which is thus fertile in minerals. Chalybeate waters, having a blue scum, an irony taste, and an ochry sediment, abound every where in the parishes of Linton and Newlands. One of these, called *Heaven aqua Well*, near Linton, on the north, resembles the waters of

(*u*) Pennecuick's Description, 5. (*x*) Agricult. Survey, 22. (*y*) Description, 5.

(*z*) Stat. Acco., xxi 52. (*a*) Id.

(*b*) Pennecuick's Description, 5; Agricult. Survey, 22-3.

(*c*) Companion, 100, with Mr. Findlator's MS. Note; Stat. Acco. xxii. 371.

(*d*) We must remember that there is another stream of the same name in Traquair parish. Stat. Acco., xii. 564. Dr. Pennecuick, who seems willing to enlarge the list of minerals in Tweeddale, says that sixty years before he wrote [1700] there was found in the Mount hill of Skirling, within a mossy turf, a parcel of *gold*, which Mr. Mossman, a merchant in Edinburgh, caused to be polished and made into rings. App. prefixed to his Description.

Tunbridge, and it is said to be equally strong (*e*). At La Mancha, in Newlands parish, there is a chalybeate spring called the *Vertue Well*, which contains a large quantity of fixed air that holds the iron in solution (*f*). Within these fifteen years, there has been discovered at the base of Lee-*Pen*, near the village of Inverleithen, a mineral spring which is impregnated with salt and sulphur; and is of a similar nature with the Harrogate waters. This spring gives out about a quart in a minute in dry weather. Before its properties were known, the place where its waters oozed through the surface was much frequented by pigeons; and it was hence called the Pigeons' Well. Since the salubrious waters have produced many cures, the *Pigeons' Well* has become a place of resort where accommodations have been built for the patients (*g*). In the vicinity of Kirkurd house there is a copious spring which is impregnated with sulphur, and of which Black the chemist made a chemical analysis, and found it to be stronger than the Moffat waters, but weaker than the Harrogate (*h*). More knowledge and more capital may produce more profit to Peebles-shire from its abundant minerals.

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] At the epoch of the Roman invasion in 80 A.D., the British Gadeni who possessed the interior country from the Northumbrian Tyne to "besouth Forth, that principal river of right fair waie (*i*)." During the Roman period, that Celtic tribe remained within Antonine's rampart. After the abdication of the Roman government, the Gadeni naturally associated themselves with the kindred Britons of Strathclyde, which easily communicated through several openings of the strong and secluded country on the Upper Tweed. The descendants of the ancient settlers continued here, though perhaps not without molestation throughout the Pictish period. After the overthrow of the Pictish government in 843 A.D., the posterity of the Romanized Gadeni enjoyed on the Tweed their own government, till the fortune of the Scottish kings prevailed in 947 A.D., in suppressing the peculiar government of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde. Yet, though their government was undone for ever, the British people remained long within their fastnesses and mixed with their congenerous invaders. The forest of Ettrick, which then consisted of woody ravines and steep hills, formed a strong barrier against the intruding Saxons on the south-east. Throughout the middle of this impervious forest was

(*e*) Stat. Acco., i. 132. (*f*) Ib., xxi. 52. (*g*) Id.
(*h*) Ib., xx. 185. The Kirkurd spring has been since used with success in several distempers.
(*i*) Wyntown.

carried the *Catrail*, which formed a strong dividing fence, between the Saxons on the Teviot and the Britons on the Tweed. The vast and dismal mountains which on east and north-east send their waters to the Forth, formed also an impassable barrier against the Saxons of Lothian; and the only natural openings through the mountain barricades, to the country on the Upper Tweed, were from Strathclyde.

Of the British people, there are many *remains* in Peebles-shire; and their antiquities consist of their language, of their places of worship, of their sepulchral monuments, of their memorial stones, and of their hill-forts.

The people and their speech are the earliest antiquities of every country. As the Britons remained longer unmixed in Peebles-shire than in any other district, they left more traces of their language. *Peebles*, the name of the shire-town and the county, is a British word, as we have seen. The whole topography of this country is full of denominations, from their significant speech. *Pen*, we may see, frequently applied to the summits of several hills, as it signifies a head, or crest, or end (*i*). The British *Caer*, signifying a fort, or strength, or fortified place, may still be traced in several names, however disguised (*k*). The British *Pil*, signifying a fort, is still applied to several towns under the form of *Peel*. *Craig*, in the British as well as in the Irish, signifies rocks, a rocky height, or cliff; and enters into the formation of many names of places in Peebles-shire (*l*). *Carn*, in the British as well as in the Irish, signifies a prominence, a heap, a pile; and *Cairn* is the common appellative for many piles of stones which were raised by the earliest people of this district (*m*). *Bre*, in the British as well as in the Irish, signifies a hill, a *Brae*, a brow; and *Bre* or *Brae*, are very commonly applied to hills and to acclivities in this shire (*n*). *Tor*, in the British as in the Irish, signifies a swell, a bulge, a prominence and *Tor* is here applied to various hills or protuberances (*o*), and enters into the formation of many names of places in this county (*p*). The British *Llynn*, signifying what flows, a *pool*, a *lake*, is the common name for the numerous cataracts in this shire, and for the pools which are

(*i*) There is Lee-*Pen*, a very high conical hill in Inverleithen parish; and there are three hills in Stobo parish, which are named *Pen*-ain, *Pen*-valla, and *Pen*-uenny. Armstrong's Companion to his map of this shire, 49.

(*k*) There ar *Car*-lavin hill in Tweedsmuir parish; *Car*-dan and *Car*-don in Glenholm; *Car*-pet in Linton, and *Car*-drona in Traquair.

(*l*) Companion to the Map, throughout. (*m*) Ib. 49. (*n*) Id. (*o*) Id.

(*p*) As *Tor* in Peebles parish; *Tor*-y-kneis hill, *Tor*-pedy hill in Drummelzier parish; *Tor*-tie hill. *Tor*-ereish hill, and *Tor*-heune hill in Stobo parish. Pont's Map in Blaeu's Atlas.

formed from the water-fall (*q*). Nearly all the waters in this county have retained their British names, through the successions of people and the revolutions of ages; as the Tweed, the Lyne, the Leithen, the *Cor*, the *Talla*, the *Megget*, the Logan, and others, as the map evinces. Several other names of places in this district remain intelligible in the British speech (*r*). Many names have, however, been so corrupted by time and chance, in the course of ages, as to be unintelligible; and many more have been obviously superseded by Scoto-Irish and Scoto-Saxon names. Several appellations are of a mixed nature,—Scots and Saxon syllables superinduced upon Celtic words; as *Lin*-ton, Linfoot, Kirk*urd*; and there are frequently pleonasms,— as *Knoc* hill, *Cairn* hill, Glen-*dean*; and so of other pleonastic forms, by superinducing more recent names on ancient places, as the original language was not understood by a different people (*s*). Of the names of sixteen parishes in Peebles-shire, eight are wholly British; one was changed from the British Penti-achob to Eddlestone; four are half British, that is, Scoto-Irish and Scoto-Saxon grafted on British; one is half British and half Irish; two are Scoto-Irish; and three are Scoto-Saxon or English. So prevalent are the remains of the British people in Tweeddale even at the present day!

The British people have left here many Druid remains which the Saxons destroyed in Lothian. At Hairstanes, in Kirkurd parish, there are the remains of a Druid temple or oratory, consisting of a number of large stones standing in a circular form. Tradition still speaks of the *Hairstanes* as a place of worship rather than the scene of conflict (*t*). On the remarkable peninsula, which is now called the Sheriffmuir, and which is formed by the Tweed and Lyne, there are the remarkable remains of a Druid temple. From each of two standing stones, there run out to the east, in a curvature, two rows of smaller stones, which also stand upright. The tradition of the country states this curious remain to have been a Druid temple; yet the surveyor of this county speaks of

(*q*) Such as Carlows *lin* on the Tweed, Cowies *lin* on the Leithen, Dow *lin* on the Megget; several water-falls and pools on the Fala water are called Fall-*lins*, and a similar series of cataracts and pools on Gameshope burn, are called Gameshope *lins*.

(*r*) As Traquair, Trahenna, Tramore in Stobo parish; Finglan in Newlands, Finglan in Traquair, and Finglan in Tweedsmuir; Cademuir in Peebles, Posso, which was of old Possa, and Cavers in Manor parish.

(*s*) Pentejacob, or Penjacob, was changed to Gillemoreston before the year 1170. Windy law was substituted, in the 13th century, for the Celtic *tor*, signifying a hill, the same as the Saxon *law*.

(*t*) In the same parish, a small *ring*, which was supposed to be a druidical amulet, was found in a British sepulchre. Companion to the Map, 53; Stat. Acco., x. 168.

it idiotically as the site of a grave (*u*). Near Tweedsmuir church there is the remain of a Druid oratory, consisting of several large stones which are placed upright in a circular form. The tradition of the country states that the small eminence which is called the Quarter-knowe, and on which stands Tweedsmuir church, was anciently a place of Druid worship (*x*). Near Gaithope on the border between Peebles and Selkirk, there are the remains of a Druid oratory consisting of a circle of standing stones, whereof only five now continue in upright positions (*y*). Such are the only remains of Druid *oratories* which this Celtic district can show, after so many successions of people, revolutions of power, and changes of property. But they undoubtedly exhibit the mode of worship which the pagan inhabitants practised in the earliest times, as the Scoto-Irish and the Scoto-Saxons who came in successively on the ancient Britons had already adopted the Christian discipline.

From the mode of worship to the manner of burial, the distance is not far. In Linton parish, between Garwald foot and Kingseat, there are three sepulchral *tumuli*, in one whereof was found an earthen urn containing human relics (*z*). In the same parish, at the base of Mundick hill, there were found about the year 1775 several skeletons of a gigantic size (*a*). In Linton parish have been often discovered stone coffins with human bones, particularly in *Chapelhill* park: and above *Spital*-haugh, several stone coffins having human bones have also been found (*b*). Below Linton half a mile, where the Lyne washes away a piece of ground called *Temple*-land, many coffins consisting of flag-stones and containing human bones have been disclosed (*c*). In the parks of Kirkurd there are two small mounts called the *Castle* and *Law*, which are surrounded by a little raised enclosure of an irregular form. Gordon, who inspected them, thought the small mounts to be artificial (*d*), and must of course be sepulchral barrows of ancient construction, though they were afterwards converted to *mote* hills for administering justice to a coarse people. In the same parish, at Mount

(*u*) Companion to the map, 96; and the minister of the parish was so idle as to adopt his misconception. Stat. Acco., iii. 326.

(*x*) Companion to the map, 104.

(*y*) Companion to the Map, 48. Armstrong says of this remain, that tradition states it to have been a burial place for those who died of the plague. He must misrepresent the tradition, which states thus, "the common chat of gossips when they meet."

(*z*) Companion to the map, 61. (*a*) Ib., 59. (*b*) Stat. Acco., i. 147.

(*c*) Description of Tweeddale, 11. No church, or chapel, or cemetery, appear about this ground, which, however, is called *Temple*-land.

(*d*) Itin. Septent.; Stat. Acco., xx. 185.

hill, there was found about the year 1754, a stone chest enclosing a large clay urn containing human bones. More recently, there have been discovered at the same hill a stone coffin 4½ feet long, 2½ feet wide, and 2½ feet deep which contained the bones of a human body that seemed to have been about six feet high (*e*). In Glenholm parish, on a plain by Tweedside there are several sepulchral tumuli. When one of these was opened by order of the proprietor, there was discovered a stone coffin enclosing a human skeleton with *bracelets* on the arms; and near the coffin was found an urn. In another of these barrows, there were found the remains of a human body which was much consumed (*f*). In a cairn upon King's muir, in Peebles parish, there has been discovered an inverted urn, containing the ashes of some ancient warrior with the blade of his dagger (*g*) In Eddlestone parish, near the *Ship-law*, there is a barrow called the *Ship-horns;* as it resembles the inverted hull of a ship (*h*). Near Easter place of Hartree in Kilbucho parish, there is a sepulchral barrow of a circular form (*i*). In the vale of the Tweed between Bield and Tweedhope-brae foot, there are four or five sepulchral cairns (*k*). On that remarkable peninsula, which is called the Sheriffmuir, being a flat, but uncultivated heath, on the junction of the Lyne with Tweed, there are two sepulchral cairns; the one considerably larger than the other; and there are several other tumuli of a small size and round shape (*l*). We have now seen the modes of sepulture of the ancient Britons, with their weapons, their ornaments, and their amulets.

But, what are the barrows of the warriors to the *grave of Merlin!* Near the influx of Powsail with the Tweed, a thorn tree marks the sacred spot, where lies inhumed the prophet Merlin. Tradition has preserved his tale; superstition

(*e*) Among those bones were found three flint stones, one resembling a halbert, another of a circular form, and a third of a cylindrical form with a small ring, which was supposed to be a Druid amulet. Ib. 186. Such were the weapon, the ornaments, and preservative of this ancient warrior!

(*f*) Stat. Acco., iv. 435. (*g*) Ib., xii. 15. (*h*) Companion, 40.

(*i*) Companion, 51. (*k*) Ib., i. 10; Stat. Acco., viii. 89.

(*l*) Stat. Acco., iii. 326-7. Near the largest cairn there is a circular cavity of about 150 paces in circumference, which is obviously artificial; and on the same moor there is a similar cavity called Pinkie's-hole, which is about 90 paces in circumference, and at the centre, the excavation is between six and seven feet below the level of the circumjacent plain. Id. It is uncertain. in what age, or for what purpose all those remains were formed, or whether they be all connected with the same object. It is probable that this moor may have been once the scene of civil conflict, and it exhibits also several stones of memorial, which seem to show, in rude silence, that the Sheriffmoor had been a field of battle, before that minister of peace administered justice on this singular peninsula.

has repeated his saws; and the finger of age points to the eye of curiosity the very grave of Merlin (*m*). Our prophet is the cause of prophecy in others; and during King James's time, some seer foretold that,

> "When Tweed, and Powsail, meet at Merlin's grave,
> Scotland and England shall *one* monarch have."

Doctor Pennecuick has recorded the fulfilment of this prophecy. On the same day, says the doctor, that our King James was crowned king of England, the river Tweed so far overflowed its banks, that it met with Powsall at the said grave, by such a extraordinary flood as had never been observed before, nor since that time (*n*). Yet has the doctor left it undecided whether the prophecy begat the flood, or the flood the prophecy. The vaticination of Merlin was known and respected even before the age of Edward III., as we know from Minot, the chief poet of his lengthened reign. Even the popular voice conferred extraordinary powers of prophecy and song on Merlin the Caledonian. Much of the poetry of this Pictish-Briton has come down to the present times (*o*). At the epoch of printing, indeed, which was also the era of popular prophecy, every absurd saw was attributed to noted men who still lived in the popular voice; to Merlin of the sixth century, to Bede of the eighth, and to Waldeve of the twelfth. During ages of ignorance and times of superstition, the prophecies of traditional characters, in the vulgar tongue, became extremely grateful to the popular taste. It is to this source that we must trace up the vaticinal couplet of the Tweed and Powsail, and the grave of Merlin. It is, indeed, curious to remark, that the Merddin of the Cambro-British, the Merlin of the Scoto-Saxons, who was undoubtedly a Strathclyde Briton of the sixth century, should

(*m*) Dr. Pennecuick has outdone himself, when speaking of Merlin, while the prophecies of this obscure rhymer had their political effect. The doctor says his grave is on the side of the Powsail, a little below the church-yard of Drummelzier. "The particular place, he adds, at the root of a Thorn-tree, was shewn me many years ago by the old and reverend minister of this parish, Mr. Richard Brown." Description of Tweeddale, 26.

(*n*) Descript. of Tweeddale, 27. King James was crowned on Monday the 25th of July 1603; being the festival of St. James the apostle. How's Chron. 1611, 436. This ascertains the day of this uncommon flood of the Tweed.

(*o*) Mr. Lewis Morris, a very intelligent Cambro-Britain, says, he had seen many MSS. containing some of *Myrddin's* [Merlin] poetry, which, though it was written by a Pictish-Briton so long ago as the sixth century, is intelligible to a person only tolerably versed in the Welsh. [MS. Celtic Remains.] Myrddin's poetry in the ancient British language, may be seen in the Welsh Archaeology, lately published by Owen, i. 154.

have been buried, according to the popular tradition, in the remotest part of the Strathclyde kingdom, at the junction of the Tweed and Powsail (*p*).

From monuments of the dead to stones of memorial, the transition is easy. In Traquair parish there is a remarkable *standing stone* which is called the *Cross* (*q*). Westward from this, on the southern side of the Tweed, there is another upright stone near a hamlet which from it is named *the Standing Stone* (*r*). In Manor parish, on Bollanrig, there is a large rude monument which is known by the name of the *Standing Stone*, and which may have been placed on Ballanrig as a memorial of some ancient conflict (*s*). On the Sheriffmuir, the isthmus between the Lyne and Tweed, there are several memorial stones as well as tumuli, which evince with still greater certainty that a battle had here been fought during some age before inscriptions were deemed necessary for transmitting the event (*t*). On *Cade*-muir, in Peebles parish, there are several standing stones in the vicinity of some British strengths (*u*). Yet in treating of stones of memorial, we must always remember that in the good old times when the kings with their bishops and barons went out personally to perambulate disputed boundaries, large stones were often erected to ascertain the true limits, as we know from the chartularies which speak of those stones as *grandes lapides* (*x*).

The *strengths* of the Britons are better preserved than the *memorials* of their *conflicts*. In Peebles-shire there are many hill-forts. They are generally placed in this district on the summits of the smaller and middling hills, but not on the higher mountains. Their form generally approximates the circle, but is often made to suit the summit or the ground whereon they are placed. Some of those strengths were surrounded with

(*p*) MS. Celtic Remains ; Owen's Cambrian Biography, and Leyden's Complaynt of Scotland, Intro., 193-9.

(*q*) Companion to the map, 100. (*r*) Ib., 102.

(*s*) Ib., 69. Armstrong had this so strongly in his head that he has called this place Bellon or War-rig. (*t*) Stat. Acco., iii. 326.

(*u*) Ib., xii. 10. The name of *Cademmir* pretty clearly intimates that the standing stones were erected here to preserve the remembrance of some battle. *Cademuir* is merely a corruption of the British *Cad-maur*, signifying the *great battle*. Davis and Owen.

(*x*) Such stones were sometimes called *Cruces*, which were probably the appropriate boundaries of the church-lands. An agreement between the abbot of Kelso and the abbot of Melrose, about the boundaries of Bolden, Eildon, and Darnwick, repeatedly mentions the *Cruces*, "que posita est," etc., and "que sita est." Chart. Melrose, No. 59. During the reign of Alexander II., a charter of Alfric, the daughter of Edgar, in describing the limits of some lands in Nithsdale, mentions *le Cruce*, "que dicitur *Cross* gariauch, que est *meta* inter terram Canonicarum de Dercongal, et Derrangoram," etc. There is also mention of a *cumulum lapideum*. Ib., No. 103.

only one rampart and fosse, while others of them have two, and some have three. Their ramparts were mostly formed of the materials which were thrown from the ditch, a mixture of earth and stones; and where the stone abounded, the ramparts were formed of stones without cement. On the hill of Cademuir, in Peebles parish, there are four British strengths, which are all of a circular form; and one of them, that seems to have been intended to be the strongest, is surrounded by a rampart of stones without cement. This rampart, in part of its circumference, is double; but where it is single, it is of a prodigious thickness (*y*). In Peebles parish, on a round hill called *Janet's brae*, there are two British strengths of a circular form, which are each surrounded by a rampart and fosse (*z*). In the same parish, on the summit of Meldun, a pretty large hill, there are the remains of a British strength in a round form, and of considerable circumference. In the same parish, there are the remains of several strengths of the same kind (*a*); particularly, one on the hill above Hutchin-field, another near Hayston-craig, a third on the hill above Wham, and a fourth on the hill called Ew-hill-rig (*b*). In Manor parish, there are the remains of several British hill-forts, which are of a circular form; particularly two on Hound hill, one on Caver hill, one near Hudleshope, and one on a small hill named the *Ring* knowe, the entrenchments whereof are called *the Rings* (*c*). In Traquair parish, there are the remains of several British forts, which are of a round form and are called *Chesters* (*d*). On a height adjoining the village of Inverleithen, there are the remains of a British strength, which appears to have been surrounded by three ramparts and fosses, that secure an area of more than an English acre (*e*). In Eddlestone parish there are the remains of several British forts. One of these, called Milkingston *Rings*, stands on a hill above Milkingston; is of a circular form and is surrounded by ramparts and fosses that are very entire. From Milkingston *Rings*, about two and a half miles on the north, there is another British fort, called Northshield *Rings*, on the summit of a hill at Northshield; and there is another hill-fort on the most northerly summit of Kings-seat-Edge (*f*). In Newlands

(*y*) Stat. Acco., xii. 9; and Companion, 92.

(*z*) Id. In the Stat. Acco., the name of Janets hill is blundered into *Frineti*.

(*a*) Stat. Acco., xii. 11. (*b*) Companion to the map, 92. (*c*) Companion, 69.

(*d*) Stat. Acco., xii. 378. *Chester* is applied to many British forts in the south of Scotland. The *Caer* of the Britons was by the Romans called *Castrum*, and by the Anglo-Saxons *Ceaster*, which was softened to *Chester*. Verstegan's Antiq., 213; and Somner in vo. The old English. says Lhuyd, turned every *Caer* of ours into Ceaster, Chester, etc. Adversaria.

(*e*) Stat. Acco., xix. 603. (*f*) Companion to the map, 40.

parish, there are the remains of several British forts on the tops of several hills. One of these is on the summit of the Terrace hill, above the church (*g*); there is another on Whiteside hills; there are two other forts above Drochill which are pretty entire (*h*); there is one of those forts on Hunderland hill; and there is another on Broad hill (*i*). On a rising ground above Linton there is the remain of a British fort of a circular form; and there was formerly the remain of another such fort on the top of Lead law (*k*). In Kirkurd parish there are the remains of several British strengths; there is one of a circular form called *the Rings*, on an eminence near Ladyurd, and about two and a half miles north-west from the Roman camp at Lyne; and there is another British strength called the Chesters, on the farm of Lochurd, to the westward (*l*); and there is another named the *Green Castle*, on the hill above Blyth (*m*). On a small hill called the Gallow law, near Skirling, there are the remains of a British fort of a round form; and there are the remains of another such fort on a hill near Muirburn, in this parish (*n*).

Armstrong the surveyor was induced by his folly to laugh at the country people who believe those British hill-forts to be Roman, because most of them are called *Chesters;* and he is prompted by his ignorance to talk confidently of those hill-forts being constructed "not only to secure cattle," but as exploratory camps to the *lower forts*. By the *lower forts* he absurdly alludes to the *old towers* of recent times, which were built during the anarchy which succeeded the sad demise of Robert Bruce. The map-maker thus confounds the open hill-forts of the earliest people with the close fortlets of the latest proprietors. With the same absurdity he talks of the Druid temples being

(*g*) The hill is so called from having on its acclivities those singular works called *Terraces*. Pennecuick mentions this British strength as surrounded by a rampart of earth and stones, with its accompanying ditch; as if, he adds, it had been some Roman garrison. Description, 16.

(*h*) These are the *Chesters* which are mentioned by Gordon in his Itinerary, as at Dorchill and at Cowthrople. They are three statute miles north-north-west from the Roman camp at Lyne. Armstrong mistakingly asserts, "that Gordon imagines them to have been Roman exploratory castles." Companion, 76. On the contrary, Gordon refutes the notion of these and other British forts in that part of the country being Roman, because they are of a round or oval form and not rectangular, and have not the elegancy of workmanship which characterize the Roman labours.

(*i*) Gordon's Itin. Septent., 115; Companion to the map, 74-6.

(*k*) Companion, 57. (*l*) Stat. Acco., x. 183.

(*m*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115. Gordon also mentions two circular forts on the Broomy-Law, westward from Kirkurd parish, which seems to have been defaced before Armstrong's Survey in 1775. Id.; Companion, 53.

(*n*) Companion, 94.

constructed for the worship of Woden; and with an extraordinary stretch of stupidity, he supposes some of the sepulchral *tumuli* of the ancient Britons to have been erected "to direct travellers from one place to another (*o*)." The popular tradition of the country, however, assigns those hill-forts, as well as all the British works, to *the Picts*, who were ancient Britons, as we have seen. Some of the less intelligent of the local antiquaries ascribe those very primitive works to the Roman legionaries.

Connected with the strengths of the Britons, are their *weapons* for war. Near to Lour, in Drummelzier parish, was found, a short while before the year 1775, a stone axe, or British *Celt* (*p*). We have already seen that there was discovered, in a British sepulchre, three flint stones, one whereof was formed like a halbert (*q*). This was, no doubt, a large *Celt*, which resembles the head of a halbert with its point broken off. About the year 1775, was found, near some sepulchral tumuli in Linton parish, a short sword or poinard of brass. In the King's muir, within a barrow, was discovered, as we have seen, an inverted urn, containing, with the ashes of the warrior, the blade of his dagger (*r*).

The Romans were undoubtedly the first people who came in upon the British aborigines in this district. Neither of the great roads which that enterprising people carried northward, with their Caledonian conquests, pass through any part of Peebles-shire. The Watling-street, which courses from Cumberland into Clydesdale, traverses the country within half a mile of the western extremity of Peebles-shire, where there is a natural passage from the Clyde to the Tweed. It was, probably, through this opening that the Romans found their way, and kept up the connection, between their posts in Clydesdale and their camps in Tweeddale.

There is a very strong Roman post on the eastern side of the Lyne, near to Lyne kirk, and about ten miles eastward from the Watling-street, as it traverses Clydesdale. This camp was first noticed by Pennecuick, who says, the country people call it *Randal's walls* (*s*). It was next mentioned by Gordon, who idly supposes it to have been one of the works of Severus. It was afterward surveyed by Roy, who has left us an elaborate plan of Lyne camp (*t*). It next fell under the inspection of Armstrong the surveyor, who has added some new

(*o*) Companion, 20-70. A sepulchral *tumulus* near East-Hartree, he says, "is probably *Danish*," and seems to have been either a burial mount or an object of direction through *this marshy vale*. Ib., 51.

(*p*) Companion to the map, 34. (*q*) Stat. Acco., x. 186 (*r*) Ib., xii. 15.

(*s*) Description of Tweeddale. (*t*) Milit. Antiq., pl. xxviii.

notices to the intimations of Gordon (*u*). Armstrong concurs with Pennecuick in saying that this Roman camp is called by the country people *Randal's wall*, as Randolph, the Earl of Murray, is supposed to have built Lyne kirk and to have had a house within the camp. This camp, the surveyor says, is 495 feet square, and contains six acres and two roods. The minister says the ground within this camp has been often ploughed, and Roman coins are said to have been frequently found within its area (*x*). In the country for several miles round this Roman post there are various British hill-forts, which this camp was probably designed to bridle on some hostile occasion which cannot now be traced.

From the post at Lyne, about nine miles north-north-west, there are the remains of a Roman camp on the northern side of Upper-Whitefield, in Linton parish. This camp is in the form of a paralellogram, and is surrounded by a single fosse and rampart, which are now nearly obliterated. Its dimensions, says Gordon, are much the same with the Roman fort at Ardoch (*y*). From the eagerness of this antiquarian tourist to connect Roman works with *Romanno*, he states this Roman camp to be only one mile north-west from that place, but it is, in fact, three and a half statute miles north of Romanno ; and there is not the least vestige of any Roman remains at Romanno (*z*).

The minister of Manor informs us that there is in his parish a Roman camp which is pretty entire, and in the neighbourhood of which were found on digging some ground, a Roman urn and some ancient coins (*a*). It were to be

(*u*) Armstrong speaks particularly of the *Prætorium* in the centre, and of the redoubt and the causeway to the eastward. Companion, 64. In p. 22, however, he says, "we find no visible track to or from Lyne camp." But the minister of Lyne says, positively, "that the road leading to it is still visible, and runs through the present glebe." Stat. Acco., ii. 564.

(*x*) Id. The last person who inspected this camp with an accurate eye was the late Mungo Park, the African traveller, who kindly sent me his observations with some sketches, in October 1802. Lyne camp, he says, is situated on a rising ground five miles west of Peebles, a little to the north of the road to Glasgow, and about 600 yards west of Lyne kirk. It is in tolerable preservation, except on the north side, where 112 yards of the trench have been filled up and ploughed, but the hollow is still visible. This camp, considered as a military post, must have possessed considerable advantages. From its elevation it must have been always dry and healthful: and being situated farther to the westward than the places where the Lyne, the Manor, and Edlestane waters join the Tweed, it is evident that the communication could be seldom interrupted by floods, even during the winter months, as the troops could ford each of those streams, separately, with much more ease than after their junction. Such is the solid sense of Mungo Park!

(*y*) Itinerary, 114 ; Companion to the map, 59. (*z*) Companion to the map, 74.

(*a*) Stat. Acco., iii. Yet, no such camp is intimated by Armstrong, who made his Survey before the minister wrote his Account. The minister says it is at a small distance from *a tower*

wished that the minister had been more particular in the description of the size, the form, and the situation of his camp, that we might have determined from the circumstances whether it had been formed by Roman hands (*b*).

During the ninth century, the Britons of Strathclyde and of Tweeddale appear to have been pressed upon by the Scoto-Irish on the west, and the Scoto-Saxons on the east. Those several pressures were so much felt, that a considerable emigration of Britons from both those countries to Wales took place in 890 A.D. (*c*). By this emigration of the most enterprising Britons, the kingdom of Strathclyde must have been greatly weakened; and its government was overpowered by the Scottish king in 974 A.D. (*d*). From this epoch, the Scoto-Irish intermingled with the remaining Britons on the Upper Tweed, not so much as hostile intruders, as fellow subjects of a congenerous people (*e*). The Scoto-Irish people have, indeed, left many indications of their settlements upon the Upper Tweed, by the number of their words that may be now traced in its topography. There is, indeed, so great an analogy between the sister dialects of the British and Irish speech, and so much of the topographical language of Peebles-shire is common to both those languages, that it is often difficult to determine whether some names were originally applied by the Britons, or, subsequently, by the Scoto-Irish. To that analogy may be traced the cause why so many of the British words have remained within this district in their first forms. The Scoto-Irish, knowing the significance of the words, and seeing the fitness of their application to the several objects, allowed them to remain, or new-modelled them to their purpose. The *glen* of the Irish

raised upon an eminence, commanding the best view in the parish. This tower is probably the lofty ruin which stands on a steep knoll called *Castle hill*, three and a half statute miles south-east from Lyne camp.

(*b*) An octangular vase of brass, nine inches in height, was dug up near Traquair, and was presented by the Earl of Traquair to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh. Acco. of the Society, 55. But the antiquaries have not settled to what people this curious vase belonged.

(*c*) See before, bk. iii., ch 5. (*d*) Id.

(*e*) That the Scoto-Irish interminged with the Britons here is apparent, from the *topography* of Peebles-shire. In it we see Irish vocables grafted on British names. Inver-leithen was formed by prefixing the Irish *Inbher*, which signifies an *influx*, on the British name of the river *Leithen*. This formation, then, evinces that the Britons must have preceded the Irish; as, indeed, we know was the fact, from the tenor of the history of both those people. In the same topography we may find the Saxon *dene* pleonastically superinduced upon the Irish *glen*, both signifying a deep narrow valley; and this indicates sufficiently that the Irish preceded the Saxons in this shire. The Saxon *law*, a hill, has also been superinduced upon some of the Scoto-Irish names; such as, Duill-*ard law*, Sy-*ard law*, and so of others.

signifying, as we have seen, a deep narrow vale, is merely the *glyn* of the British, which may be seen very often on the map of this shire (*f*). The many names which we thus perceive in every part of Peebles-shire with the prefix *glen*, were all undoubtedly imposed by the Scoto-Irish people, with some reference to the British *glyn*, which may have here existed before. The Irish *cnoc*, signifying a hill, is merely the British *cnwc*, signifying a swelling, a knob, and metaphorically, a hill, and is applied to many hills in Peebles-shire (*g*). The Scottish people, who imposed their name *knoc* on so many hills in this district, recognized the *cnwc* of the British, which signified the same thing; but when the Scoto-Saxon people formed so many pleonasms, by affixing *hill* to *cnoc*, they did not understand the meaning of the word *cnoc*. The Irish *druim*, signifying a ridge, is applied to several *heights* in Peebles-shire, and is still retained in some names of places, as *Drum*melzier, *Drum*maw. The Celtic *dun*, signifying a hill, is retained in the names of several hills, as *Dun*droich, the Druid's hill, *Dun*slair, Hamil-*dun*, Drider-*dun* of Pont, which is corrupted into the Driter*ton* of Armstrong. Several of the smaller streams in Peebles-shire retain the name of *alt*, which had been given them by the Scoto-Irish settlers, as Cram-*alt*, the winding rill, Garw-*alt*, the rivulet in Linton, and Garw-*alt* in Inverleithen; and we may even now recognise the Irish *poll*, signifying a rivulet, in *Poll*-mood, within Drummelzier, *Pow*-sail, the vulgar pronunciation of Pol-sail, the willow rill of Merlin's prophecy, *Pol*-an-*tarf*, the bull's rivulet. Many other names, which were applied by the Scoto-Irish settlers in Peebles-shire, still remain, though some of them have been corrupted (*h*). A very long list of Gaelic names of places in Peebles-shire might be given as the best evidence

(*f*) Davis, and Owen. We may here see *Glen*-isco, *Glen*-breck, *Glen*-whaip, which has been changed to *Glen*-whappen, *Glen*-umfra, *Glen*-muick, *Glen*-keirie, *Glen*-achan, *Glen*-cotho, *Glen*-harvey, *Glen*-lude, *Glen*-holm, *Glen*-rath, *Glen*-gaber, Glen, *Glen*-bide, *Glen*-glaber, in Traquair, *Glen*-tress, *Glen*-sax.

(*g*) The Welsh Dict. There are *Knock* hill, in Linton; *Knock* hill, in Skirling; *Knock* hill, in Tweedsmuir; *Knock* knows, in Kirkurd. The word *know*, that is every where applied in Scotland to a little hill, is merely the vulgar pronunciation of *knoll*, which is itself the British *cnoll*, a hillock. Johnson gives the word *knoll*, from Ainsworth; but he did not know that the word is pure British, and had been simply adopted into their speech by the Saxons, with many other British words.

(*h*) Duill*ard* hill, in Pont, is corrupted by Armstrong into Dollar law; Tarf water, in Pont, is called Polintarf by Pennecuick; *Blair*bog, in Pennecuik, has, by an absurd perversion, been called the Whim, though the Scottish name was very descriptive of the soft mossy field. Such whimsical men as change the descriptive name of their places for *La Mancha*, and such like, do not reflect that they are destroying the best evidences of their obscure history.

how far the Scoto-Irish people had spread over this country, and how long they had remained (*i*).

The Scoto-Saxons, as we have seen, may have pressed upon the Britons of the Tweed from Selkirk, from Roxburgh, and from Lothian, during early times; but it is apparent, from the foregoing intimations, that the Scoto-Saxons came in upon the Upper Tweed after the settlement of the Scoto-Irish there, as they came in themselves upon the aboriginal Britons many an age after the Gadeni had bravely fought for Tweedside with the Roman legionaries. The year 945 is the epoch when Malcolm I. became sovereign "of all Cumberland (*k*)." The year 974 marks the period when the Britons of Upper-Tweed, as well as in Strathclyde, ceased to govern themselves, as their government was then suppressed by the superior power of Kenneth III., the son of Malcolm I. The year 1020 is the era when Malcolm II. became sovereign of Lothian (*l*). If the Scoto-Saxons came in upon the Upper Tweed subsequent to those dates, they must have settled there gradually, by some right, as subjects, and not forcibly, by conquest, as enemies. When, or by whatever title they came in, the Scoto-Saxons ultimately prevailed in this district, and finally established a permanent settlement among the Scoto-Irish and the descendants of the original Britons (*m*). In Peebles-shire, the Celtic names, both British and Irish, bear a much greater proportion to the Scoto-Saxon than in the more eastern counties of Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick. This superiority of Celtic to Teutonic names undoubtedly proceeded from the long and late possession of the Britons here, and from the thorough mixture of the Scoto-Irish among them, not as enemies, but as friends, many a day before the Scoto-Saxons intermingled with both, as fellow subjects of the Scottish kings. The Scoto-Saxon names of places in this district are the same as those of Selkirk and Roxburgh (*n*), a

(*i*) Such as, *Glack*, in Manor parish; Cloch, and Cloch hills, *Cringletie*, *Kilrubie*, *Calacairn*, in Eddlestone; Inverleithen and Colquhar, in Inverleithen; Kailzie, Fetheim, and Teniel, in Traquair; Clochmore, Craigdilly, and Syart, in Megget; *Lour* and *Paternan*, in Drummelzier; *Gairlet*, *Ballaman*, *Badlean*, *Badenhay*, *Badentry*, *Blairsheep*, and *Craigmad*, in Tweedsmuir; *Glack* and Rathan, in Glenholm; *Kilbucho* and *Blenewing*, in Kilbucho; *Dalfindow*, in Linton; and Wham, in Peebles parish.

(*k*) Saxon Chronicle. (*l*) Sim. of Durham.

(*m*) There are charters of Malcolm IV. and his brother William specially addressed to the Welsh people of Strathclyde and Upper-Tweed. Caledonia, i., 353. Those charters evince, then, how low down the descendants of the original Britains remained, as a known people, in some districts of Peebles.

(*n*) Such as. *law*, a hill; *cleugh*, a ravine; *dene*, a valley; *shiel*, a pastoral habitation; *shaw*, a copse-wood; *dod*, which is applied to half a dozen hills, and is probably the same as the old English

coincidence this, which evinces that the Scoto-Saxons came in from the east, and not through Dumfries-shire, where the Scoto-Saxon names of places are of a somewhat different cast. Many of the Scoto-Saxon appellations in Peebles-shire are obviously grafted on the previous Scoto-Irish, and British names, in pleonastic forms, by a people, who being of a different lineage, were unacquainted with the prior names. This fact, then, evinces decisively that the settlements of the Scoto-Saxons here were made in much more recent times than the establishments of the original Britons, and the later colonization of the Scottish people of Gaelic descent.

We have now traced four lineages of men into the well-watered vale of Upper Tweed,—the Britons, the Romans, the Scoto-Irish and the Scoto-Saxons —yet it is very difficult to assign to each of them their appropriate antiquities, particularly the *terraces*, which abound in this district. Of such works, the most considerable are those on a beautiful green mount called Terrace hill above Newlands. Along the whole face of this hill there are eleven or twelve terraces, from fifteen to twenty feet broad, which rise by a regular gradation to the top (*o*). Somewhat more than half a mile northward from Terrace hill, there is a smaller mount called the *Moot hill*, which has several tiers of terraces on it, and which, from its name, appears to have been appropriated in more modern times for the administration of justice to a rustic people (*p*). At Kirkurd and at Skirling, the former three miles, and the latter seven and a half miles from *Terrace hill*, there are the appearances of similar rows of terraces (*q*). At Smithfield in the vicinity of Peebles there are also terraces (*r*); and Pennecuick, after describing the terraces at Newlands, says, that there are like terraces to be seen upon several other hills in Tweeddale (*s*). When or by whom those terraces were formed, it is not easy to ascertain. The tradition among the inhabitants is that they were made by *the Picts*, to whom, like the giants of other lands, the country people attribute all the more ancient works that were formed by the Britons, who, as we have seen, were the proper

tod, a bush, or tuft; *lee*, a field, a pasture-field; *ham*, a dwelling; and *by*, a habitation. *Hope*, a little vale without a thoroughfare, is an old Norman-French word, as we may learn from Bullet, and as we have seen; and the word *hope* could not of course have existed here long before the arrival of so many Anglo-Norman families under David I. It was in the same age that the Upper-Tweed obtained the name of Tweed*dale*, and perhaps from the same people.

(*o*) Pennecuick's Description, 16. Gordon speaks, in his Itinerary, more magnificently; for a whole mile, says he, it appears like a large amphitheatre, and may be seen at four or five miles distance. And see the Companion to the map, 73.

(*p*) The Rev. Charles Findlater intimates as much in his MS. Note on the Companion, 73.

(*q*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115. (*r*) Companion, 93. (*s*) Description, 16.

Picts (*t*). From the example of the *Catrail*, we know that the Romanized Britons were capable of undertaking and executing much larger works. But whatever people did construct those terraces, they were evidently intended for the accommodation of spectators to enjoy some sport of whatever kind, though some of them were afterward appropriated to the administration of justice (*u*).

From the *terraces*, we may naturally turn to *the castles*, which seem, indeed, to have been built by the Scoto-Saxons. At Traquair, the Scottish kings had a castle in the twelfth century, where they occasionally resided for the purpose of hunting in Traquair forest (*x*). It is not quite certain whether this ancient castle stood on the site of Traquair house, which Pennecuick calls a palace, and praises as stately. This building, which stands on the junction of the Quair and Tweed, was obviously constructed in different ages. The oldest part, as it is of great antiquity, and seems to have been a strong tower, was doubtless the king's castle (*y*). The modern part was built during the reign of Charles I., by the great Earl of Traquair, the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, who is praised by Clarendon for his knowledge of affairs and skill in the management of them. At Peebles there appears to have been an ancient castle on the eminence which has been called *the castle hill*, on the point of land that is formed by the junction of the Peebles water with the Tweed. There is no notice of any existing ruin on this pleasant height, and the summit of the hill, where once stood the castle, has been converted into a bowling-green (*z*).

On Wood hill in Manor parish, there are some remains of an ancient building, which bears the name of *Macbeth's* castle (*a*). There is a ruin in Broughton parish which is also called *Macbeth's* castle, and which tradition tells was the well-known Macbeth (*b*). There were, however, considerable persons of this

(*t*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115. Armstrong considers the British hill-fort, on the summit of the Terrace hill, as an indication that the terraces were made by the Britons. The surveyor, we see, does sometimes write with sense. Companion, 74.

(*u*) The plain below the terrace on the height at Markinch, in Fife, retains at this day the appropriate name of *Playfield*. Stat. Acco., xii., 552.

(*x*) From this castle several of the charters of William the Lion were dated.

(*y*) Description of Tweeddale, 39; Stat. Acco., 378; Companion to the map, 99. This castle, and the forest about it, remained in the crown probably till the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted both to his zealous supporter, Sir James Douglas. Robertson's Index. This forest came from the Douglases to the Murrays. It returned to the crown by the forfeiture of William de Moravia, "the outlaw Murray;" and in 1478 was granted by James III., to James, Earl of Buchan, who transmitted it in patrimony to James Stewart, his son. Crawfurd's Peerage, 480.

(*z*) Description of Tweeddale; Stat. Account of Peebles; and Companion to the map.

(*a*) Companion to the map, 70. (*b*) Stat. Acco., vii., 159.

name in Mid-Lothian under David I., particularly Macbeth of Liberton (*c*) ; and this personage may have had lands and a castle in Peebles-shire (*d*). Of *Oliver* castle, the early residence of the Frasers in Peebles-shire, there exists only a small remain to mark its site in Tweedsmuir parish. Oliver castle was probably erected here towards the end of the twelfth century, and was long the residence of an influential family (*e*). On Fruid water in Tweedsmuir, there are the remains of *Fruid* castle, where the Frasers also resided of old (*f*). Drummelzier castle, which stood on the east bank of the Tweed, and which Armstrong supposes to have been very ill to assail or defend, was also built by the Frasers, probably in the twelfth century, from whom, by marriage, it came to the Tweedies (*g*). A mile north-north-east from Drummelzier castle stands the ruins of Tinnis castle upon a pointed rock, which rendered it a more safe retreat than the former ; and Tinnis castle was the residence of the Tweedies, who domineered here through ages of anarchy (*h*). Neidpath castle, which is also said to have been a residence of the Frasers and Tweedies, stands upon a projecting rock on the northern bank of the Tweed above Peebles (*i*). This castle, as it has been inhabited in more recent times, is one of the completest specimens of such buildings, both as to its architecture and strength (*k*). The ruins of *Shielgreen* castle stand on an eminence in Peebles parish (*l*).

(*c*) Chart. Holyrood, 1128.

(*d*) In fact, Simon, the son of *MacBeth*, was sheriff of Traquair in 1184 A.D. Chart. Newbotle, No. 30. A late proprietor caused this ruin to be searched for treasure and antiquities ; but there was only found by the search some pieces of old armour, and some coins of no great consequence, saith the minister. Stat. Acco., vii. 159.

(*e*) *Oliver*, the son of Kylvert, granted to the monks of Newbotle a carucate of land and common of pasture, within the manor of Hale. Chart. Newbotle, No. 81. To this grant, Jocelin, the bishop Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199 A.D. is a witness. And this grant was confirmed by the nephew of *Oliver*, Adam, the son of Udard Fraser ; and it is witnessed by Dominus Bernard Fraser. Ib., 82. Oliver, then, was a Fraser.

(*f*) Stat. Acco., viii. 89.

(*g*) Description by Pennecuick, 26 ; Companion by Armstrong, 32.

(*h*) Description, 26. Tweedie, saith Pennecuick, obliged all passengers "to strike sail, salute, and pay homage to his hautiness." Armstrong, indeed, relates, from the tradition of the country people, who delight in such tales, that King James V., who was not of a temper to bend to border chiefs, passing this way, was challenged, and detained, by Tweedie, who easily obtained forgiveness on making an apology. The king was perhaps pleased with the humour of this stout fellow, who domineered over smaller men in a wild recess.

(*i*) Ib., 30 ; Companion, 87 ; and there is a view of Neidpath castle in Grose's Antiq., ii. 222-3.

(*k*) The walls of this castle were formed of whin-stones, which were cemented by run lime, being twelve feet thick. Companion, 87.

(*l*) Ib., 92.

Horsburgh castle is also a strong tower, which is pleasantly situated on a height in Inverleithen parish, on the northern bank of the Tweed. Such were the principal strengths which the Scoto-Saxons built of "stane and lyme," within Peebles-shire in ancient times (*m*). Those ancient towers were all extremely like each other, in situation, in construction, and in use. They were generally placed on an eminence of difficult access. They were commonly three or four stories high, the lower floor being vaulted with walls eleven or twelve feet thick of stone cemented by lime, which are now as firm as a rock. The entrance into the lower storey was secured by a strong wooden door, which was strengthened by an iron gate within. The invention of gun-powder and artillery rendered such towers as useless as fortlets, as they had always been inconvenient as dwellings. Some antiquaries suppose that a continued series of those towers was built upon a systematic plan along the Tweed, from its source to its issue. It is, however, sufficiently obvious that those several towers were all built at successive times by distinct proprietors, for their residence and safe-guard, during a long period of tumultuous times (*n*). Drochil castle, indeed, which was begun on the Lyne water in Newlands parish in 1578, was left by the Regent Morton, who fell under the axe in June 1581; but this large edifice was designed, saith Pennecuick, more for a *palace* than a castle, and now exhibits in its mighty ruins the disgrace of its ambitious founder (*o*).

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The thirteenth century had almost expired before the several districts on the Upper Tweed were formed into *one shire*, or constituted a sheriffdom. The earliest charter of David I. in

(*m*) There were, indeed, in this country a number of other strong towers, which are of more recent erection during anarchical ages. In Inverleithen parish, there are the tower of Nether-Horsburgh and the Peel-house of Ormiston; and there were castellated houses at Caverstone, at Purvis hill, and Inverleithen. In Traquair parish there are several ruins of strong towers. There is one at Cardrona, which is almost entire; and there are others at Bold, and at Grieston. There was a tower at Lyne. There were such castellated strengths at East-Happrea, at East-Dawik, and at Drevah, in Stobo. There was a tower in Manor parish, on a lofty knoll called the Castle hill. There was a Peel-house at Lour, in Drummelzier. There are still the remains of ten towers in Broughton. The mansion-house of Hartree, in Kilbuko, is merely an old tower repaired. In Glenholm there are no fewer than six old castles. In Tweedsmuir, there are the remains of a strong tower at Hawkshaw, which was the residence of an old family of the name of Porteous. In Megget parish, there were two towers, one at Cramalt, and the other at Henderson, the residence of Cockburn, the king of the thieves.

(*n*) Companion to the map, 21; Stat. Acco., x. 12.

(*o*) Description, 16; Companion to the map of Peebles, 75-6.

1118 A.D., describes this country by the name of *Tueddal* (*p*). Malcolm IV., who died in 1165, speaks of the same country by the name of *Tuededale* (*q*). We perceive, then, that neither of those kings, when thinking and writing of Tweeddale, had within their contemplation *a shire* (*r*).

We know, however, that there were two sheriffs in Tweeddale during the subsequent reign—one at Traquair, and another sheriff at Peebles, owing to the co-existence of two royal castles in Tweeddale at Traquair and at Peebles, having each an appropriate jurisdiction. The first sheriff in Tweeddale whom my researches have discovered, is Symon, the son of Macbeth, who was *vicecomes* de Travequeyr in 1184 (*s*). The first sheriff of Peebles whom I have found in the chartularies, was John, *vicecomes* de *Pebblis* in November 1227 (*t*). The second sheriff of Traquair, whom I have seen in the chartularies, is Gilbert Fraser, who held a court for deciding a contest about some lands in Stobo, between William, the bishop of Glasgow, and Mariota, the daughter of Samuel. This law-suit was carried by the king's precept before Gilbert Fraser, "tunc vicecomes de Travquer;" and Mariota resigned her claim to the lands in contest, "in curia vicecomitatu de Travequer (*u*)." There is a very curious precept of Alexander II., which is addressed to his sheriff and bailies of Traquair, commanding them to imprison all excommunicated persons within their jurisdictions (*x*). The second sheriff of Peebles, whom I have perceived

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*q*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*r*) In Dugdale's Monast., i. 399, there is a charter of Alexander de *Trevaquer*, which is witnessed, among other inhabitants of Traquair, "*Roberto Vicecomite*," and which seems to be of the age of David I. This Robert, then, was no doubt the king's sheriff of Traquair.

(*s*) Chart. Newbotle, 30. Nisbet, indeed, talks of the Frasers being great proprietors here, and sheriffs of Traquair, during the reign of Malcolm IV.; but he does not produce any authority for such assertions, except the interested fictions of the decapitated Lord Lovat. Heraldry, ii. App., 114; Shaw's Moray, 133.

(*t*) He was one of the witnesses who were present in the church of Peebles, at the determination of a controversy between Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, and William, the abbot of Paisley. Chart. Glasgow, 181.

(*u*) Ib., 275. We are to remember, for settling the epoch of this contest, that William was bishop of Glasgow from 1233 to 1258. Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, was a witness to a charter of Eugine, the son of Amabill, resigning his right to the same William, bishop of Glasgow, in the manor of Stobo. Ib., 279. As sheriff of Traquair, Gilbert was again a witness in a charter of Christiana, granting lands to the church of St. Mary during the reign of Alexander III., and the prevalence of the Comyns. Ib., 445.

(*x*) This precept, which the king commanded to be published in all his bailiewick of Traquair, was dated the 15th July, 1242. Ib., 235. There remains another precept of Alexander II., which was dated somewhat earlier perhaps, addressed to John de Vallibus, the sheriff of Edinburgh, *Gilbert Fraser*,

in the chartularies was Simon Fraser, who was sheriff of Peebles before the year 1263 (*y*). He witnessed a deed in favour of the monks of Kelso in 1266 (*z*). This Simon Fraser, who is called *the father* in the records of that period, was a person of great property and power in Peebles-shire, was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ* at the demise of Alexander III.; and, by the name of Simon Fraser, was the only Fraser who sat in the parliament which met at Brigham on the 12th of March 1289-90, being the only Fraser, probably, who then held lands in chief of the crown (*a*). On the 12th of June 1291, he swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick (*b*); and he died soon after, retaining undoubtedly till his decease the office of sheriff of Peebles (*c*). Simon Fraser's lands, and perhaps his sheriffship, and certainly his consequence, descended to his son Simon, who was equal to the father as a statesman, and superior to him as a soldier. When so many of the Scottish chiefs were in the power of Edward I., Simon Fraser was his prisoner in 1296; and in 1297, among greater men of his country, Simon Fraser engaged to serve the English king in his foreign wars (*d*). He probably never executed his involuntary engagement. He fought strenuously against Edward in 1302. The English king would no longer hear of pardon for this enterprising warrior, and again getting him in his power, at the battle of Methven, he ordered him to be put to

the sheriff of *Trauequayr*, N. de Heris, forestar, and W. de Pennycok, commanding them with the honest men of the country to ascertain the extent of the pasture of Lethanhop, with the pertinents, and to return the same, with the yearly value thereof, to him, by their writ, signed and sealed. Chart. Newbotle, 130.

(*y*) Simon Fraser was a witness to a charter of Alexander III., which was dated at Traquair on the 12th of December 1264. Diplom. Scotiæ. pl. 36. There is a precept of Alexander III., addressed to Simon Fraser on the 25th of July 1263, directing him to pay yearly to the hospital of Soltre, half a chalder of oat-meal out of the mill of Peebles. Chart. Soltre, 8.

(*z*) Chart. Kelso, 189.

(*a*) Rym. Foed., ii. 471.

(*b*) Rym. Foed., ii. 567. Simon *Fresthell*, probably Simon Fraser, the son, swore fealty to Edward at Lindores, on the 22d of July 1291. Ib., 570.

(*c*) On the 15th of January 1291-2, Edward I. granted to William, the son of John Comyn, during pleasure, the keeping of the *forests* of *Trequer* and *Selechirche*, with the pertinents, in the same manner as *Simon Fraser*, lately deceased, had the keeping of the same. Rot. Scotiæ, 7. On the 18th of June 1292, Edward appointed William de Peret to be sheriff of Trequeyr. Ib., 8. These notices, from the Record, prove the death of Simon Fraser, the Father, in 1291, and convey the latest intimation of a sheriff of Traquair.

(*d*) Rym. ii., 769; and for his faithful performance, he pledged his wife and his children and all that was his. His cousin, Richard Fraser, entered into the same engagement. Id.

death in 1306 (*e*). The two sheriffs of Tweeddale probably continued throughout the disastrous times which succeeded the sad demise of Alexander III. In 1304 Edward I. undoubtedly appointed Ademar de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs to be sheriff of Peebles (*f*).

Yet when Edward I., by his well-known ordinance, settled the government of Scotland in 1305, he considered Peebles as a sheriffwic, and appointed for his sheriff Robert de Hasting (*g*). The sheriffwic of Traquair had before that memorable epoch become merged in the sheriffdom of Peebles. The forest, castle, and bailliewick of Traquair, were granted by Robert Bruce to Sir James Douglas, but it does not clearly appear to whom that great prince gave the office of sheriff of Peebles (*h*). In 1334 Edward Baliol conveyed to Edward III., "Villam, et castrum, et *comitatum* de Pebles" (*i*).

The Hays of Locherworth certainly became sheriffs of Peebles before the beginning of the fifteenth century (*k*). This family appears to have enjoyed this office hereditarily beyond the accession of King James to the English throne. Sir William Hay, *the sheriff of Peebles*, married Johanna, the eldest daughter of Hugh Gifford, with whom he obtained the barony of Yester. His grandson John, Lord Hay of Yester, continued sheriff of Peebles from 1462

(*e*) That eminent man, who was probably sheriff of Peebles, at his death, did not leave a son to avenge his fall; but he left two daughters, the one of whom married Sir Patrick Fleming, and the other Sir Gilbert Hay of Locherworth, the progenitor of the Marquis of Tweeddale; and both Fleming and Hay quartered in their armorial bearings the *cinque foils* of the Frasers. Officers of State, 272; Nisbet's Essay on Armories, 98, pl. iii.

(*f*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin., 151.

(*g*) Ryley's Placita, 505.

(*h*) Douglas says, indeed, that it was granted by him to Sir Patrick Fleming, who had married one of the daughters of Simon Fraser, quoting for this intimation a charter in the archives of the Marquis of Tweeddale. Peerage, 695; but the Record, at least Robertson's Index, is silent as to such a charter.

(*i*) Rym. iv., 615. Of that great concession, Edward III. immediately received seisin, and he, at the same time, appointed Gilbert de Bourghdon sheriff of Peebles. Ib., 617.

(*k*) Sir William Hay, who was appointed one of the Scottish commissioners in 1409, to treat of peace with England, was called "Vicecomes de Peeblis." Rym. viii., 548. The office became hereditary in this family. In May 1491, Christian Hay the widow and executrix of Thomas Hay, the late sheriff-depute of Peebles, pursued in parliament Thomas Tweedie and others, for debts severally owing by them to her husband. Parl. Rec., 406-7, 420. In 1503 Lord Zester was sheriff of Peebles. Balfour's Practicks, 16; and Camden, at a later period, in speaking a few words of this shire, subjoins that "it hath for the sheriff thereof Baron Zeister." Holland's Camden, 10.

till 1509, when he died (*l*). The Hays of Yester thus enjoyed the office of sheriff of Peebles throughout three centuries, till John, the second Earl of Tweeddale, sold it, in 1686, with his whole estates in Tweeddale, to William, Duke of Queensberry, who settled the office and estates on his second son, the Earl of March (*m*). In 1724, the Earl of March was hereditary sheriff of Peebles (*n*); and this office he held till 1747, when all heritable jurisdictions were abolished by a wise policy (*o*).

There does not seem to have been, in early times, any *regalities* in this sheriffdom, to diminish the power or restrict the jurisdiction of the sheriff. There appears to have been only one at the epoch of the suppressing of such unfit authorities. David II. granted to William Douglas the lands of Kilbothock and Newlands, on the resignation of John Graham of Dalkeith (*p*). Robert II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, on the resignation of his father, the barony of *Kilbothock* and Newlands, with the barony of Linton-Rotherick, in Peebles-shire (*q*). Pennecuick asserts, without quoting his authority, that Kilbucho was erected into a regality for Lord Haltree, one of the senators of the College of Justice, the granduncle of Dickson of Kilbucho (*r*). But, when the lawyer's descendant claimed £1000 for the regality of Kilbucho, his claim seems not to have been allowed by the proper judges (*s*). Linton is said by Pennecuick to have been a burgh of regality. The Earl of March, he adds, is now lord of this regality, and distributes justice by his sheriff-depute. The Earl of March claimed nothing for the regality of Linton, but was allowed a compensation for the regality of Newlands (*t*). James Montgomery, of the family of Magbiehill, who rose to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was appointed the first sheriff of Peebles-shire, after the abolition of the heritable sheriffdoms, at a salary of a hundred and fifty pounds a year (*u*). Such, then,

(*l*) He was created Lord Hay of Yester, on the 29th of January 1487-8. Parl. Rec., 325. In June 1493, the lords auditors of parliament ordained John, Lord Hay of Yester, *the sheriff of Peebles*, to put in execution the letters directed to him, to distrain Thomas Middlemast for 27½ marks owing to Sir James Crichton of Cairns, and to cause the same to be paid to Sir James, as he undertook, in presence of the lords, and if he should fail in doing this, the lords ordered letters to be issued to distrain the sheriff's own goods for the same. Parl. Rec., 381.

(*m*) Douglas Peer., 682. (*n*) MS. Paper Office.

(*o*) For the sheriffship of Peebles he claimed £4,000; for the regality of Newlands, £1,500, and he was allowed for both, £3,418 4s. 3d. List of Claims, 8.

(*p*) Robertson's Index, 54. (*q*) Ib., 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*r*) Description, 28. (*s*) List of Claims, 12. (*t*) Ib., 8.

(*u*) Scots Mag., 1748, 155.

are the notices which, by carrying the mind back to the times that are long passed, show the origin of the office, the rise of the abuse of an hereditary officer, and the final establishment of a regimen, having the common good for its salutary end.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] From the survey of the antiquities of Tweeddale, we have seen how many remarkable events must have happened here during very early times. From the notices with regard to the establishment of the sheriffdom over Tweeddale, we have perceived some of the most noted of its civil transactions. From the many towers and fortlets which have been erected through this country during the Scoto-Saxon period, we may easily conceive what feuds must have existed among irascible barons, and how much kindred blood may have been spilt in Tweeddale, though such "bloody facts" did not rise to the dignity of civil war. Tweeddale was too distant from the scene, and too well defended by defiles and forests, to have been much involved in border conflicts; and even during the succession war, Tweeddale suffered little from the contests between Bruce and Baliol, and little more from the inveterate and long-continued collisions between the sister kingdoms, for Scotland's independence. Owing to the midland position of Peebles-shire, it lay out of the track of the invading or retreating armies, either on the east or on the west.

The only representative whom Tweeddale can be said to have had in the great parliament of Brigham, whose resolutions involved so many interests, was Simon Fraser, the sheriff. The Frasers, who influenced Peebles-shire, were all connected with Baliol, and supported his claims (*x*). When John Baliol was obliged to submit to a power which he could not resist, Tweeddale submitted to Edward I., in August 1296 (*y*). Nor did the people of Peebles-shire partake much in the gallant struggles of Simon Fraser, the younger, for his country's rights. They shared in the fortune of Robert Bruce. They were involved in

(*x*) John Baliol appointed the Frasers as his nominees for supporting his pretensions against Robert Bruce. Rym. ii., 553.

(*y*) Ib., 654. In 1292 Edward I. had already confided the keeping of the forests of *Trequer* and *Selechirche* to the charge of William, the son of John Comyn. Ayloffe's Calendar, 107. In 1304 Edward I. granted to Ademar de Valence and his heirs, both Traquair and Peebles. Abbrev. Rot. Orig., 151. In opposition to this grant, Robert I. gave Traquair, with its pertinents, to Sir James Douglas. Roberts. Index, 10. This fact explains the reason why we hear no more of a sheriff of Traquair.

the misfortunes of Edward Baliol (*z*). They were, no doubt, freed from this subjection by the valorous exploits of Sir William Douglas, the first earl, who fought for the great estates, which good Sir James Douglas had left after all his conflicts. The English are said to have regained possession of Peebles-shire after the battle of Durham in 1346; and the people of this shire were finally freed from the English yoke by the tardy restoration of David II. to his liberty, rather than his independence, in 1357. Of the sad effects which were the necessary result of so much warfare and devastation throughout seventy years, from a comparison of the value of the lands in Peebles-shire at different periods:—

According to the *ancient extent*, the rental was - - £1,274 18 6
According to the true value in 1368, - - - - 863 13 4 (*a*).

From those general views of the whole shire, we may now throw our eyes on the shire town. The name of Peebles implies that some habitations were placed on the isthmus, which is formed by the junction of Peebles water with the Tweed during British times, and we may even suppose this isthmus to have been thus early the commodious site of a Gadeni town. At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, there was, undoubtedly, here a village, a church, a mill, and a brewhouse (*b*); and there were here, as early perhaps, a royal castle, with a chapel and other accommodations, which a town can only supply (*c*) It was the desire of sport, rather than security, that induced the Scottish kings to erect a castle on this commanding situation. We have already seen how early the king had a sheriff, whose jurisdiction appears to have been co-extensive with the constabulary, which seems to have been bounded by a similar jurisdic-

(*z*) In 1334, Edward Baliol transferred his rights, in Peebles-shire, to Edward III. Rym., iv. 615-17.

(*a*) MS. Paper Office. In more modern times, the sheriff of Peebles only accounted yearly in the Exchequer for £327 14s.; and even this sum was lessened, by several deductions, to £206 5s.; so that there was a difference between the old rental and the present rental of 1668 A.D. of £121 9s. Sol. Gen. Purvis MS. The valued rent of the shire of Peebles in 1657 A.D. was £51,878 13s. Scots money, or £4,323 4s. 5d. sterling. The rental of 1794 is estimated at £19,168 sterling, which is probably a good deal under the truth. Agricult. View, 17.

(*b*) The *Inquisitio* of Earl David, 1116 A.D., found that there had belonged to the bishop of Glasgow, in *Peebles*, "una caraucata terræ. et *ecclesia*." Chart. Glasgow, 1. Soon after the establishment of the bishopric, the bishops of Glasgow appear to have obtained the whole ecclesiastical rights, while the king retained the demesne of Peebles. *See* Chambers' Peeblesshire, 1864.

(*c*) Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, "capellum castelli de Peebles," with a carucate of land adjacent, and a rent of ten shillings "de firmi burgi de Pebles." Chart. Kelso, 451.

tion of larger extent. From the earliest record, we may perceive that Peebles was a town of the royal demesne, which yielded a *firm* into the royal exchequer (*d*). The kings resided occasionally at Peebles till the sad demise of Alexander III., who left it marks of his munificence (*e*). The town with prepossessions for Baliol, was involved in the contests for the succession to the crown. It was compelled, after the premature abdication of John Baliol, to submit to Edward I.'s usurpation (*f*). We may thus perceive the form of the government of Peebles at this disgraceful epoch. As the king's town it was governed by his bailiff with certain burgesses, who held the town in *firm* of the king. In 1304, Edward I. certainly granted to Adomar de Valence the warden of Scotland, and to his heirs, "burgum nostrum de Pebbles, cum molendinis," and other pertinents (*g*). On the contrary, there is a charter of Robert I., "burgi de Peebles, super libertatem nundinarum (*h*)," but when it became a *royal burgh*, with special privileges, is uncertain. It is certain, however, that it sent two representatives to the parliament of 1357, which was called to ratify and provide the ransom of David II. (*i*). David II. granted Peebles a charter, dated the 20th September 1367, which made it a royal burgh, and which was confirmed by a charter of James II., and by another from King James VI. in 1621 (*k*). Robert Bruce conferred on this burgh

(*d*) There are many remains here of the royal residence, during ancient times, in the names of places about the town. There are the *king's house*, the *king's orchards*, the *king's meadow*. Companion to the Map, 84, which has a plan of the town. Stat. Acco., v. 15. On the 13th of December 1292, Edward I. issued a mandate to William Clausum, "*firmario* burgi, et molendinorum de Peebles," directing the £28, which he owed as the arrear of the firms of the said burgh and mills, to be paid to the executors of William de Dunfres, the late chancellor of Scotland. Rot. Scotiæ, 13. He issued a similar mandate to Thomas de Halywell, "firmario molendinorum de Trakeweir," directing the payment of £20, which he owed as arrear of the firm of the said mills to the said executors. Id.

(*e*) Pennecuick's Description, 33.

(*f*) On the 28th of August 1296, William de la Chaumbre, the *bailif*, several burgesses, and "tote la *comunate* de Peebles," with John, the vicar of the church, swore fealty to the English king at Berwick. Prynne, iii., 654. Many other inhabitants of Peeblesshire "came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." Ib., 655-6-9. *The king's tenants* of the county of Peebles are specially named. Ib., 656. We have already seen that such tenants of the king held in demesne, and not in capite.

(*g*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin., 151. (*h*) Roberts. Index, 15.

(*i*) Rym. Foed., vi., 44. Peebles stands among the burghs, the seventeenth and last on the list. Its representatives on that occasion, and perhaps the first, were Nicholas, the son of John; and John, the son of William.

(*k*) From all those charters, the constitution of this burgh is formed of a provost, two bailies,

a free market. David II. granted to John Grey, the clerk register, the burrow *mails* of Peebles. In 1369 David gave to the same person the whole *firm*, and issues "*burgi* de Peblys," except those which belonged to the *Chamberlain Air* (*i*). In 1543 the town, and Lord John Hay of Yester, amortized to St. Andrew's kirk in Peebles four-and-twenty marks, with a chamber and a yard (*k*). At the Reformation in 1560 there were granted to the corporation by Queen Mary several lands in its vicinity, and fishings in its rivers, with a toll upon the bridge below the town (*l*). Doctor Pennecuick, as a poet, has outdone his own topography in his description of this town (*m*):

"Peeblis, the metropolis of the shire,
"Six times three praises do from me require;
"Three streets, three ports, three bridges, it adorn,
"And three old steeples, by three churches, born;
"Three mills to serve their town, in time of need,
"On Peebles water, and the river Tweed.
"Their arms are proper, and point furth their meaning,
"Three salmon fishes nimbly counter-sweeming."

In later times the burgh of Peebles sought and received the protection of parliament (*n*).

At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, if not earlier, the Scottish kings had the forest of Traquair in this district, with a castle on the isthmus, which is formed by the junction of the Quair with the Tweed. We first see it mentioned in record under David I. (*o*). In the castle here, the successors of

a dean of guild, a treasurer, eleven councillors, and one deacon. The whole corporation, consisting thus of seventeen members. The yearly income of this corporation is £272 10s. 9d sterling. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 1793. In 1556 Peebles, in people and wealth, ranked with Selkirk, Dunbar, Lauder, and other towns of a similar insignificance, as we may infer from the assessment of that year in Gibson's Glasgow, 87. The effluxion of a century and a half did not much change its relative situation. In this period it had fallen a little below Selkirk, and risen something above Dunbar and Lauder, as we may learn from the assessment of the year 1695. Ib., 103. Some of the royal burghs were, however, of a still lower order than those feeble towns.

(*i*) Roberts. Index, 63-85; Regist. David II., lib. i. 198. (*k*) MS. Donations.

(*l*) This bridge is of five arches, and seems to have been built in early times, but by whom is unknown. (*m*) Description, 31.

(*n*) In June 1640 there passed a ratification in favour of the burgh of Peebles. Unprinted Act. There was a *protestation* of Lord Yester against the ratification to the town of Peebles. Id. There was also a protestation of the town of Peebles against the ratification of the Earl of Traquair. Id.

(*o*) David I. granted to the monks of Melrose, in his forests of Selkirk and *Traquair*, pasturage,

David resided occasionally till the demise of Alexander III. (*p*). There was a bailliewick of considerable extent, which was appurtenant to this castle, as we know from record. There was also of old a considerable village, which had arisen under the shelter of the royal castle (*q*). We may easily suppose that the town of Traquair enjoyed much merriment and prosperity while the kings so often resided here throughout the whole Scoto-Saxon period. In 1304 Edward I. granted to Adomar de Valence, the manor of Traquair, which then appears to have been more opulent and populous than Peebles itself (*r*). Robert Bruce granted to Sir James Douglas the royal forests of Selkirk, Ettrick, and *Traquair* as a free barony (*s*). This forest of Traquair, which was the object of so much desire and of grant, remained, no doubt, in the family of Douglas till the forfeiture of the earl under James II. Being in the crown the barony of Traquair was granted in 1478 by James III. to James Stewart, the Earl of Buchan, who transferred it in 1491 to his second son, James Stewart, the progenitors of the Earls of Traquair (*t*). Besides the barony there seem to have been other lands within the forest which were granted to other proprietors. The *outlaw Murray*, William de Moravia, had forfeited the lands of *Trakware* before the year 1464, as they were then granted to William Douglas of Cluny, being in the crown by the forfeiture of the outlaw (*u*). David II. granted the *bondage-lands* of Traquair to William Maitland (*x*). Doctor Pennecuick speaks rapturously "of the pleasant place, or rather palace of Traquair" (*y*):

"On fair Tweedside, from Berwick to the Bield,
"Traquair, for beauty, fairly wins the field;
"So many charms by nature and by art,
"Do there combine to captivate the heart."

and pannage and wood, and other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed those easements to his proper use. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv.

(*p*) There are two charters to the monks of Cupar by Malcolm IV., which bear to have been granted at *Trevequer*. Chart. Cupar, 1-2. There are eight charters of William the Lion which appear to have been granted at *Travequar*. There are some of Alexander II.'s charters dated at the same place, and there are grants of Alexander III. dated at Traquair. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 36.

(*q*) In 1334 David II. granted to Richard Halywell the *hostilarie* of Traquair, which John Craig had forfeited. Robertson's Index, 57. The same *hostilarie* was granted to Ade Forrester by Robert II. Ib., 124. David II. granted to Rodger Wodyfield twenty librates of land, with a *burgage* in the town of Traquair, which had been impignorated to him by Janet, the daughter of Walter de Moffet. Ib., 77. Traquair is now a small hamlet in the centre of this extensive parish, with a public house at the mill. Companion to the Map, 99.

(*r*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin., 151. (*s*) Roberts. Index, 10. (*t*) Douglas Peer., 94-673.

(*u*) Autograph in the hands of the late Andrew Plummer, the sheriff of Selkirk.

(*x*) Roberts. Index, 37. (*y*) Description of Peebles-shire.

The bush aboon Traquair has, however, captivated other poets. This celebrated bush, as it should seem, has dwindled to five lonely trees, comprehending all that remains to mark the spot which was so often propitious to the loves of the Murrays and Stewarts during more pastoral times (*a*).

Peebles-shire felt the effects of misrule during the long period of anarchy, from the burdensome restoration of David II. to the sad demise of James III. (*b*). Peebles-shire equally partook of the disasters of Floddon-field (*c*). During the perturbed minority of James V., the tumults of the reformation, the civil wars of the four regencies, Peebles-shire may be said to have languished in its wretchedness rather than to have been wasted by war (*d*). Yet are there reasons to suppose that the gentry of Peebles-shire lived, during those unhappy times, in more comfort than we might be led to suppose from general notices. The Parliamentary Record evinces this state of manners, while it exhibits so many

(*a*) Stat. Acco., xii. 378. Yet are we told that the late Earl of Traquair displayed his taste by planting a clump of firs, in order to perpetuate *the bush aboon Traquair*, that is sacred to song. Companion to the Map, 100.

(*b*) After a successful faction had brought James III. to an untimely grave, the first parliament of his infant successor, when the partition of the whole kingdom was to be made among the triumphant insurgents, delivered Peebles-shire to the domination of the Earl of Angus, with Selkirk and other counties. Parl. Rec., 337.

(*c*) In October 1513, the general council of the state, sitting at Perth, ordained that if any breach of the king's peace be committed within the sheriffdom of Tweeddale, letters be written to the sheriff, charging him to reform the same; and if he be not of sufficient power to punish the peace-breakers, that he call to his aid the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Morton, Lord Home, and Lord Borthwick. Parl. Rec., 530. In January 1513-14, the same general council, sitting at Edinburgh, ordained, for good rule among the king's lieges in Tweeddale, that all the headsmen, both in town and country, landed and unlanded, both of the *royalty* and *regality*, should compear before the lords of the council, on the 27th of the same month, upon the pain of treason. Ib., 540.

(*d*) The preamble of King James's charter to the town of Peebles in 1621, states, indeed, "that the people of this borough had not only struggled with secret and open oppressions in the borders of England and Scotland; their *city* being often plundered, burnt, laid waste, and rendered desolate." This description of ruin would suit well enough some of the towns on the Lower Tweed; but cannot literally be true as to any town on the Upper Tweed. In 1549, indeed, Peebles was burnt by Englishmen, says Birrel. Diary, 4. The 10th of October 1567 was the day appointed by the regent, to rendezvous in Peebles, for going against the *thieves* of Annandale and Eskdale. Ib., 12. In June 1568, the regent passed out of Edinburgh with 2,000 men, to Biggar; and on the morrow, the place of Skirling, by his command, was blown up with gunpowder. Ib., 16. On the 1st of May 1571, there seems to have been a conflict between the contending factions of the queen and regent at Tushielaw. Ib., 19. On the 14th of July 1604, a great fire happened in Peebles town. Birrel's Diary.

exact views of feeble justice and penurious economy (*e*). The condition of the people was not much meliorated throughout the infancy of James V., and the violences of the Reformation. During the peaceful reign of James VI., the freeholders of Peebles-shire sometimes met, and showed their weapons to the sheriff; but there were no longer *old adversaries* to oppose (*f*). By the fanaticism of many and factiousness of a few, this shire, which is praised for its loyalty, was involved ere long in civil conflict. They gave sufficient testimony of their loyalty, says Pennecuick, at the fight of Philiphaugh, where several of them were killed by Leslie's army, and the most eminent of their gentry taken prisoners (*g*). Such victories of Scotsmen over Scotsmen led to the conquest of Scotland by Cromwell. A small detachment of horse, from Cromwell's camp at Biggar, were surprised and cut in pieces at Fala moss, by Porteous of Hawkshaw, with the aid of the country people, who, we may suppose, remembered the conflict of Philiphaugh (*h*). Whether revenge carried the torch through Tweeddale on this occasion, we are not told. Pennecuick is studious to tell that, among the fanatical insurgents at Bothwell Bridge, there were not a dozen from Tweeddale (*i*). A pastoral country is not, from nature, the seat of fanaticism or faction, which are usually generated in the hot-bed of towns. We may now advert to a conflict of a different kind, the effect of singular manners. On the 1st of October 1677, there happened, at Romanno, says Pennecuick, a memorable *Polymachy* between two clans of Gipsies, the *Fawes* and the *Shawes*, who had come from Hadington fair, and here fell out about divid-

(*e*) In December 1513, a cause was heard by the Lords of the council against William Cockburn, the laird of Skraling, [now Skirling], for taking by violence a part of his own goods, that had been escheated and granted to Matthew Campbell, viz., three verdour beds, an arress bed, three pair of sheets, a burd-claith of Dornik [a damask table-cloth], six smocks of Dornik, a linen burd-claith, a feather bed with a bolster and four cods [pillow cases], two verdour beds, a pair of fustain blankets, a ruff and curtains, two pair of sheets, one pair of blankets of small white, a feather bed and two saddles, with their repailings, all which goods extend, by good estimation, to thirty pounds Scottish money. Parl. Rec., 538. Such were a country gentleman's furniture.

(*f*) There is preserved "A Roll" of one of those *weapon-shawings*, upon the burrow-moor of Peebles, on the 15th of June 1627, before James Nasmyth of Posso, the sheriff-depute, which is very curious. There were 232 horsemen, and 31 footmen, armed, the first with steel bonnets, jack, swords, lances, buff-coats; the footmen with swords and lances. There were a few pistols, but no muskets. Companion, 89.

(*g*) Description, 7.

(*h*) Companion to the Map, 107. The map-maker only shows his own principles, by considering this ebullition of national and religious fury as a cool assassination.

(*i*) Description, 7.

ing the spoil (*k*). During the reign of James V., perhaps in the preceding age, the Egyptians wandered throughout Scotland as a distinct people, under the government of "Johnne Faw, the Erle of Litill Egipt," who had power to rule and punish his people, "conforme to the lawis of Egipt (*l*)." King James VI., however, thought very differently of the subjects of John Faw. He declared them to be vagabonds and thieves, and to be punished as felons (*m*). But times change, and a very different government at length shed its happier influences on Peebles-shire.

The people of Tweeddale submitted to *the Revolution* without a struggle, and they acquiesced in *the Union* without a murmur. They were not much disturbed by the insurrection of 1715 (*n*), and they remained tranquil during the rebellion of 1745. The magistrates of the shire-town, throughout those perturbed times, appear to have been willing, by annual prizes, for promoting horse races, to revive in the minds of their people their ancient games.

"At Beltane, when ilk bodie bouned,
To Peeblis, to the play."

Tweeddale has produced men who have distinguished themselves by their genius, their talents, and virtues. Hunter of Powmood, if we might believe the irrefragable charter of Malcolm Canmore, was the personage most early

(*k*) Description, 14. Old Faw, the chief, with his wife, who was big with child, were killed on the place. For this murder, old Shaw with his three sons were hanged in February 1678, at Edinburgh, and John Faw for a different murder. The famous Sir George Mackenzie was the Lord Advocate who brought all those gipsies to condign punishment. Dr. Pennecuick, who possessed Romanno in right of his wife, erected a pigeon-house on the site of this *Polymachy*, and inscribed it with the following couplet:

"The field of *Gipsie* blood, which here you see,
A shelter to the harmless dove will be."

(*l*) Privy Seal Record, 14, f. 59. James V. gave protection to this Johnie Faw and support to his authority in 1541. Queen Mary renewed this writ of protection to the same *Erle* in 1553, and she gave him a pardon for the slaughter of Ninian Small, one of his subject Egyptians, no doubt. M'Laurin's Crim. Laws, 774-5.

(*m*) 20 Ja. VI., ch. 13. Under this statute it is sufficient to be reputed *Egyptians* to infer the pains of death. Ib., 57.

(*n*) On the 21st of October 1715, the Marquis of Annandale, Lord Lieutenant of Dumfries and Peebles-shire, after raising the militia, on his way from Peebles to Dumfries, was pursued by the rebels, under Lord Kenmore, from the west. Scots Courant of that date. The people of Peebles-shire were all loyal.

distinguished (*o*); but the Frasers were the family who first appeared conspicuous. Their origin, indeed, has been involved in fiction by the genealogists, who, by inattention and artifice, have tried to give to falsehood all the confidence of fact. The Frasers were undoubtedly the most conspicuous characters in Peebles-shire during the Scoto-Saxon period. But it is apparent from the notices of history, that the several families of Frasers in the south of Scotland, all ended in female heirs at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Sir William Hay of Locherworth, by marrying Mary, one of the heiresses of Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver castle, thereby acquired much of the estate and influence of that potent family. It was by their means, also, that Lord Yester acquired, in 1646, the title of Earl of Tweeddale, and his son John, the yet higher honour of Marquis of Tweeddale, in 1694 (*p*). Traquair has furnished a title to the Stewarts, who are descended of the Earl of Buchan, of that surname. Sir John Stewart was created Lord Stewart of Traquair in 1628, and Earl of Traquair, Lord Linton, in 1623. William Douglas, the Earl of March, was also Viscount of *Peebles*, Lord Neidpath and Manner. He was descended not only from the Douglases, but from the Hays and the Frasers of Peebles-shire. These seem to be the only peerages which conferred celebrity on the localities of this shire. This district has not supplied many senators to the College of Justice. Mr. John Dickson was raised to the juridical bench in November 1649, when he assumed the title of Hartree (*q*). Magbiehill produced the late Sir James Montgomery, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The physician, Alexander Pennecuick, marrying Margaret Murray, the heiress of Romanno, long exhilarated this shire by his poetry, and instructed its people by his knowledge. He is one of the earliest of his countrymen who investigated the qualities of matter, and studied the virtues of herbs (*r*). In 1700, the estate of Rachan produced James Geddes, a scholar of whom the University of Edinburgh may boast. He chose the law for his profession; but he died of a consumption before the age of forty (*s*). Sir

(*o*) Pennecuick has recorded this *original* charter, which he obtained from Hunter, under his own hand, as the son had it from his father. Description, 25. It may be allowed, however, that the surname of *Venator* appeared here in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries.

(*p*) Crawfurd's Peerage, 486-7. (*q*) Lord Hailes's List.

(*r*) In 1715 he published his Geographical and Historical Description of Tweeddale, and he died in 1722. It were to be wished that other persons in his sphere had given as good descriptions of their several shires. It was praised by Bishop Nicholson before its publication. See his Historical Library.

(*s*) His erudite work on *The Composition of the Ancients* was printed after the death of the author in 1748.

Alexander Murray of Stanhope was not only one of the first improvers, but endeavoured, by his several Treatises, to teach others how to benefit their country by improvements (*t*). This county has produced also David Crawford, who was born a ploughman, but has shown, after "Lady *Fortune* had turned her back upon him," at Clinty-cleugh, that he can display the powers of a versifier (*u*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, much of Tweeddale was still covered with woods. The most eastern part of it formed a continuation of the forests of Ettrick and of Selkirk. The eastern district, lying on the south of the Tweed, was covered by the forest of Traquair (*x*); while the division, lying on the northern side of the Tweed, formed the forest of Leithen, which comprehended the countries that are drained by Leithen water and its kindred streams (*y*). The parish of Megget, which borders on Ettrick forest, was of old much covered with wood, however bare it now is, without a copse to cover its deformities, or a bush to soften its features (*z*). During that period, the middle, the west, and the northern districts of this shire retained much copse-wood, which contributed shelter, and gave rise to pasturage (*a*). Yet are there very few names of places

(*t*) Sir Alexander Murray's Tracts were published successively between the years 1732 and 1740. They contain many notions which have been adopted by more celebrated writers. He must be distinguished from John Murray of Broughton in this shire, who acted during the perturbed year 1745, as private secretary to Charles Stewart. The estates, both of Stanhope and of Broughton, are now enjoyed by families of more discretion.

(*u*) He published his *Poems*, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, in 1798. Among his effusions there is "an address to *Tweeddale*," with such topics of praise as would naturally occur to such a mind amidst such scenes.

(*x*) David I. granted to the monks of Melrose, in his forests of Selkirk and Traquair, the several easements of pasturage, and pannage of wood and other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed them. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl., xiv.; Chart. Melrose, 54. The same grant was repeated by William, his grandson.

(*y*) David II. granted to the monks of Newbotle that they should enjoy their lands within the vale of Leithen, in a free forest, with the rights appurtenant. Chart. Newbotle, 165-6; Robertson's Index, 83.

(*z*) Stat. Acc., xii. 565.

(*a*) There was a natural wood at Dawick, which is now called New-Posso, when Pont's Survey was made at the middle of the seventeenth century. At Polmood, in Drummelzier, there still remains some natural wood, which tradition states to have been formerly much more abundant. Stat. Acc., vii. 154. A strip of natural wood on Lyne water, which was called the Scroggswood, consists mostly of birches and allers; and on Pont's map is called "the birks of Lynn-

in this shire, denominated from woods, whether it were that the Celtic language prevailed longer here than in Lothian, Selkirk, and Roxburgh (*b*).

Yet hamlets had been settled in the woodlands of Peebles-shire as early as the reign of David I. The king had his royal demesnes; the monks had their granges; and the gentry had their manors, to which were appurtenant their hamlets, with their churches, their mills, their brewhouses, and their commons. There were, perhaps, as many people in Peebles-shire during that age as in the present. The agricultural polity of former times produced a more efficient population than the boasted refinements of modern economy.

The husbandry of Tweeddale, even during the reign of David I., resembled the mode of Teviotdale, in mixing farming with grazing, the labours of the plough with the cares of the shepherd. There were many dairies in Tweeddale during the beneficent days of David I. (*c*). It appears, indeed, that Peebles-shire, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was cultivated under the same agricultural system as we have already seen existing in Roxburgh-shire (*d*). Amidst all that pasturage and pannage, there was much corn grown, if we may decide from the number of mills. The kings had their mills at Peebles, at Traquair, and at Inverleithen (*e*). The passion for

Scroggs." The *Tarth* and *Lyne* join their waters, saith Pennecuick, at the entry of the Scrogg-wood. After which follow the Scroggs and Scrog-wood, consisting mostly of birks and allers. Description, 18.

(*b*) *Kaillie*, the Gaelic name of the parish which is annexed to Traquair, intimates, in the Celtic speech, the existence of a wood there; as the Hawk-*shaw* in Tweedsmuir shows the existence of copse-wood there when the Scoto-Saxons began to sport in this district.

(*c*) In 1128 he granted, as we have seen, to the monks of Kelso the tithe of the cheese, "decimam caseorum," which was yearly made in Tweeddale. Chart. Kelso, 1.

(*d*) At the end of the twelfth century, Elena Morville, the sister of William Morville, who died in 1196, for the safety of the soul of Roland, her husband, gave the monks of Melrose a piece of land in her manor of Kilbothocston, lying between the water of Lyne and the Harehope burn in Lyne parish, with common of pasture, in the same manor, for seventy ewes with their followers or as many wedders; for forty cows, with a bull, with their followers of two years old, and forty oxen; for eight horses and four sows, with their increase of three years old. This grant of Elena was confirmed by two charters of her son, Allan of Galloway, and by a charter of King William. Chart. Melrose, 133-34-5-6.

(*e*) Alexander II. granted to the hospital of Soltre half a chalder of oat-meal yearly from his mill of Peebles. Alexander III., in 1263, confirmed and enforced that grant of his father. Chart. Soltre, 8. David II. granted the lands of Edrington, in Peebles-shire, to Thomas Nisbet, with *thirle to the Peebles mill*. Robertson's Index, 40. In 1325, Robert I. confirmed the grant of meal by Alexander III. to the hospital of Soltre; but as the firm of the mill of Peebles was then let

orchards seems to have come down from the British Gadeni to the people of Tweeddale, though this district was not so well calculated for fruit trees as the warmer vale of Clyde. There appears to have been some orchards of old at Peebles town. A place called the *King's Orchards* is known there at present, and there is reason to believe that there belonged an orchard to the monastery which was founded here by Alexander III. (*f*). There was probably an orchard at Traquair in early times, as Pont in the seventeenth century marks *the orchard* on the Quair; and Pennecuick tells us of an old orchard at Wester-Dawick, where the herons in his time did build their nests upon some large pear-trees. To these nests the herons brought many fish from the Tweed, and this explains the remarkable riddle which they so much talk of, to have flesh, fish, and fruit, upon the same tree (*g*). It is not easy to ascertain the value of property in Peebles-shire in those early times. The monks of Kelso had some burgage lands near the church of Inverleithen, which rented yearly for twelve shillings an acre at the end of the thirteenth century. This is a very high rent during that period, if there be no mistake of some transcriber (*h*). The monks at the same period rented three acres of land, which they possessed at Hope-Kailie, for three shillings a-year (*i*).

Considering the height of Peebles-shire, the air of it must necessarily be keen and pure (*k*). Yet is their reason to believe that the climate of this country must have been milder during the twelfth century, when it was more sheltered by woods, than it is at present, when there is no obstruction to the current of wind, and its nakedness exposes it to the effects of the blast. Less rain falls in this county than in the districts which lie to the east and to the west of it (*l*). In the middle, the north, and west of Tweeddale, the valleys are more

for money, he granted the same quantity of oat-meal out of *his mill* of Traquair. Chart. Soltre, 41. David II. granted to the chaplains of St. Mary's Church, in Peebles, the corn and *fulling* mills of Inverleithen, with very extensive multures. Stat. Acco., ii. 13.

(*f*) See the Plan on Armstrong's Map of this shire.

(*g*) Description, 29. Every place has its garden now, with three or four hot-houses in the gardens at the Whim, at Castlecraig, Darnhill, and Kingsmeadows, and a botanic garden at New-Posso. Agricult. Survey, 153.

(*h*) Chart. Kelso, 9. (*i*) Id.

(*k*) Agricult. Survey, 13. Doctor Pennecuick informs that, "the air of Tweedale is pure and well purified, which makes the inhabitants well proportioned, strong and nimble." The doctor laments, however, that the meaner sort do not take a little more pains to keep their bodies and dwellings neat and clean, thinking it a pity to see a clear complexion and lovely countenance appear with so much disadvantage through the foul disguise of smoke and dirt. Description, 5.

(*l*) Id.; Report, 13. The average quantity of rain that falls annually does not exceed 28 inches.

fertile and pleasant, and the hills more grassy and beautiful than in the east and southern parts, where the low lands are more barren, and the mountains more bleak. Newlands parish, in the north-west quarter, is called the garden of Tweeddale (*m*); and Megget parish, in the south-east quarter, has been stigmatized with barrenness; while the two highest settlements in it are appropriately named *Winter*-hope and *Dead-for-cold* (*n*). The greatest want in Tweeddale, saith Pennecuick, is of *timber*, little planting being to be seen, except a few bushes about the houses of the gentry; and not one wood worth naming in this open and windy country (*o*).

The prosperity of Tweeddale during the Scoto-Saxon period, from 1097 to 1297, was blasted by four centuries of wretchedness. Yet Pennecuick saw its resuscitation commence. He even praised the young nobility and gentry for beginning to form plantations, which, he foresaw, would turn to the ornament as well as the advantage of that cold and naked country (*p*). The farmers were even then considered as an industrious and careful people; yet something wilful, stubborn, and tenacious of old customs. They would not suffer the *wrack* to be taken off their lands, because they supposed it kept the corn warm, nor sow their bear-seed till the first week of May, which they called *Runchie* week, was past (*q*); nor plant trees or hedges, for wronging the under-growth and sheltering birds; nor could they be cured of a custom of overlaying their grounds, which they thought *full-plenishing*; and which, adds Pennecuick, makes their cattle lean, little, and low-priced in the markets (*r*). The farmers, however, had begun of late to take some pains in making their hay well-smelled and coloured, though of late years many of them preferred musty hay, for its power of making their cows fruitful (*s*). Such were the prejudices which prevented the progress of improvement. Yet Pennecuick acknowledges that the rents of Peebles-shire were as well paid as any in the

Yet is the rain more frequent though less abundant. The general seed-time is March for oats, and the end of April and the beginning of May for barley, and November for wheat. Harvest begins in September and ends in October, though barley is often cut in August. Hay harvest begins in July. Ib. 27.

(*m*) Companion, 73; Pennecuick's Description, 3. (*n*) Companion, 66.

(*o*) Description, 4. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) The week of *weeds*. I have not seen this term thus applied any where else in Scotland, though the word *runchies*, for weeds, is generally known to rurigenous people. Bailey, indeed, has preserved *runcation* for a weeding. Scholars know where to find the origin of the word, but it is not easy to tell where the farmers found it.

(*r*) Ib., 6. (*s*) Id.

kingdom, and for the most part in money (*s*). Tweeddale, continues he, in regard of its high situation, and having little *plain*, is more fit for pasturage than the production of corn, and is stored with such numbers of sheep, that, in Linton markets, which are kept every Wednesday during the months of June and July, there have frequently been sold, in one day, 9,000; and are indeed, the greatest merchant commodity that brings money, with their product of lambs, wool, skins, butter, and cheese. There are but few pease and less wheat sown in Tweeddale; but of barley, rough bear especially, and oats, greater plenty than is sufficient for the inhabitants (*t*). In some districts of this shire they had begun, as early as the Union, to use *lime* as a manure (*u*). In the same districts *marle* was found; but from the silence of Pennecuick as to its use, we may infer that the husbandmen had not then begun "to spread *this compost* on the weeds to make them ranker."

We must see, then, that improvements had begun as early as *the Union*, though perhaps without much vigour of effort. Pennecuick himself is entitled to praise as one of the first improvers, since he showed the farmers their prejudices, and taught the gentry the properties of plants. A greater man than the doctor, the Earl of Islay, the far-famed Archibald Duke of Argyll, is recorded "as having shown an example of agriculture that was much wanted (*x*)." Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope was also an improver, as we have seen, who planted himself, and inculcated on others the doctrines of improvements. But James Macdougall, a small farmer at Linton, first taught, by his example, the Norfolk rotation of crops, and other useful practices. He may be deemed the father of the improved husbandry of this shire; and he must rank higher on the scale of useful example than the Duke of Argyll, who had but few followers (*y*). The first dairy farming in Tweeddale is said to have been intro-

(*s*) Description, 4.

(*t*) Description of Tweeddale, which, though published in 1715, may be deemed as old in composition as the epoch of the Union, if not before, as Bishop Nicolson spoke of it in 1703.

(*u*) There is no small quantity of *lime* towards the northern border of this shire, saith Pennecuick, at Carlops, Whitefield, Celtcoat, Grange, and Spitalhaugh, which places, with their neighbourhood, are very much improved of late, to the benefit of the ground, in reducing many of those black and barren heaths to fertility and a fairer complexion. Description, 5.

(*x*) His lordship made choice of moss [in this shire at *the Whim*], saith Maxwell, knowing that, being made up of excellent materials, moss is improveable at a moderate expense, and that it yields the manure properest for fertilizing itself. Grain, grass, from grass-seeds sown, oak and other planting have already prospered upon it by his culture. Besides, to him we give the American and Balm of Gilead firs, the larix, and many other useful plants which he introduced into this country. Select Transactions of the Society of Improvers, 1743. Dedic., vi.

(*y*) Agricult. Survey, 57.

duced by Thomas Stevenson in the present times. This is asserted by those who knew not that dairy farming existed here under David I. (*z*). Dairy farming was practised in this shire at the epoch of the Union, as we have seen, from the intimation of Pennecuick (*a*). It is, however, certain, that the agriculture of this county, like the husbandry of Roxburghshire, is of a mixed nature, consisting partly of the growing of corn and of the feeding of sheep, according to the nature of the soil and climate (*b*). The whole superficies of Peebles-shire is 338 square miles, or 216,320 statute acres.

Of these, the arable land, gardens, sites of houses, comprehend	29,500	acres.
The pasture, woods, lakes, rivers, roads, etc. - -	186,820	
The appropriation of the whole - - - -	216,320	

In 1657, the taxable rent of this shire was £4,323 4s 5d sterling. The real rent of it at present may be estimated in the following manner:

The arable land of 29,500 acres, at 10s. - - -	£14,750	0	0
Pasturage lands of 186,820 acres, at 1s. 6d. - -	14,110	10	0
Yearly value (*c*)	£28,860	10	0

The turnip husbandry was first introduced into Tweeddale about the year 1764, by George Dalzel, innkeeper at Linton; and in the course of twenty years, every farm had its turnip-field, so congenial to the soil was it found, and so salubrious to the sheep (*d*). Potatoes had already been introduced; but the same intelligent person was the first who cultivated the potatoes on a large plan by the plough; and this most useful practice soon passed into general use, as well for the food of cattle as of man (*e*). Artificial grasses, which were

(*z*) Stat. Acco., i. 149.

(*a*) Description, 3. Two of the commodities, he says, which brought money into Tweeddale, were "butter and cheese." (*b*) Agricult. Survey, 14.

(*c*) The Agricultural Survey, 26, states the same object in the following manner:

The rent for 112,800 sheep - - - - - - -	£17,834	0	0
for 4,300 cows - - - - - - -	6,450	0	0
for horses sold - - - - - - -	1,716	0	0
The yearly value - - - - - -	£26,000	0	0

(*d*) Agricult. Survey, 258. This innkeeper may be recorded among those never to be forgotten men, who made a blade of grass grow where none grew before.

(*e*) Id.

introduced at the era of the Union, were now commonly sown, though, for want of enclosures, not with the best effects. *Summer fallow,* which once had been the great object of improvers to introduce, went out of practice as the turnip husbandry came into use, as it answered the same purpose with greater profit (*f*). But the great improvement of much of Tweeddale began about the year 1788, which originated in rapacity and ended in melioration. The Lord of Neidpath received fines of his tenants, and gave them, in consideration, leases of five-and-fifty years; and the notion of property, for more than half a century, soon erected commodious houses, made enclosures, and incited agricultural enterprise, with greater skill; as it had already produced the same beneficial effects in Berwickshire (*g*). [In 1887 there were 9895 acres of corn crops; 5620 acres of green crops; 12,438 acres of clover and grasses under rotation; 14,746 acres of permanent pasture or grass; and 15 acres of bare fallow. In the same year there were 1132 horses; 5621 cattle; 183,648 sheep; and 860 pigs.]

But without roads for the purpose of communication, every improvement is vain. In ancient times when war, both foreign and domestic, was frequent, easy entrance into the recesses of the country had been a great disadvantage. Through the dreary parish of Megget, there are still the traces, however, of three or four paths, in different directions, across the hills into Annandale, though for what purpose, whether of thievery or traffic, is uncertain (*h*). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it was the practice to grant the right of passage either for money or for charity (*i*). Yet, must we remember, that there were public roads, though perhaps not in many directions, in the reign of David I., as we see them mentioned in the chartularies. The benefit of roads began to be understood here about the year 1750. A way to the capital was then constructed, by piecing together district roads, so as to suit private convenience rather than public use. Under the authority of parliament, however, post roads throughout this shire were afterward made, at an

(*f*) Agricult. Survey, 26.

(*g*) Agricult. Survey, 104-112. It was the same principle which produced the improvement of England. We may see examples of leases even for four score years in Madox's Formulare, 141-46. (*h*) Stat. Acc., xii. 564.

(*i*) William Purveys of Mosspennoch granted to the monks of Melrose, "liberum transitum," through the middle of his lands of Mosspennoch, for twenty shillings sterling to him paid. Chart. Melrose, 137. This must have been transacted towards the end of the thirteenth century. This estate is now called Mossfennan, in Glenholm, near the vicinity of which the monks had the lands of Hopcarton and others. About the same time Sir Symon Fraser of Oliver Castle granted to the same monks free passage for their carriages, cattle, and people, through his lands of Hoprew, in Stobo parish, on the road leading up Tweeddale to their lands in the manor of Oliver Castle. Officers of State, 271.

expense of eighty pounds a mile. For the mending of cross-ways, the statute labour has been commuted into a money-payment. And though much has been done, still more is to be performed, before the carriage, both of the exports and the imports, can be performed with the greatest advantage to the husbandmen and manufacturers, who have a claim to every possible convenience (*k*). There is a track, which is called the *Drove-road*, that passes through this shire, entering it on the north-west, at the pass called the *Cauldstone Slap*, and quitting it on the south-east, at *Glendeans bank*, where it enters Selkirkshire (*l*). It was on this *Drove-road* that the cattle were driven, from the north to the south, for sale; and it seems to have been established by custom, and is continued by use.

But roads do not acquire all their usefulness till bridges are thrown over the waters, in a country which is traversed by so many mountain torrents. The chief erection of this sort in Tweeddale, is the bridge on the Tweed at the shire-town. From its structure, it appears to have been built in early times of five arches, with little breadth; and it was probably erected by some of the kings while they hunted here, as the pontage on it was granted to the corporation of Peebles about the year 1560, by Queen Mary (*m*). There are two other bridges here, which have been thrown over the Peebles water to connect the new town with the old. Upon the Lyne, there were four bridges and two mills in the days of Pennecuick (*n*); and upon the Manor water, there was, in the same age, a stone bridge below the church.

Every water in this streamy shire abounds with fish, except the Tweed, which indeed furnishes some salmon, notwithstanding every obstruction; but the fishings of Tweeddale do not produce any rent to the neighbouring proprietors (*p*).

Tweeddale cannot be deemed a manufacturing county. The various products of the soil were, indeed, manufactured as early as the intelligent age of David I. The same agricultural policy prevailed here as in Roxburghshire under that prince. Every manor had its mill, its malt-kiln, and its brewhouse; every dairy converted the milk of its cows and its ewes into butter and cheese; and perhaps every family manufactured its wool into garments, for its hardy sons and blithsome daughters; as we have already seen that they had fulling-mills in very early times. Pennecuick speaks of the growing of *lint* in his time; yet there was no linen made for sale in Peebles-shire, either at the

(*k*) Agricult. Survey, 210-13.
(*l*) See Armstrong's Map of this shire.
(*m*) Stat. Acc., xii. 16.
(*n*) Description, 10.
(*p*) Companion, 16; Agricult. Survey, 25; Stat. Acc., xii. 371-2; Ib., xix. 595.

revival of that fabric in 1727, or at its height in 1801. Woollen, linen, and cotton weavers, we are told, are increasing about the shire-town, owing to the influential employments of Edinburgh and of Glasgow (*q*). There are at Peebles a few stocking looms. The patriotism of Brodie, a London iron-worker, has established a woollen manufacture at Inverleithen, which seems to have taken root in a congenial soil, and may grow into size (*r*). It is surprising to those who do not reflect, how much the origin of arts and the commencement of traffic, are owing to time and chance, that no manufacture of coarse woollen has been established at Linton, within sixteen miles of Edinburgh, on a turnpike road, in the midst of sheep-walks, and abounding with water, with lime, with freestone, and with fuel, both coal and peat (*s*). With all those advantages, the blasting influence of a landlord may nip the buds of industry as it blossoms, or "mildew the white wheat, and hurt the poor creatures of the earth." Peebles, Linton, Skirling, Eddlestone, and Broughton, are all market towns in Tweeddale (*t*); but their fairs do little more than bring together the buyers and sellers of the products of husbandry (*u*). Yet what avail those boasted improvements of agriculture if they cast a sickly hue over the whole population of the shire (*x*). It is apparent from the foregoing intimations that Tweeddale was more populous under David I. than it is at present. The domestic economy of this shire, under that beneficent sovereign, produced more cattle, more sheep, more hogs, and more victual than the agricultural system does at present. Even at the commencement of the fourteenth century, Tweeddale, under such a sheriff as the younger Sir Symon Fraser, could have made far greater efforts in resisting the foe than this feeble county could possibly

(*q*) Agricult. Survey, 218-19. (*r*) Id. (*s*) Id.

(*t*) In 1663, there was mentioned in parliament a warrant for two fairs, and for changing the market-day of the barony of Skirling. Unprinted Act of that date. The following advertisement from the corporation of the shire-town, dated the 3rd of September 1724, opens a little more in detail the economy of their fairs: "The magistrates and council of Peebles, considering that their fair, called "*Rytt Fair*, or St. Dennis Fair, which uses to fall yearly on the first Tuesday of October, "is too soon in the year for buying fat beasts; and also, that some of their neighbouring fairs fall "on the same day, have therefore thought fit to alter the said fair to the last Tuesday of October "yearly, hereafter, where all persons may attend for selling and buying of worsted yarn, fat beasts, "horses, black cattle of all sorts, and other merchant goods, and may expect to be civilly and kindly "entertained." Courant, No. 897.

(*u*) Agricult. Survey, 214-15. For the whole domestic economy of Peebles-shire, the Agricultural Report and the Agricultural Survey must be consulted. My plan only allows historical sketches of an interesting subject.

(*x*) See the supplemental Table at the end of this account of Peebles-shire.

make under its vaunted polity of the present day. The incipient manufacture of Peebles, of Linton, of Inverleithen, but ill supplies the people whom the agricultural system has driven away from the other parishes (*y*).

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] The connection of Tweeddale with the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde seems to have naturally placed the ecclesiastical system of this country within the diocese of Glasgow. In the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, the prince of *Cumbria*, we may see that this episcopate was found by that inquest to have had a carucate of land and a church in Peebles, with other churches in this county (*z*). Tweeddale remained under the authority of the bishop of Glasgow till the final suppression of episcopacy in Scotland. The archdeacon of Glasgow was prebendary of Peebles (*a*); and the churches of Maner, Eddlestone, and Stobo, within this shire, were prebends of the episcopate of Glasgow. From this connection, it became necessary for every ecclesiastical grant within this shire to be confirmed by the bishop of Glasgow; as we perceive they were, in fact, from the chartularies. In those times, also, there was a *deanry* of Peebles, as we know from Bagimont's Roll. The bishop of Glasgow used to hold his episcopal synods at Peebles (*b*).

In the town of Peebles, there were religious establishments even before the epoch of record; as we know from *the Inquisition* of Earl David. The *Cross* kirk of Peebles owed its foundation to a very common event, which yet, from the superstition of the times, created much popular attention. On the 7th of May 1261, as we learn from Fordun, there were dug up, at Peebles, "a certain and magnificent, and venerable cross," which was supposed to be the very cross of the martyred St. Nicolas, during the Maximian persecution. There was also found here, soon after, an urn containing "the ashes and bones of a certain man's body (*c*)." At the Gadeni town of the Romanized christians these discoveries were nothing extraordinary. Yet was Alex-

(*y*) See the Statistical Accounts of this shire for the special facts on this head.

(*z*) Chart. Glasgow, No. i.; Sir James Dalrymple's Col., App., No. i. We may remember also a slight circumstance which is connected with this subject; there is in Peebles town an aqueduct supplied from *St. Mungo's* Well. Kentigern and Mungo are one and the same saint.

(*a*) The parson of Peebles hath been for many ages the archdeacon of Glasgow, saith Pennecuick. Description, 2.

(*b*) A controversy about the church of Sibaldby and the chapel of Hutton in Dumfries-shire was settled by a composition, which was made in full synod at Peebles, and which was affirmed by the authority of Joceline, the Bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199. Chart. Glasgow, 287.

(*c*) Fordun, Ed. Hearne, 767.

ander III., induced by William, the bishop of Glasgow, to found on this site in 1254 a monastery for red friars. At Harehope, in the south-west of Eddleston parish, there was a convent of Lazarites which was founded by David I., who endowed them with certain lands and revenues, particularly the lands of Spitalton and St. Giles's and Priestfield in Midlothian. In the Cross kirk, as well as in some other churches in Peebles, there were founded by the piety of ancient times a number of chaplainries and altarages with lands for their support. All these were granted by James VI. to the corporation of Peebles (*e*). At the Reformation the High Church in the old town was destroyed, and the Cross Church was converted into the parish kirk. The cloister was converted into houses for the schoolmasters and public schools, and it was used for this purpose till the beginning of the eighteenth century when the cloister became ruinous (*f*). The revenues of the Cross Church were, by reforming sacrilege, assigned in pensions to Walter Henderson and son, whether the famous zealot of the Scottish kirk appears not (*g*). About two miles eastward from Peebles there was of old an hospital which was dedicated to St. Leonard, and was founded by ancient charity for infirm and indigent persons (*h*). The site of this hospital has more recently been known by the name of *Chapel yards*. There seems to have been formerly an hospital at a place that has been called from it *Spitalhaugh*, on Lyne water, in Linton parish, and a field near it still bears the name of *Chapelhill* (*i*).

When the whole ecclesiastical policy of Scotland was changed by the Reformation, the parishes of Peebles-shire were formed into one presbytery, which was placed in the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. In 1692, when men's minds were again unsettled, four of the parishes of Peebles-shire, Kilbucho, Glenholm, Skirling, and Broughton, were annexed to Biggar presbytery (*k*).

The parish of PEEBLES is very extensive and populous, containing 18,210 acres and upwards of 2,000 souls. Where the shire-town now stands there was, in the earliest times, a hamlet which derived its name, as we have seen, from the British people, in whose speech the word *Pebyll* signified the *Shieling*, of the Saxon tongue, or temporary dwellings. That the British people had a church here is extremely probable. That there was a church here belonging

(*e*) Description, 32-3; Stat. Acco., xii. 16; Companion, 83. Frere Thomas, Mestre de la Maison de Seint Croce, de Pebblis, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August, 1296. Prynne, iii. 662.

(*f*) There is *a view* of the Cross church in Grose's Antiq., ii. 221-2.

(*g*) Exchequer Acco. MS. (*h*) Spottiswoode, 516-33.

(*i*) Armstrong's Map; Stat. Acco., i. 147.

(*k*) Companion to the Map, 10; Pennecuick's Description, 2.

to the ancient episcopate of Glasgow, at the commencement of the twelfth century, is certain (*l*). In this church the bishops of Glasgow used sometimes to hold their synods. Ingelram, who was named to the bishopric of Glasgow in 1164, was previously *rector of Peebles* and archdeacon of Glasgow. In 1195 the church of St. Andrews in Peebles was consecrated by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow (*m*). The diocesan, in order to settle a dispute with Hugh de Pottun, his archdeacon, assigned him a revenue out of the church of Peebles. The rectory was thus converted into a vicarage (*n*). In Bagimont's Roll there was the *vicaria* of Peebles in the deanery of Peebles, without the church of Glasgow, rated at £2 13s. 4d. In the same Roll the archdeacon's prebends of Peebles and Manor were rated at £26 13s. 4d. In the *Taxatio* of the prebends of Peebles and Manor in 1401, were rated at £5 (*o*). Till the Reformation the archdeacon of Glasgow was rector of Peebles and of Manor, and enjoyed of course the parsonage tithes of those parishes, which are said to have been worth, yearly, 6,000 marks (*p*). At that epoch of ecclesiastical change a part of the vicarage tithes was assigned by the patron of the parish to the master of the grammar school at Peebles (*q*). The town and parish of Peebles which are now content with one church and one parson, had before the Reformation three churches and several chapels (*r*). The High Church of Peebles, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is supposed to have been erected, or rather rebuilt, in the eleventh century. From the appearance of some of the freestone it would seem to have succeeded a church more ancient. King David granted to the chaplains of St. Mary's Church, in Peebles, the corn and the fulling mills of Inverleithen, with extensive multures,

(*l*) The Inquisitio of Earl David, 1116, Chart. Glasgow, 1, is published in Gibson. This inquest, and title of the bishop of Glasgow, were confirmed by Pope Alexander in 1170; by Lucius, in 1181; and by Urban in 1186. Chart. Glasgow.

(*m*) Chron. Melrose of that date.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 199. Walter, the *vicar* of Peebles, was a witness to a charter of John, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1260 to 1268 A.D. Ib., 202. John, the vicar of the church of Peebles, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August, 1296. Prynne, iii. 654.

(*o*) Chart. Glasgow, 490.

(*p*) Doctor Pennecuick affirms that he had been faithfully informed, the parsonage of Peebles was worth, on an average of years, 6000 marks. Description, 2.

(*q*) Stat. Acco., xii. 16-17.

(*r*) Doctor Pennecuick, we may remember, when celebrating the *number* in which God delights, speaks "of the *three* old steeples, by *three* churches borne," in Peebles town. The present minister speaks fastidiously of "*needless multiplicity* of churches" formerly, as if one minister could administer the comforts of Christianity to a town, with a surrounding parish of ten miles long.

and the adjacent lands (*r*). The ruins of this ancient church still remain at the western extremity of the old town, which is surrounded by a large cemetery, wherein the dead are deposited by those who do not think frigidly of their fathers' dust. The High church was demolished at the Reformation, by those who thought that a religious people could have a *needless multiplicity* of temples for the worship of God, and the *Cross* Church, as it was nearer the new town, was converted into a parochial place of worship. But, in 1784, a church was opened here in the stead of the Holyrood, that had defied time and negligence since its foundation by the piety of Alexander III. (*s*). In it, as well as in the church of St. Andrew, there were established a number of *chaplainries* and altarages, with the endowments of lands, which were all granted to the community of Peebles in 1621 ; paying an annual rent into the Exchequer, and offering their daily prayers for King James, the grantor (*t*). The castle of Peebles had of old a chapel, which was granted in the twelfth century to the monks of Kelso, with a carucate of land adjacent, and ten shillings out of the firm of the town (*u*). There was also in Peebles, a chapel, which had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and which was usually called Lady Chapel (*x*), and there was, in those religious times, a chapel, at a place, which was called from it, Chapel Hill, upon Peebles water, about a mile and a half above the town. In those good old times there probably were more people and more piety, than in the frigid days, when a minister of the gospel could talk coolly of the *needless multiplicity of places of worship.* [The Parish Church has 1038 communicants ; stipend, £489. The Free Church has 299 members. Two U. P. Churches have 632 members. There are also an Episcopal and a Roman Catholic Church.]

The present parish of Traquair is composed of the old parish of Traquair, with that half of the ancient parish of Kailzie, which lies on the southern side of the Tweed (*y*). The district took its name from the village, and the village derived its British appellation from its site on the *Quair.* In the charters of the

(*r*) Stat. Acco., xii. 13.

(*s*) Ib., 16. During the contests about religion in 1654, the Earl of Traquair obtained a charter granting him "terrarum ecclesiasticarum ecclesiæ parochialis de Peebles." Douglas Peerage, 674. The Earl of March is now patron of Peebles church.

(*t*) Companion, 28 ; Stat. Acco., xii. 16. There were mentioned, in that grant, the prebends of St. Mary, of the *Holy Cross,* of St. Michael, St. Mary Major, St. John, St. Mary, St. Andrew, St. James, St. Laurence, St. Christopher, with the chaplainry of St. Mary. Id. In 1543 the corporation, with Lord Yester, granted to St. Andrew's kirk, four-and-twenty marks, with a chamber and a yard. MS. Donation. (*u*) Chart. Kelso, No. 451. (*x*) Roll of Small Benefices, MS.

(*y*) The annexation took place in 1674. Companion to the Map, 99.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the name is written *Trevquer*, *Travequayr*, *Trequayr* (*z*). Trev-quair and Trequair in the British speech, signifies the dwelling, hamlet, or village on the Quair (*a*). The Celtic name of the water was derived, as we have seen, from the *winding* course of the stream. The church of Traquair was granted by David I. to the bishop of Glasgow, and was confirmed soon after by the bulls of successive popes (*b*). The church of Traquair was dedicated to St. Brigid, and was commonly called St. Bride's kirk, and Kirkbride. In Bagimont's Roll, there are the *rectoria* de Kirkbride, valued at £5 6s. 8d., and the *vicaria* de Kirkbride at £2 13s. 4d., lying without the church of Glasgow, in the deanery of Peebles. In 1242, Alexander II. sent a precept to his sheriff and baillies of Traquair, commanding them to imprison excommunicated persons, in the church (*c*). After the Reformation had given a new model to the Scottish church, the advowson of Traquair went from the archbishop of Glasgow to the king, with whom it still remains. The church of Traquair was rebuilt in 1785 (*d*). The parish of *Kailzie*, Kaillie, or Kellie, as it was anciently written, derived its Celtic name from the woods which once constituted a part of the forest of Traquair. *Celli*, in the British speech, Kelli, in the Cornish, signify a grove ; and the kindred *Coille*, in the Gaelic, means a wood (*e*). In the mixed topography of North-Britain, this Celtic term has, in many instances, been converted into Kailzie and Kelly, by the Scoto-Saxon pronunciation ; the Celtic (c) having the same powers as the English (k). The same parsimonious spirit which considered numerous churches as *needless*, completely suppressed the parish of Kaillie, and annexed the southern part of it to Traquair, and the northern to Inverleithen (*f*). The ruins of Kaillie church stand on a rivulet, which, from it, is called Kirkburn, and which falls into the Tweed from the south (*g*). [The Parish Church has 171 communicants; stipend £461.]

The parish of Inverleithen took its name from the kirk-town, and the village derived its Celtic appellation from its site near the influx of the Leithen with the Tweed. Inverleithen is compounded of the Scoto-Irish *inbher*, which is

(*z*) Chart. Glasgow, Kelso, and Newbotle. In the grants of the 14th century, it is written Traqwayre, Trekware, but most frequently *Traquair*. Robertson's Index. There are two very ancient charters in Dugd. Monast., v. i., p. 399, wherein this place is called *Trevaquer* and *Trevequer*.

(*a*) Davis and Owen, in vo. *Tref, Trev, Tre;* and so *Tre* in the Cornish. Pryce's Arch.

(*b*) Chart. Glasgow, 73, 81, 91, and 104.

(*c*) Ib., 235. (*d*) Stat. Acco., xii., 375.

(*e*) Davis and Owen's W. Dic. ; Pryce's Arch.; and O'Brien and Shaw's Gaelic Dict.

(*f*) Companion to the Map, 47-99. (*g*) Ib., 100.

pronounced *Inver*, signifying the *influx* or junction of two riverets, which is prefixed to the more ancient British name of this mountain torrent, which derived its name from its quality of flooding its banks, as we have already seen. Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Inverleithen wherein his son reposed the first night after his decease, and he commanded, as an additional favour, that this church should enjoy the same power of refuge as had *Wedale* and Tyningham (*h*). In 1232 the church of Inverleithen was confirmed to the monks by their diocesan, William, the bishop of Glasgow (*i*). At the end of the thirteenth century, the monks state, as a part of their property that they had the church of Inverleithen "in rectoria," which used to be worth, yearly, £26 13s. 4d, and had annexed thereto an annual pension which they held "in vicaria" (*k*). In Bagimont's Roll there is "vicaria de Inverleithen," lying without the church of Glasgow and in the *deanery* of Peebles, valued at £6 13s. 4d. William, the ancient pastor of Inverleithen, was one of the witnesses to a charter of William Morville, the constable of Scotland, from 1189 to 1196 A.D. (*l*). The village of Inverleithen, with the circumjacent district, continued a part of the royal demesne during the reign of Alexander II. (*m*). We thus perceive that Malcolm IV. merely granted to the monks of Melrose the church of Inverleithen, without giving the town the common of pasture belonging to it or the circumjacent territory. In 1674 the smaller or northern part of the parish of Kaillie was annexed to Inverleithen, as we have seen. Inverleithen is now a large populous market town, with a fair on the 14th of October, and it is daily growing still larger from the introduction of a woollen manufacture here, and the discovery of a mineral spring in its vicinity. [The Parish Church, erected in 1870, has 815 communicants; stipend, £387. The Free Church has 208 members. A U.P. Church has 280 members. There is also a Roman Catholic Church].

The parish of EDDLESTON takes its name from the hamlet wherein stands the church. The name of this district can only be ascertained from its singular changes, as we trace them in the chartularies. During the British times this district bore the name of *Pentiacob*, which, however corrupted, shows plainly its British original (*n*). Before the year 1170 *Pentiacob* had been changed to

(*h*) Chart. Kelso, No. 20. Lord Hailes takes notice of this grant of Malcolm IV., and the cause of it. (*i*) Ib., 278. (*k*) Id. (*l*) Chart. Glasgow, 165.

(*m*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 130. The king, in the precept which he then issued to Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, reserved to himself *the common of pasture*, which was appurtenant to *his village* of Inverleithen. Id.

(*n*) It was found by the *Inquisitio* of Earl David in 1116 A.D., that *Pentiacob* had belonged of old to the church of Glasgow. Gibson's Glasg. App. *Pent-y-achub*, in the British, would

the more obvious appellation of *Gillemorestun*, from some person of Scoto-Irish descent having fixed his residence here (*o*). Engelram, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1164 to 1174, gave in firm, "ad firmam," to Richard Morville, the constable, the lands of Gillemorestun, "que olim vocabatur *Penjaccob*," with the pertinents, except the church, to hold of the church of Glasgow for fifteen years from Pentecost 1170 A.D. The bishop rented this land to the constable in consideration of three hundred marks, Morville making oath on the gospels at the altar that he or his successors would faithfully return the demised premises at the end of the term to the bishop or his successors (*p*). Richard Morville forgot his promise and disregarded his oath. He granted the bishop's lands to Eadulfe, the son of Uchtred, and his heirs, for the service of one knight (*q*). Yet was this grant confirmed by William Morville, the constable, who succeeded his father, Richard, in 1189 (*r*). Eadulfe considered this district so much his own that he changed the name of it from *Gillemorestun* to *Edulfestun*, which was afterwards softened into *Edulestun*, and at length corrupted into *Eddlestown*. In this manner, then, was the British name, by successive changes, which had some meaning, converted into an appellation that has none. In this transaction, thus authenticated by record, we see at once the profligacy and the power of the Morvilles, who transmitted their high office of constable to their female heirs, who possessed the delicacy of feeling which was wanting in them. The last of the Morvilles died in 1196 A.D. (*s*). After a long deprivation of this property by the power of Richard Morville, this ancient possession was honourably restored to William, the bishop of Glasgow, by Elene, the daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, the descendant and heiress of the Morvilles (*t*). William de Bondington, by whose address

signify the *hollow* of protection, or deliverance; *Pen-ti-achob* would denote the chief house of protection, or deliverance. Whatever there may be in these meanings, it is certain that the prefix is either the British *Pen*, which, signifying a head or summit, is not unfrequent, as we have seen, in the southern topography of North-Britain, or it is the British *Pant*, signifying a hollow, or vale.

(*o*) By the name of *Gilmorestun*, this parish was confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow by successive Popes, from 1170 to 1186 A.D. Chart. Glasg., 73-81-91-103.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow, 161.

(*q*) Ib., 165. Richard Morville granted this land to Edulfe, in fee, by the name of Gillemorestun "que antiquitus vocabatur Penjacub." Id.

(*r*) Id.

(*s*) Chron. Melrose, 180; "Obiit William Morville."

(*t*) The virtuous Elene was the grand-daughter of Roland, and the daughter of Allan, the Lord of Galloway, by Elene Morville, who succeeded, upon the death of William, her brother, in 1196, to the

or influence, this estate was re-annexed to his see, was originally one of the clerks of the chancery, became afterward rector of Eddleston, which was one of the prebends of Glasgow, archdeacon of Lothian, chancellor of Scotland in 1231, bishop of Glasgow in 1232, and he died in 1258 (*u*). Richard de Boulden, the parson of the church of Eddleston, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296 (*x*). In Bagimont's Roll there is, among the churches of the chapter of Glasgow, "rectoria de Edelston," which was valued at £13 6s. 8d. In a taxation of the prebends of the Church of Glasgow in 1401, Eddleston is rated at £3 (*y*). The present church of Eddleston seems to have been built at the end of the sixteenth century, at least, some of the pews within it are marked in 1600 A. D. (*z*). A new village has been built at this kirk-town, which enjoys the benefit of a yearly fair on the 12th of September (*a*). [The Parish Church of 1829 has 227 communicants; stipend, £370.]

The united parish of LYNE and MEGGET, was formed in 1621 by the junction of two distinct parishes together, however inconvenient to the parishioners, though convenient to the proprietors. This annexation is another illustration of the modern doctrine, how needless numerous churches are to the Christian dispensation. There is no church in Megget (*b*). This fact carries that doctrine to the full length of considering it as unessential to this dispensation to have any visible church. The district of Lyne derived its British name from the riveret Lyne. The church and kirktown stand on the eastern side of it, rather more than a mile before its influx into the Tweed. This church was originally a chapel subordinate to the mother church of Stobo (*c*). This chaplainry of

property and offices of the Morvilles; and she had been the wife of Roger de Quincy, the Earl of Albemarle. The release of Elene is recorded in the Chartulary of Glasgow, 251; and she therein stated the history of this transaction. John de Balliol, who married Dervorgilla, the daughter of Allan, Lord of Galloway, and William de Torc, the son of Roger de Quincey, both confirmed the release of Elene, and both recite the whole transaction. Ib., 255-257.

(*u*) Chron. Melrose, 222; Keith, 141-2, has misstated the time of his decease. The bishop, after he had regained his right, granted to Mariota, the daughter of Samuel, an annuity of ten marks, "de firma manerii nostri de Edulvestun, percipienda per manum commerarii nostri." Chart. Glas., 273. This manor of Eddleston was of old very extensive, as it comprehended *Tor*, which has been changed to Windie*laws*, and which is two miles below, on the water of Eddleston. Ib., 449.

(*x*) Prynne, iii. 662. (*y*) Chart. Glasgow, 490. (*z*) Stat. Acco., xvii., 189.

(*a*) It had formerly another fair on Tuesday before the 12th of July, but this is now held at Peebles. The Rev. Charles Findlater's MS. Note on the Companion, 38.

(*b*) The minister says he preaches in some farm-house by rotation. Stat. Acco., xii., 559.

(*c*) At the end of the 12th century, a dispute was agitated between Robert, the son of David de

Lyne afterwards became a rectory; and in Bagimont's Roll, we may see the "rectoria de Lyne," in the deanery of Peebles, valued at £4. The minister talks of this ancient church having once been a popish chapel, which, by a thorough repair, in late times, has been purified from its ancient grossness (*d*). The parish of Megget obviously derived its name from the river Megget, that in the eastern extremity of the parish there is the ruin of a church, which is surrounded by a cemetery that is still used by those who regard the monuments of their fathers with veneration; and as there is no other remain of any ecclesiastical edifice, we may easily suppose this to be the ancient church of Megget (*e*). [The Parish Church at Lyne has 63 communicants; stipend, £210. There is a Chapel of Ease at Megget.]

The name of the parish of NEWLANDS refers to the era when the lands lying around the kirk-town were first brought into cultivation by Scoto-Saxon hands. At the end of the thirteenth century, the church of Newlands, in Tweeddale, belonged to the monks of Dunfermline (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de Newlands," in the deanery of Peebles, valued at £16. This high valuation shows that it was then deemed of great value and was independent of the monks of Dunfermline. Newlands church is an ancient structure which is surrounded by a few lofty trees (*g*). In this parish there is a congre-

Lyne, and Walter his uncle, on the one part, and Gregory, the parson of Stobo, on the other, with regard to the chapel of Lyne. The point was carried before the Pope, who remitted it to John, the bishop of Candida Casa; and he giving judgment in favour of the parson of Stobo, the adverse party resigned his pretensions to the parson and diocesan, the bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Glasg., 145.

(*d*) Stat. Acco., xii., 559. Tradition relates that the church of Lyne was built by Randolph, the great Earl of Murray, who is said, by the same tradition, to have had a house within the ramparts of the Roman camp, which have the name of *Randall's Walls*. Companion to the Map, 69. The silence of Robertson's Index is sufficient to show that the great Earl of Murray never had any property in Peebles-shire; so little is tradition, in this assertion, to be relied on. The pulpit of this church, whoever built it, is said to be a remarkable piece of mechanism, which was imported from Holland in 1644 by Lady Yester, whose pew bears the same date. The pew of the family of Vetch is dated in 1606. Ib., 63.

(*e*) Companion, 65. An ancient tombstone was dug up in this cemetery, with the arms of the Cockburns engraved on it. We may easily believe this to have been the stone of one of the Cockburns of Henderland.

(*f*) Malcolm's MS. Collection, from the Chart. of Dunfermline.

(*g*) Companion, 73. David II. granted to William Douglas the lands of Kilbothock and Newlands, on the resignation of John Graham of Dalkeith. Robertson's Index, 54. Robert II. gave to James Douglas of Dalkeith the baronies of Kilbothock and Newlands, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father. Ib., 121. Regist. Rob. II. Rot., v. 73. In this parish and barony,

gation of Seceders of Relief, with a Meeting-house, and their minister of Relief (*h*). [The Parish Church was rebuilt in 1838; communicants 218; stipend £351. A U.P. Church has 87 members.]

The name of LINTON parish is derived from that of the kirk-town; and the town derived its Celtic appellation from the riveret Lyne or Lyn. The annexation of the Anglo-Saxon *tun* to the name of the *Lyn*, shows that a dwelling or hamlet was first erected here by Scoto-Saxon hands, on the declivity of a hill which overlooks the stream. As early as the reign of David I., and during several centuries afterward, this place was called Linton-Roderick. This adjunct is no doubt obtained from the name of some proprietor of old, to distinguish it from other Lintons. During David's reign, the church of Linton-Roderick and half a carucate of land, were granted to the monks of Kelso by Richard Cumin, who was then the lord of the manor (*i*). This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and William his successor, and by several bishops of Glasgow, the diocesans (*k*). In 1160, William de Somerville gave to the church of Glasgow three acres of land, "in villa de Lintun, in *frank-almoyne*, with the tithes (*l*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "vicaria de Lyntoun," which is valued at £2 13s. 4d., in the deanery of Peebles. When the old church of Linton was pulled down in 1782, it appeared to have been built with stones of an older fabric (*m*). In the thirteenth century, a chaplainry, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was established at Inglistown, in the south-west corner of Linton parish (*n*). There was of old a chapel attached to an hospital, on Lyne water, in this parish, at a place called from it Chapel hill. The seceders

the regent Morton built the Drochel-Castle, which was not quite finished when he expiated, under the axe, his many crimes. Stat. Acco., i. 152. The patronage of Newlands, which had been confirmed to Morton in 1564, was afterward acquired by the Douglases of Queensberry; and William, Duke of Queensberry, transferred this church, with many others in this shire, to his second son, the Earl of March.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., xxi. 390.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 273.

(*k*) Ib., 2-12-278-433. In an estimate which the monks of Kelso formed, during Robert I.'s reign, they valued the church of Linton-Roderick, which they held in *rectoria*, at 40 marks, its usual worth. Ib. 31. The monks enjoyed the revenues of this rectory till the Reformation, while the cure was served by a vicar. Chart. Glasg., 199.

(*l*) Chart. Glasg., 65. Ernald, the bishop of St. Andrews from 1158 to 1163, was a witness to this grant. Id. In 1256 Richard, the vicar of Peebles, is mentioned as having been of late the vicar of Linton. Ib., 199.

(*m*) Stat. Acco., i. 146. There was found in the middle of the walls a sculptured stone with a crucifix erect, supported by a pair of woolshears, lying across beneath; but there was no motto. Id.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 445.

have now a meeting-house at Linton (*o*). Robert II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, the baronies of Kilbothock, and Newlands, and Linton-Rotheryk, in Peebles-shire, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father (*p*). This grant evinces that this Linton, as well as Linton in Teviotdale, bore the adjunct of *Rotheryk*, the name of some former possessor. Linton is a market town and a burgh of regality, having the Earl of March for its superior, and having annual fairs every Wednesday in June and July (*q*). Pennecuick, in his poetical address to the Prince of Orange in 1687, from the town of Lintown, calls it the *submetropolitan* of Tweeddale (*r*). [The Parish Church has 300 communicants; stipend, £316. A U.P. Church has 110 members. There is also one Episcopal Church dedicated to St. Mungo.]

The name of the parish of KIRKURD was formed by prefixing the Scoto-Saxon kirk, the *cyrk* of the Anglo-Saxons, to *Urd*, the Celtic name of the place (*s*). The *Ord*, *Urd*, and *Aird*, in the Gaelic, signifies an *eminence* or *height*, whereof there are several in the manor of *Urd* (*t*); and hence, the Ord-hill of Caithness, the *Ord*eful hill, the *Ord*ewhish in Banffshire. *Urd* or *Ord* was of old the name of a large manor, which appears to have been co-extensive with the whole parish of Kirkurd (*u*). In this district there are some other names of places, which are formed in the same manner from the same root, such as Loch-*Urd*, Lady-*Urd*, Nether-*Urd*. The *Inquisitio* of Earl David in 1116 A.D., found that there belonged to the bishopric of Glasgow, *Kerc-ayrd*, one carucate of land and a church. The church of *Ord* was confirmed to the bishops of Glasgow by the bulls of Pope Alexander in 1170 and 1178, and by the bulls of Lucius and Urban in 1181 and 1186 (*x*). The church of *Ord* was soon after given to the hospital of Soltre by the bishop of Glasgow,

(*o*) Companion, 57. In 1792 there were in Linton parish 376 seceders, amounting to 2½ of the whole parishioners. Stat. Acco., i. 144. (*p*) Robertson's Index, 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*q*) Description, 11; Companion, 56. The market cross of Linton was erected in 1660 by one Gifford, a weaver, to perpetuate the memory of his wife and five children; but it is now much decayed. Id.

(*r*) See his Poems, subjoined to his Description of Tweeddale, 1. The Duke of Queensberry was then baronial lord of Linton. They petition the king to cause the duke "to causey their street from end," and "to put a clock upon their steeple." This poetical petition contains other circumstances which displays the local manners of that "ill-favoured age."

(*s*) Davis and Owen.

(*t*) The *Uird*, indeed, is the oblique case of *Urd*, and assumes this form of *Uird* in composition; as, *Tom-an-uird*, the name of a height in Strathspey; and even in Scoto-Saxon compounds we always find the same word spelt *Urd*, when coupled with a prefix; but when it stands substantively, it is generally found in the form of *Ord*. (*u*) Chart. Glasgow, 185. (*x*) Ib., 73-81-91-105.

"in proprios usus." In 1231, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed the grant of his predecessor (*a*). As the church of *Kirkurd* thus became, by so many grants, the property of the hospital of Soltre, it was not included in Bagimont's Tax Roll. Walter Murdak granted some lands to the monks of Paisley, within the manor of *Ord*, which was confirmed by a bull of Honorius, about the year 1226 (*b*); and these lands were included in the *regality*, which comprehended the whole property of the monks of Paisley, and which was granted by Robert III. in 1396, and confirmed by James III. in 1451 (*c*). Robert I. granted to John Craik the half of the barony of *Urde*, which he had obtained in marriage of Edward Cockburn (*d*). It seems to have come afterward into the possession of the Scotts (*e*). Robert II. granted to Peter Cockburn the *kirk-land* of *Kirkhuird* in Peebles-shire (*f*). The church of Kirkurd, which had been granted to the hospital of Soltre, continued with it till 1462, when Mary of Guelder transferred it to the Trinity Church of Edinburgh, on condition that the sacrist of the collegiate Church of the Trinity should keep in repair the church of Kirkurk (*g*). A new church for this parish was built in 1766, about half a mile westward from the old fabric, which stood within the domain of Kirkurd. But the ancient burying-ground continues to be used by those parishioners who reverence the tombs of their fathers (*h*). [The Parish Church has 112 communicants; stipend £213.]

The name of the parish of STOBO was written in the charters of the twelfth and thirteen centuries, *Stobhou*. In a few instances, it is variously written *Stobeho*, *Stubho*, and *Stobhope* (*i*). In the Scoto-Saxon, Stob-how means the Stob-hollow, the hollow where *stobs* or *stubs* abound; the *stob* of the Scottish people being the same as the stub of the English, and signifying equally a stump of heath or other brush-wood (*k*). *How* is the common pronunciation of

(*a*) Chart. Soltre, No. 40. The grant of the church of Ord was confirmed also by William, the bishop of Glasgow; and in 1255 was again confirmed by William de Bondington, the bishop of Glasgow, who recovered Eddleston, as we have seen. Ib., 39—2.

(*b*) Chart. Paisley, No. 149. (*c*) Ib., No. 189; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 14.

(*d*) Robertson's Index, 24.

(*e*) In 1390 Robert II. granted to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, to hold this barony of Kirkurd in blench, instead of ward. Dougl. Peerage, 100.

(*f*) Ib., 124. (*g*) The foundation charter, which corrects Keith, 289.

(*h*) Stat. Acco., x. 183. The manse and offices were built near the new church in 1788. Id.

(*i*) Chart. Glasgow throughout.

(*k*) See *Stybbe*, in Somner and Lye; and *Stobbe*, in Kilian. There are a Stobbo-cleugh and a Stobbo-hill in Dumfries-shire; and *Stob* is a compound in many names, both in Scotland and England.

the Anglo-Saxon *Hol,* cavus (*l*), the final (l) being frequently pronounced as (w). A Celtic etymologist might be ambitious of deriving the name of this parish from the Gaelic *Stua-both,* signifying the *hut* or cottage on the ridge. There is indeed, an ancient tower, which stands on the skirt of a hill near the mansion house of the manor; but this elevation does not accord with the Gaelic *Stau,* which properly signifies a pinnacle or towering ridge. The Scoto-Saxon derivation is the most natural. The termination *how* applies, no doubt, to the hollow or small valley through which runs Weston burn, and the upper part of this hollow is called Stobo-*hopes,* according to the usual application of this term in the south of Scotland, to a *dingle* without a *thoroughfare* (*m*). Both the church and the manor of Stobo belonged to the diocese of Glasgow, at the epoch of Earl David's *Inquisitio,* and they were both confirmed to that see by several bulls of successive popes, in the twelfth century (*n*). The rectory of Stobo was converted into a prebend of Glasgow; and of all the prebends in Tweeddale, Stobo was the most valuable (*o*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de Stobo," which is rated at £26 13s. 4d.; and which is equal to the Archdeaconry of Glasgow, whereto belonged the rectory of Peebles, and there is also in that famous tax roll the "vicaria de Stobo," in the deanery of Peebles, that is rated at £6 13s. 4d. In a Taxatio of the prebends of Glasgow in 1401, Stobo and Peebles are both equally rated at £5 (*p*). The church of Stobo is said to be a Gothic building of five centuries erection, and the remains of a font and other appurtenances of an ancient church, still remain within it, to the indignant observation of reformed eyes (*q*). Michael de Dunde, the parson of *Stubbehok* swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, when the oaths of smaller men were sought for (*r*). The rights to the manor of Stobo have been as fiercely contested as the sovereignty of Scotland. Between Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1208

(*l*) Somner.

(*m*) In Kincardineshire there is a well-known vale which traverses it from south to north, and which is called the *How* of the Mearns.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 73-103.

(*o*) Stobo is mentioned in 1313 as a prebend. Rym., iii. 785. This rectory and prebend were composed, by the annexation of the churches of Dawick, of Upper and Lower Drummelzier, and Broughton; and all these were called the *pendicles* of Stobo, which was alone called the prebend. The minister, indeed, includes Glenholm parish, as one of the pendicles of Stobo; but it is clear, from Bagimont's Roll, that Glenholm was an independent rectory. Stat. Acco., iii. 330.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow, 490.

(*q*) Companion to the Map, 95; Stat. Acco., iii. 329.

(*r*) Prynne, iii. 662.

to 1232, and Jordan de Currokes, about the lands of Stobo, there was a controversy, which was settled under the arbitration of Walter Olifard, the younger, who was justiciary of Lothian, by the bishop paying his adversary £100 sterling, and this settlement was established by a charter from the justiciary, testifying the fact (*r*). There was soon after a dispute about the boundaries of Stobo, Hoprewe and Ord, which were finally fixed before eight-and-twenty neighbours (*s*), and this settlement was confirmed in 1223 by a charter of Alexander II. (*t*). There was between William, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1233 to 1258, and Mariota, the daughter of Samuel, another contest about the lands of Stobo, which was settled by Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, in pursuance of the king's precept. The bishop again purchased his adversary's claim. In consideration of an annuity of ten marks out of the manor of Eddleston, Mariota came into the sheriff's court and acknowledged the bishop's right to the manor of Stobo (*x*). The church of Lyne parish, which adjoins Stobo parish on the east, was a chapel belonging to the mother church of Stobo, at the end of the twelfth century (*y*). The church of Broughton parish, which also adjoins Stobo parish on the west, was likewise a chapel belonging to the church of Stobo, in the same age (*z*). That portion of Stobo parish which lies on the south-east side of the Tweed, was annexed to it in 1742, when the old parish of Dawick was suppressed, and part of it was annexed to Stobo, and another portion of it to Drummelzier (*a*). [The Parish Church has 106 communicants; stipend £243.

The church of MANOR was of old merely a chapel of the rectory of Peebles. The church of Peebles, "cum capella de Maineur," was confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow by Pope Urban, in 1181 (*b*). Thus connected, the rectory of the one and the chaplainry of the other, seem to have adhered to each other. The rectory of Peebles, and Manor, formed the prebend of the archdeacon of Glasgow, and were rated together in Bagimont's Roll, at the high valuation of £26 13s. 4d. In the *Taxatio* of the prebends of Glasgow in 1401, Peebles and Manor are rated each at £5 (*c*). The old church of Manor, which was called St. Gordian's kirk, stood four miles distant from the present church, that was itself built about the middle of the seventeenth century (*d*). Yet St. Gordian's

(*r*) Chart. Glasgow, 171. (*s*) Ib., 183. (*t*) Ib., 238.

(*u*) Ib., 273-5. (*x*) Ib., 279. (*y*) Ib., 145. (*z*) Ib., 53.

(*a*) Stat. Acco., iii. 329. (*b*) Chart of Glasgow, 104. (*c*) Ib., 490.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. iii. 387. Near Manorhead stood that *St. Gordian's* kirk, whereof nothing is now

chapel seems not to have been the parish church. About a mile and a half south-west from the present kirk-town and church of Manor, there is a hamlet called Manortown, and a little southward there is an old fortalice on the summit of a round hill, which is named from the strength Castle hill. This was, no doubt, the baronial residence of the lord of the manor, and near it must have stood of old the chapel of Manor. The present kirk-town is but a lonely hamlet, consisting of the church, the manse, the school-house, the mill, and a few cottages. On the south-west of it at no great distance, there still remains a pedestal, which is called the *Font-stone*, and is absurdly supposed, by Armstrong, not to be what the name imports it to have been, but the support of a cross, and this pedestal no doubt, supported *the font* of the ancient church of Manor. Alexander III. granted to William Biddebie the lands of Manor in Peebles-shire, which were confirmed by Robert I. (*e*). A grant of Alexander to John Biddebie of the lands of Manner, was also confirmed by the same king (*f*). Robert I. granted the manor of Mener, "in valle de Twede," to Adam Marshall (*g*), and Robert granted to Alexander Biddebie the barony of Mener, upon the resignation in parliament of Ade Marshal (*h*). Robert III. granted to Sir William Inglis the barony of Maner, to hold *blench* of the crown; in consideration of the slaughter of Thomas Struther, an Englishman, in single combat, reserving however, to Sir William Gladstanes, the lands which he possessed in the same barony with the old superiority (*i*). [The Parish Church, rebuilt in 1873-74, has 154 communicants; stipend, £314.

The parish of DRUMMELZIER took its singular name from the kirk-town, which stands on a ridge. Drym in the British, and *Druim* in the Irish, both signify a ridge, and the prefix *Drum*, alludes, no doubt, to the ridge on the north end whereof may be seen the ruins of Drummelzier castle. The affix *millier* is not so easily explained. Drum-'eallur in the Irish would signify, indeed, the ridge of earth, or the earthen ridge (*k*). The whole word is probably the British Drym-meiliaur, signifying the dwelling on, or at the ridge (*l*), and the Scoto-Irish, who succeeded the Britons here, finding such a word analogous to their own, may have contributed by their usage to the continuance of the

to be seen but the rubbish and ruins. Description, 19. In Newholmhope is the scarce discernible remains of St. Gorgham's chapel, saith Armstrong, the surveyor. Companion, 70. In the Lives of the Saints, 1636, p. 272-5, we may see that Gordian was martyred by the apostate Julian, on the 10th of May, 213 A.D. How he came to be recollected here so strongly as to have a chapel dedicated to him in Newholmhope, I know not.

(*e*) Robertson's Index, 24. (*f*) Id. (*g*) Id. (*h*) Ib., 24-28. (*i*) Ib., 137.

(*k*) See *Teallur*, in Shaw. The oblique case is *Theallur*, the *th* being quiescent.

(*l*) See Owen's W. Dict.

original term which was so descriptive of the thing. The present parish is composed of the old district of Lower-Drummelzier, and of the southern half of the old parish of Dawick, which was annexed to it in 1742 (*m*). Before the Reformation, Drummelzier was a vicarage of the rectory of Stobo. The Parish Church of Drummelzier stands on Powsail rivulet which falls into the Tweed, a little below, near the kindred grave of the wizard Merlin. Of the church Grose has preserved the remembrance in his antiquities (*n*). At Kingledoors, in the upper part of this parish, there was formerly a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert, the early evangelist of Tweedside. During the reign of Alexander III., Symon Fraser, the father, who died in 1291, granted to the monks of Melrose the lands of South-Kingledoors, with the chapel of St. Cuthbert and the lands of Hopcarshire (*o*). Dawick is the abbreviated pronunciation of *Dalwick*, which, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies the *dwelling* in the *dale*. There are still two hamlets named East-Dawick and West-Dawick in the old parish, which lay along the south-east side of the Tweed. Before the Reformation the church of *Dawick* was a vicarage of Stobo. The parish of Dawick was suppressed, as we have seen, in 1742, when the greater part of it was annexed to Drummelzier (*p*). The ruins of *Dawick* church stood on Scrape Burn, about a quarter of a mile southward of New-Posso (*q*). [The Parish Church has 72 communicants; stipend, £270.]

TWEEDSMUIR parish derived its name from the nature of the country which it comprehends, being the *moorish* district along the heights from which the Tweed and its tributary streams descend (*s*). This parish was formerly called Upper-Drummelzier; and before the Reformation it was a vicarage of Stobo, which, as a mother church and a prebend of the cathedral of Glasgow, had so many dependencies. The two Drummelziers were connected with each other till 1643, when the present parish of Tweedsmuir was established. The church was erected in 1648, on a small mount called Quarter-know, which, as tradition

(*m*) On November 1728, the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale took under consideration a proposal *for dismembering the parish of Dawick*, which had been vacant nine years, and *annexing it to Lyne and Stobo*, because of the small number of parishioners and lowness of the stipend; but the motion was rejected, and the presbytery of Peebles was appointed to settle a minister; yet, with instructions to use all moderate methods to gain the cordial consent of Sir James Naysmyth, the heritor of that parish. Edin. Courant, 2144. (*n*) See the view in his Antiq. Scot., ii. 224.

(*o*) Officers of State, 270; but Crawfurd has mistakingly put Kelso, for Melrose. This grant was confirmed by Sir Symon Fraser, the son. Ib., 271.

(*p*) Companion, 31; Stat. Acco., iii. 329. (*q*) Companion, 34.

(*s*) From Somner, we may learn that *Mor* signifies both a hill and a *heath*. The Scottish form of *moor* is *muir*.

relates, was of old a place of Druid worship (*t*). A drawing of this modern church may be seen in Grose's Antiquities (*u*). In the centre of this parish there was formerly a chapel near Hawkshaw, on Fruid water, with its accompanying cemetery, which both remain, the one in ruins and the other in use (*x*). Such, then, are the appropriate notices of the twelve parishes which constitute the present presbytery of Peebles. [The Parish Church of 1874-75 has 103 communicants; stipend, £378.]

In 1692, four parishes, Glenholm, Kilbucho, Skirling and Broughton, were torn from the side of Peebles and conjoined to the presbytery of Biggar.

Glenholm parish consists of a vale which is nearly seven miles long and two miles broad, and which is drained by Holms water; the original name of the stream being concealed in the Scoto-Saxon innovation. The present appellation was appropriated by the incomers, who did not know the significance of the original, and called it Holm, or Holms Water, from the number of flats along its banks (*y*). The church of Glenholm is supposed to have been a vicarage of Stobo (*z*); but there is reason for suspecting the truth of this intimation. For Glenholm, in the deanery of Peebles, appears in Bagimont's Roll as an independent rectory; and it is therein rated at £4. None of the churches which belonged to the rector of Stobo, are rated in Bagimont's Taxation. The parish church of Glenholm was rebuilt in 1775 (*a*). In the upper part of Glenholm, there was formerly a chapel at a place called *Chapelgill*. [In 1804, this parish was united with Kilbucho to Broughton.]

The name of the parish of *Kilbucho*, which has undergone successive corruptions, was originally applied to a chapel, that was dedicated in early times to St. Bega (*b*). To the name of the saint, whoever the holy person were, the Scoto-Irish *Cil*, signifying a church or a chapel, was prefixed. In the charters of the twelfth century, the name of this parish was written *Kil-beckhoc*. In sub-

(*t*) Companion, 104; Stat. Acco., viii., 86-8. (*u*) Vol. ii., 224.

(*x*) About the year 1775, a bust of General Monk is said to have been discovered here. Companion, 107. Yet, how the bust of such a man could have been deposited in such a place, it is not easy to conjecture.

(*y*) Stat. Acco., iv. 429. *Holm, isle;* Holmur, Islandic; Holme, Swedish; and *Holm*, in the ancient Saxon, a river islet, a flat covered with herbage and surrounded with water. Bullet, in vo. *Holm.* (*z*) Stat. Acco., iv., 429; iii., 321. (*a*) Companion, 43.

(*b*) The church of Kilbucho was called of old St. Bez, saith Doctor Pennecuick. Description, 28. St. Bez is the familiar name of St. Bega. Tradition has preserved in this parish many particulars of this memorable saint. Stat. Acco., iv. 344. The church of Kilbucho was dedicated to St. Bede, saith Armstrong mistakingly; and a spring of pure water in the vicinity of it still retains the same name. Companion to the Map, 30. For St. Bega, a female saint, from the island of saints, see Leland's Col., t. iii. 39; Dugdale's Monast., i. 395. Her house was at St. Bees, in Cumberland, a cell of St. Mary of York. But there was also a female St. Bega in Scotland, who performed wonders at Kilbeg, according to Dempster's Menologium, 6th September.

sequent writings the name was written Kil-bochoc, Kil-bocho, Kil-bucho, and sometimes Kirk-bucho. Cospatric, hermit of Kylbethoc and Gillebert, the parson of Kylbethoc, were present as witnesses to the settlement of the marches of Stobo, Hopreu, and Ord (*c*). In Bagimont's roll the "rectoria cum vicaria de Kil-bocho," in the deanery of Peebles, were rated at £8. This continued a rectory from the twelfth century to the Reformation, and the patronage appears to have belonged to the lord of the manor. At the accession of Robert I., the manor of Kilbethoc belonged to the Grahames of Dalkeith and Abercorn, from whom it passed to the Douglases, under David II., who granted the lands of Kilbethoc and Newlands to William Douglas on the resignation of John Grahame of Dalkeith (*d*). Robert II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith the baronies of Kilbothoc and Newlands and Linton, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father (*e*). There is a charter of Francis and Mary, stating the sale of the barony of Kilbucho by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, to James, Earl of Morton, with a right of redemption; and transferring this right of redemption from Malcolm to John, Lord Fleming (*f*). [In 1804 this parish was united to Broughton.]

The parish of SKIRLING derives its name from the kirk-town, and the village takes its appellation from the rivulet which runs through it, and drives a mill below. In several charters of the fourteenth century the name is written Skrawlyne and Scraline (*g*). In Pont's map of this shire the name is printed Skarlin (*h*); and Armstrong, in his new map, calls it Scarline (*i*). This sort of metathesis is common in the topography of North-Britain; so we have *Stirling* for *Strivelin*, and *Crail* for *Caril*. If Skrawline be considered as the original name, it may be derived from the British *Ysgraw-lyn*, signifying the rivulet or the pool which is apt to form a scum or crust (*k*); or *Sgrai-line*, in the Gaelic, would signify the rivulet having green-swarded banks (*l*). If

(*c*) Chart. Glasgow, 135-6. Gamelin, the parson of Kylbethoc, and Gilbert, the parson of Kylbethoc, are mentioned in a charter during the thirteenth century. Ib., 445.

(*d*) Robertson's Index, 54; Regist. Rob. II. Rot., v. 75. In October 1564, the well-known chancellor, Earl of Morton, obtained a confirmation of Kilbucho, with the advowson of the church and other estates. Parl. Rec., 763. (*e*) Ib., 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*f*) This charter was dated at Paris, the 16th January, 1558. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 68. During the reign of Charles I., the barony of Kilbucho, with the patronage of the church, was acquired by John Dickson; and they both continue to belong to his descendant. In June 1640, John Dickson obtained from Parliament a ratification of the lands of Hartree and Kilbucho, with the patronage of the church and the lease of the tithes thereof, with the annuity. Unprinted Act.

(*g*) Robertson's Index. (*h*) In Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ.

(*i*) Map of Peebles-shire. (*k*) Owen's W. Dict.

(*l*) On the margin of the rivulet, within the village, there is a flat green, of about an acre and a half, which the houses seem to inclose in a semicircular form; yet, whether all these existed in early times may admit of a doubt.

Scarlin be considered as the original name, then the derivation might be from the British *Ysgar-lyn*, the dividing rivulet. The brook, in fact, runs through the middle of the present straggling village of Skirling; and it is more than probable that the British hamlet here stood, in a similar manner, on either side of the rivulet or *lyn*. In Bagimont's Roll there are "rectoria cum vicaria de *Scralyne*" in the deanery of Peebles rated at £6 13s. 4d. Robert I. granted to John Monfode the barony of *Skrawline*, with the advowson of the church (*m*). Margaret Monfode granted an annuity of two marks sterling out of the lands of *Scraline* to a chaplain in the church of Dunmanyn, and this gift was confirmed by David II. in 1362 (*n*). The church of Skirling was rebuilt in 1720. The manse was built in 1636, and rebuilt in 1725 (*o*). Skirling is a populous village, having two annual fairs, on the first Wednesday after the 11th of June and the 15th of September (*p*). [The Parish Church has 85 communicants; stipend, £342. There is also a Free Church, with 99 members.]

The parish of BROUGHTON took its name from the kirk-town, and the name of the village in its present form might be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Burgh*, which, by a familiar change, is pronounced *Brugh*, signifying a fortlet, and *tun*, a dwelling. But in the charter of Radulph Nanus, which was granted in the period between 1174 and 1180 A.D., the name of this hamlet was written repeatedly *Broctun*, whereof Broughton is doubtless a corruption. *Broc*, in the British, Gaelic, and Anglo-Saxon, means a badger or gray; so Broc-tun would signify badger town. Yet may it be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Brora*, rivus, rivulus, whence the English brook, and *tun*, a dwelling. Now, the hamlet and church of Broughton are, in fact, situated on a brook. It is, however, probable that the name of the village may have derived its origin from some person called *Broc*, whose *tun* or residence it was of old; and there have been always persons of this name in North-Britain (*q*). Radulph Nanus gave to the chapel of *Brortun* half a carucate of land, in *Brortun*, in *frank-almoyne*, with a toft, a croft, and common of pasture, with other easements to such lands belonging; and he conceded to the see of Glasgow that

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 24. (*n*) Ib., 72. (*o*) Stat. Acco., iii. 254.

(*p*) Companion, 94. On the 26th of March, 1567, the castle of Edinburgh was surrendered to Cockburn of Skirling, for the queen. The same day a tempest of wind blew away the tail of the weathercock on the steeple of Edinburgh. This, saith Birrel, Diary 7, fulfilled the old prophecy:

"Quhen Skirling sall be captain,
The cock sall want his taill."

We have seen that another prophecy was accomplished, when Skirling house was blown up, by order of the regent Murray, on the 12th of June 1568.

(*q*) We must remember, however, that there is a parish in Linlithgowshire called *Strâ-broc*, which is undoubtedly a Gaelic name, signifying the *vale* of *brocs*.

the chapel of *Broctun* should appertain as a vicarage to the mother church of Stobo, and this grant Rudulph, with his son Richard, confirmed by their oaths before Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, and other witnesses, so solemn were the grants of those religious times (*r*). Broctun continued till the Reformation a vicarage of Stobo. David II. confirmed a grant by Edward Hadden to his wife, of the lands of *Brochton*, in Peebles-shire (*t*). Robert, the Duke of Albany, granted to John de Hawden the lands of Brochton, in Peebles-shire, with other estates in Roxburghshire, on the resignation of William de Hawden, his father (*u*). The barony of Broughton, saith Armstrong, comprehends the whole parish except Burnetland (*x*). The village of Broughton was rebuilt in a handsome manner by its liberal proprietor, the late James Dickson, and it has the benefit of an yearly fair (*y*). Thus much, then, with regard to the *sixteen* parishes of this shire, which are comprehended in the two presbyteries of Biggar and Peebles. [The Parish Church (1804) has 275 communicants; stipend, £400. The parishes of Kilbucho and Glenholm were conjoined with Broughton in 1804. A Free Church at Broughton village has 137 members].

There is immediately subjoined, as a useful supplement, a *Tabular State*, containing some instructive particulars of each parish; and to all those intimations may be additionally mentioned some other notices of a parochial sort. A small part of Inverleithen parish lies in Selkirkshire (*z*). The stipends of the whole parishes in Peebles-shire were augmented previous to 1798, except those of Kirkurd and Newlands. The annual value of the glebes were included in the estimate of the stipends of the whole parishes in 1798, but not the value of the minister's manses (*a*). In this shire there are no *fier prices*, because in it there are no feu-duties payable into the royal Exchequer.

(*r*) The witnesses were John the abbot of Kelso, Richard, the abbot of Jedburgh, Symon, the archdeacon of Glasgow, Richard, the dean of Theviotdale, Peter, the dean of *Cludesdal*. Chart. Glasgow, 53. John was abbot of Kelso from 1160 to 1180; and Richard was abbot of Jedburgh from 1174 to 1192. So that this instructive charter was granted between the years 1174 and 1180.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 59. (*t*) Ib. 148. (*u*) Ib. 164.

(*x*) Companion, 29. (*y*) Id.; Stat. Acco. vii. 156.

(*z*) The population of the whole parish of Inverleithen, in 1755, was 559; in 1791, 560; and in 1801, 609.

(*a*) That part of the stipends which is paid in victual is paid in beer, or big, and in oatmeal, generally in equal parts, and of equal value. In estimating the stipends of 1798, the beer and oatmeal were valued at the moderate rate of 15s. per boll, according to a seven years' average of the prices preceding 1798. In this shire the boll of barley and oats contains six bushels fourteen pints, and twenty-one cubic inches, English standard measure, which is ten pints more than the standard Linlithgow boll.

The Tabular State.

Parishes.	Extent in Acres.	Inhabitants.			Churches.					Stipends.						Past Patrons.
		1755.	1801.	1881.	Est.	Free.	U.P.	Epis.	R.C.	1755.			1798.			
										£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Peebles,	16,686	1,896	2,088	4,059	1	1	2	1	1	107	10	0	164	3	4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Lyne,	2,793	265	167	204	1	—	—	—	—	61	1	1	121	3	4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Linton,	23,420	831	1,064	1,117	1	—	1	1	—	68	12	8	152	13	4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Drummelzier,	18,029½	305	278	208	1	—	—	—	—	84	18	0	139	12	0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Stobo,	10,372¾	313	338	467	1	—	—	—	—	90	13	10	137	0	0	Sir J. Montgomery.
Eddleston,	18,590	679	677	711	1	—	—	—	—	71	13	4	153	17	0	Lord Elibank.
Kirkurd,	5,704½	310	327	282	1	—	—	—	—	64	6	9	90	2	0	Carmichael of Skirling.
Manor,	16,671	320	308	277	1	—	—	—	—	56	4	5	115	16	10	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Tweedsmuir,	32,612¾	397	277	215	1	—	—	—	—	68	0	0	121	0	0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Inverleithen,	24,122¾	498	542	3,661	2	1	—	—	1	59	16	3	130	1	0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Traquair,	17,600	651	613	754	1	—	—	—	—	73	3	0	136	6	0	The King.
Newlands,	12,560	1,009	950	819	1	1	—	—	—	77	15	6	126	0	0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Glenholm,	—	392	242	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	7	9	127	13	4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
Kilbucho,	—	279	342	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	17	9	126	0	0	Dickson of Kilbucho.
Skirling,	3,427¾	335	308	274	1	1	—	—	—	58	11	1	118	11	0	Carmichael of Skirling.
Broughton,	18,121½	367	214	667	1	1	—	—	—	63	18	10	114	0	0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Selkirkshire.

§ I. *Of its name.*] AS Roxburghshire derived its appellation from its castle, *Selkirkshire* obtained its name from its church, the town having borrowed a distinguished designation from the ancient kirk, and the sheriffwick its name from the town. In the early charters of the twelfth century the word is generally written *Selechyrche*, in one instance, indeed, it appears in the Latin form of *Scelechyrca*, and in another example of doubtful authority *Seleschirche* (*a*). *Sel* forms the prefix of many names of places in England, as *Sel*-by, *Sel*-ham, *Sel*-hurst, *Sel*-sted (*b*); and Bishop Gibson instructs us, by his topographical rules, that *Sel* denotes great, as *Sel*-tun signifies *magnum oppidum*, so *Selchyrc* is the great church or the good church (*c*). Yet, as the occasion of the church in the forest arose from the circumstance of the king's having a hunting-seat here, the place of his worship may have been called *Sele*-chyrc, from the Saxon *Sele*, a hall, a prince's court (*d*). When a second church was built nearly on the same site, after the establishment of the monastery at this hunting-seat, the prior place was distinguished by the name of Selkirk-Regis, while the village of the monks was called Selkirk-*Abbatis* (*e*).

(*a*) Chart. Kelso. In Earl David's foundation charter of the monastery here, the name is written *Selechyrche* and *Scelechyrcha*. Sir James Dalrymple's Col., 403. In the more modern charter of Malcolm IV., the name is mistakingly written *Seleschirche*. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*b*) Adams's Villare.

(*c*) See Cowel on the same point. *Sel*, however, signifying *great*, is, in an extended sense, from the Anglo-Saxon *Sel*, bonus, bene, satis. See Somner and Lye.

(*d*) See Somner.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso. Lord Hailes, indeed, whose peculiar notions deserve some regard, says, *Seleschirche* means the church in the wilderness, and that *Seles*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies a desert; but he does not quote his authority. *Seles* is not to be found in the Saxon dictionaries, in his sense; and, moreover, *Seleschirche* is a solitary and corrupt reading of the term. Annals, i. 96. There was a commission of Alexander II., dated at Selechirck. Chart. Newbotle, 130. And there was a grant of the same king, given at Selechirch on the 7th of June, 1233. Chart. Kelso, 392.

Yet the area of this shire had a very different appellation in still more early times. As the Tweed supplied a name to the vale through which it took its highest course, so the Ettrick lent its Celtic appellation to the well-wooded country through which it flowed. The Scoto-Saxon kings, finding sport throughout Ettrick woodlands, very early established a hunting-seat at Selkirk, which gave rise to the town, and in the same age formed their hunting-grounds into a forest; and the principal river which watered and adorned those extensive woodlands naturally gave its name to the country. Hence, from the epoch of record to recent times, this country has been called in charters, *Ettrick forest*, and *the forest*, for its pre-eminence, for its *vert* and *venery*. The name of the *Ettrick* is of doubtful origin, though it may be allowed to be of Celtic derivation. *Eitrigh*, in the Gaelic, signifies a furrow or trench (*f*); and *Eithrach* means, in the same speech, a wilderness (*g*). But this fine river must have had a distinguished name before the proper Gaelic was spoken on its banks, and the British aborigines undoubtedly gave an appropriate appellation to this picturesque stream. The *Ed* of their language signifies a current, and *Terig*, mud (*h*); and, in fact, when the Ettrick is in flood, it is extremely muddy from the quantity of earth which it carries away from every bank. In its usual flow the Ettrick is clear, as it glides over a gravelly channel and rushes through rocks or stagnates sometimes on clay. During the whole Scoto-Saxon period, the Scottish kings who delighted in the chase, according to the manners of the age, appointed their foresters in this extensive forest, as we may see in the chartularies. Edward I., when by intrigue and force he succeeded them, appointed his own favourites as his foresters; and Robert I., when he restored the Scottish monarchy by his fortitude and valour, granted to his able supporter, Sir James Douglas, the *forests* of *Selkirk*, of *Ettrick* and Traquair which adjoined them, in a free barony (*i*). Timothy Pont named his map of this country "the sheriffdom of

(*f*) Lluyd's Arch. in vo. (*g*) Id. O'Brien and Shaw's Dict.

(*h*) The British *Ed*, in composition, changes to *Et*. In South-Wales there is a river of this name; but the syllables, in its formation, have been reversed into *Teric-Ed*. In a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Kelso, the Ettrick of Selkirkshire is repeatedly mentioned by the various names of *Ettric* and *Ethyric*. Chart. Kel., 54. Another charter of the same king confirms some lands to the same monks for supporting the bridge of *Ettrick*. Ib., 392. In 1258 the abbot of Kelso held his baronial courts, "apud pontem de *Eterig*." Ib., 217. There is an Etterick loch in Dumfries-shire; and there is an Etterick water in the western division of the large shire of Perth.

(*i*) Roberts. Index, 10. The shire, however, was not granted; but remained in the crown. David II.'s grant to Dalyel proves this important point. Regist. David II.

"Ettrick-forest, called also Selkirk," (*k*) and Ainslie denominated his delineation of the same district, Selkirkshire or *Ettrick-forest* (*l*).

§ II. *Of its Situation and Extent.*] The country which has thus been variously known through many an age, as Selkirkshire or Ettrick-forest, has Peebles-shire on the west, Dumfries-shire on the south, Roxburghshire on the east, where it is bounded by the Shaw burn, and on the north it has a part of Edinburghshire and a division of Roxburghshire (*m*). It is 27 [28] miles long from south-west to north-east, and 16 [17] miles broad, exclusive of a small detached part, on the east. It contains a superficies of 257 [260] square miles, or 166,448 [166,524] statute acres, and the population of this shire, according to the enumeration of 1801, being 5,446, this gives a population of nearly 21 to a square mile. This shire was first surveyed by Timothy Pont during the afflictive reign of Charles I. (*n*). It was again delineated by John Ainslie, who published his map in 1772; and there is a very useful sketch prefixed to the Agricultural Survey, by the Rev. Doctor Douglas, of this shire, which, as we have seen above, is not of great extent, and is of a very irregular form (*o*).

§ III. *Of its Natural Objects.*] With the exception of a very narrow portion on its eastern side, Selkirkshire may be said to be a continued alternation of hill and dale. Many of the eminences rise to considerable heights (*p*). The

(*k*) Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 5. (*l*) See Ainslie's Survey of 1772.

(*m*) Selkirkshire lies between 55° 22′ 20″, and 55° 41′ 54″ north latitude; and between 2° 47′ 40″ and 3° 18′ 46″ longitude west of Greenwich. The shire-town stands in 55° 34′ 10″ north latitude, and 2° 52′ longitude west of Greenwich. Selkirk town is situated, according to the result of the barometer, 520 feet above the level of the sea. Edin. Philosoph. Essays, iii., xvii.

(*n*) His map was published by Blaeu in his *Atlas Scotiæ*, No. 5.

(*o*) Nor do its boundaries in general, according to that able writer, run along the summits of mountains, or the course of streams, which however crooked, would afford evident marks for description. A line merely ideal, and often whimsical, divides it in very many places from the surrounding counties.

(*p*) The following detail will exhibit the heights of the most remarkable hills in Selkirkshire above the level of the sea, according to Ainslie's map of this shire:—

	Feet.
Blackhouse heights,	2,370 [2,213]
Windlestraw law,	2,295 [2,161]
Minchmoor,	2,280. [1,856]
Ettrick-Pen,	2,200 [2,469]
Law Kneis,	1,990
Ward law,	1,980 [1,951]

hills are in general clothed in green, though some parts of them are discoloured by russet. The centre of the country, on the south of the Forth, does not rise to so great an elevation as the base of the heights on the north of the Forth. The valleys on the Ettrick, the Yarrow, and on the upper streams of the Tweed, which may be deemed the centre of southern Scotland, are not much more than five hundred feet above the level of the sea (*q*); while the level of the vale of Badenoch on the Spey, is at least a thousand feet above the sea level. The numerous valleys that separate the heights of this shire, are generally confined to a narrow space by the acclivities on either side. Even the vales of the larger rivers, the Ettrick, the Yarrow, the Tweed, and the Gala, seldom expand themselves to any width, owing to the approximation of the mounts. From those vales, however, shoot out many *cleughs* and *hopes*, that run up a considerable distance between the heights (*r*), and each of those vales sends out its appropriate streamlet, which augments the rivers with its congenial waters.

	Feet.	
Hangingshaw law,	1,980	[1,044]
Three Brethren,	1,978	[1,523]
Black Andrew,	1,966	[1,364]
Pent law,	1,964	
Megal hill,	1,480	
Old Ettrick hill,	1,860	
Shaws hill,	1,212	

The hills as estimated by Ainslie have been supposed, by skilful persons, to be rather too high.

(*q*) The descent of the waters may be determined from the following heights on their banks:—

	Feet.
Pot burn,	786
The junction of Tema water,	664
Yarrow lochs,	560
The Tweed, at Cardrona,	529
The Tweed, at Traquair,	510
Cadon water, at Cadonhead,	480
Deuchar bridge,	458
Ettrick bridge,	440
Gala water, at Crosslee toll-bar,	380
Selkirk bridge,	340
The Tweed, at the foot of Gala water,	286

(*r*) *Cleugh*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Clough*, a fissure, or opening in a height, is generally applied, in the south of Scotland, to a narrow vale or glen. The word *Hope*, which is derived from the old French, as we learn from Bullet, is applied to a small and short valley, which is close at the upper end. This application of the Hope is confined to the south-east of Scotland,

Of *lakes*, Selkirkshire, though an interior and mountainous region, cannot boast. The only considerable collection of water is St. Mary's loch, on the western extremity of this shire, which derived its name from a church that was early dedicated to the Virgin, on its north-western margin. This lake is about three miles long and about half a mile broad. It receives into its bosom the Yarrow and Megget waters, with several smaller streams; and its outlet is the Yarrow, which adds so much to the beauty and convenience of this shire (*s*). Immediately above St. Mary's lake, the loch of the *lows* forms a much smaller bason on the Yarrow (*t*). There are here two lochs, which are only separated by a narrow and level neck of a hundred yards in length, that furnishes a channel for the Yarrow, from the loch above, to St. Mary's loch below. The loch of the lows breeds chiefly perch and pike, which delight in such waters. These, then, are the lakes on the western extremity of this shire. On the south-east of it, there are only a few small lochs; such as Alemoor loch, King's-moor loch, Crooked loch, Shaws lochs, Oaker-moor loch, the overflowing of which collections are discharged by the upper drains of the Ale and Clayburn loch, that is emptied by Rankle burn, a feeder of the Ettrick. The size of these lochs varies from a mile and a half to a mile in circumference. They do not abound in any great variety of fishes, most of them having perch and pike, and some of them trout (*n*).

A country consisting of green hills and "bushy dells," lying under a moist climate, must abound in rills and riverets, but the Ettrick and the Yarrow are the principal drains of Selkirkshire. The Ettrick rises among the mountains, in the south-west extremity of the shire, at a place, called from its source, *Ettrick-head.* Among a thousand streamlets which find oblivion in

in Lothian, in Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, and Dumfries; and this word, which was not familiar to the Scoto-Saxons, may have been introduced into those countries by the Anglo-Normans who settled there during the reigns of David I., and of his two grandsons, Malcolm and William the Lion.

(*s*) Ainslie's map of this shire. St. Mary's loch, says Dr. Douglas, surpasses any lake in the south of Scotland for its extent and beauty. Its banks are fringed with copse-wood. Agricult. Survey, 235. It breeds perch and pike. Stat. Acco., iii., 295.

(*t*) *Lows* is a mere corruption of *loughs*, which is only a Saxon corruption of *lochs*, as we may see in the maps of Ireland. The English map-makers constantly convert the *lochs* of that Celtic country into *loughs*, not being able to pronounce the *ch* like the Gaelic people. The *loch* of the *lows* is the same as *the loch* of *the lochs.* The same pleonastic appellation of *Loch of the lows* is applied to two adjoining lakes in Ayrshire. The *loch* of the Irish is merely the *llwch* of the British, signifying a collection of water.

(*u*) Stat. Acco., ii. 537.

the Ettrick, the most considerable are the Rankle burn and the Tema water (*x*). After a course of five-and-twenty miles, the Ettrick is joined by its rival, Yarrow, above Selkirk town, and the united stream falls into the Tweed three miles below (*y*). Though the Ettrick (*z*) is not so celebrated in Scottish lyrics as the Yarrow or Tweed, yet have not *Ettrick banks* been quite forgotten in the "enraptur'd shepherd's song" (*a*).

The Yarrow rises in those heights where the shires of Selkirk, Dumfries, and Peebles meet. After traversing the loch of the lows and St. Mary's loch, the Yarrow pushes forward with rapid violence, collecting in its devious course the Douglas burn, with other mountain streams, till it joins the Ettrick above Selkirk town (*b*). Its whole course of one-and-twenty miles is on a rocky and gravelly bottom, and is the roughest and most precipitous river in this country. It was from this prominent quality that it obtained from the British people its remarkable name. *Garw* in their language, *Garow* in the Cornish, and *Farbh*, which in the Gaelic has the same pronunciation, signify what is rough or a torrent (*c*); and this descriptive name was often applied by the Britons to several mountain torrents, both in North and South Britain; the (g) of the Britons, as well as the (z) of the Saxons, being frequently supplanted by the English (y), so that *Garw* has become *Yarw* and *Yarrow*. This change appears, however, to have been made on the name of this river since the twelfth century (*d*). The same change of the (d) into (y) has taken

(*x*) The rivulet "de *Timeye*" is mentioned in a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Melrose, as falling into the *Etterick*. Chart., 64.

(*y*) Ainslie's map of the shire. All those streams, as they have not been polluted by manufactures, abound in excellent trout. Stat. Acco., iii. 295.

(*z*) North from the Shaws is a mile to the bridge of Ettrick, consisting of two large arches and one small arch; the pillars whereof are built upon a rock, and it has Scot of Harden's arms on its front. It is four miles to the south-west of Selkirk. Hodge's MS. Relation, 1722.

(*a*) Ritson's Scots Songs, 23.

(*b*) From Hangingshaw are three miles to Yarrow bridge, of two arches, built of freestone, having the Duchess of Buccleuch's arms on the fore-front of it; and at the north-west end of this bridge stood the old tower of Deuchar. Hodge's MS. Relation, 1722.

(*c*) Davis, Owen, Pryce; O'Brien and Shaw.

(*d*) In the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey, by Earl David, before the year 1124, this river is frequently mentioned by the Latin name of Garua. Chart. Kelso, No. 4. But Sir James Dalrymple, in his Hist. Col., 403, has mistakingly written this word *Gierua*, having misunderstood the *a* or *ie*. It was again spelt *Garua* in the subsequent charter of David, when he transferred the monks of Selkirk to Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 1.

place in the names of Yarrow river in Lancashire, and Yore water in Norfolk from which Yar-mouth derives its name, and Yare, which falls into the Ax in Devonshire. The Yarrow and its banks have been often celebrated in Scottish song (*e*), and sometimes the sympathizing poet hath "mourn'd on *Yarrow's banks* the widow'd maid." The Tweed, after draining Peebles-shire, intersects the northern extremity of Selkirkshire from west to east, during a placid course, in a deep channel of nine miles, when it is joined by the Ettrick, and receiving the Gala water, passes on from Selkirkshire, after forming a boundary with Roxburghshire. The Gala, which carries off the waters from a south-eastern district of Edinburghshire, enters Selkirkshire at Crosbie, and now forms the march between Selkirk and Roxburghshire during a course of six miles, when it falls into the Tweed. The Gala, which is much less rapid than the Ettrick and the Yarrow, as it descends through a flatter country, runs the greater part of its course over a gravelly bed. Its channel is very much confined by the high banks on either side of it, except in the three last miles of its course, when it bursts out from its confined channel, and overspreads, as often as it is swelled by rains, a considerable extent of lower grounds. The Gala of Selkirkshire, and the Gwala of Pembrokeshire, derive their singular names from the same British source. In the language of the British setters here, the *Gwala* signified a *full stream* (*f*). The Strath of the Gala was early called *Waedale*, from some bloody scenes on its contested margin. *Gala water* has long been admired among the Scottish *chants*; and it has supplied an amorous ditty to one of the doric poets of Scotland, who admirmirably sings (*g*):

"But *Yarrow braes*, nor *Ettrick shaws*,
Can match the lads of *Gala water*."

(*e*) See Ramsay's and Ritson's songs. Burns, in his *Address to the Shade of Thomson*, cries out:

"While maniac winter rages o'er
The hills whence *classic Yarrow* flows;
Rousing the turbid torrents' roar,
Or sweeping wild a waste of snows."

(*f*) The *Gala* is called the *Galche* in a charter of David I. to the monks of Melrose. No. 54. It is spelled *Galche* and *Galue* in the charters of William the Lion. No. 146. It is called *Galue* in two charters of Alexander II. to the monks of Melrose. Chart. No. 62, 144. As the word *Galche* is not significant in either the Saxon, the Scoto-Irish, or the British languages, as it is never mentioned but once under this form, we may reasonably suppose that it was the mistake of the scribe.

(*g*) Burns, iv. 31.

The streams of the *Ale* and Borthwick have both their sources in the south-eastern district of Selkirkshire; yet they soon quit its confined limits, and passing into Teviotdale, mingle their congenial waters with the Teviot. The only other stream which merits notice in this shire is the Caddon water, which rises in the mountains on the northern extremity of this county, and hastens its course to the Tweed, in a rapid flow of nine miles. Though the riverets of Selkirkshire descend from their heights with a speedy course, yet they do not form any picturesque falls. The only cascade in this shire is made by a rivulet in Roberton parish, which flings itself over a cliff twenty feet high and six feet broad when it is swollen by rains (*h*).

Of *minerals*, none of the more useful have yet been found in this pastoral shire. There are not any metals, coal, lime, nor freestone, in any part of this county. It has, however, abundance of whinstone, and a good deal of granite (*i*). The want of coal is supplied in some measure by many mosses, from which peats are dug, that are the chief fuel of the inhabitants. The higher ranks of people, however, and the farmers, burn coals, which are brought from the Lothians, a distance of more than thirty miles from the centre of this county. Though this shire does not enjoy the benefit of limestone, it possesses excellent marle in various parts along its eastern extremity. The several mosses in the parishes of Selkirk, Roberton, Ashkirk and Yarrow, cover large beds of excellent shell marle, which is much used in fertilizing the soil. Oakermoor loch, which is nearly a mile and a half in circumference and very deep, contains a vast quantity of marle (*k*). As it wants minerals, this shire is almost without mineral waters. The only appearance of medicinal waters is at Haining-lin near Selkirk, where there is a spring of water which

(*h*) Stat. Acco., xi. 545.

(*i*) An immense bed of rock, of about a mile broad, runs through the east part of Selkirkshire, in a direction nearly from south to north. It appears in the channel of the Ettrick for a mile, from Newhouse to Ettrick bridge, and below it for two hundred yards. North from this it appears again for a mile in the channel of the Yarrow. It again appears in the channel of the Tweed for a mile above and below the bridge, at Fairnielee; and north-north-east from this point it once more appears for a mile in the channel of the Gala, at the peninsula of Torwoodlee.

(*k*) Stat. Acco., ii. 447; xi., 538; Agricult. Survey, 232. In 1649 it was said that "near Kershop there is a little strand, which after rain frequently casteth out many pieces of lead, that are found by the country people among the sand." MS. Account of Messrs. Elliot and Scot.

is impregnated with steel, and which, though weak, is found to be useful to scorbutic and scrofulus habits (*l*).

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] The whole district which now forms Selkirkshire, was of old included in the country of the British *Gadeni*, which comprehended the centre of the region, from the *coaly* Tyne on the south, to the meandring Forth on the northward. Besides other monuments, they left their descriptive language in the names of the rivers Ettrick and Yarrow, Gala and Tweed, of the Tama, Caddon, and Douglas. The British Llyn, for a pool, is preserved both in the topography and in the common language, in *lin*, and linns, in the *Ettrick*. *Heugh*, which is applied to a high bank or cliff, and which is seen in the maps, is merely the British *Uch*, with the Saxon aspirate, as we may see it in the Heugh of the Cornish. The British *Pen*, a head or summit, is also preserved in the name of Ettrick-*pen* or *Pen*-Shuter, a high conical hill in the southern extremity of this shire, and there is *Pen*-man-score, which is now corrupted into Permanscore, and is applied to a neck or hollow on the *top* of a high ridge, a little eastward of Minchmoor. The British *Pil*, signifying a fortress with a surrounding trench, is still retained in the name of *Peel* in Yarrow parish.

As this shire was chiefly occupied by the Saxon people, who came in upon the Romanized Britons after the Roman abdication, the names of places are almost all from the Anglo-Saxon in its most appropriate form (*m*). *Ford* is used by the Anglo-Saxons, both in North and South Britain, for the passage of a river, yet seems to have been adopted by them, with other significant terms, from the British *Fordd*, which also signifies, in that language, a passage or way (*n*).

The Scottish people appear to have formed some settlements in this shire soon after the year 1020, as we may infer from the appellation of places, which still retain the names that were then applied to them; as *Glen-gaber*, *Glen-kenning*, *Glen-kerry*, *Glen-dairg*, *Dal-gleish*, *Annet*, *Tinnis*, *Scar*-hills,

(*l*) Stat. Acco., ii. 447. Yet in 1649, Elliot and Scot say that "a little above Philiphaugh there is a well, which, in regard of its smell, taste, purgative qualities, and other effects, such as colouring money laid into it, differeth little or nothing from the well of Moffat, that is so much frequented." MS. Acco. Advocates' Library.

(*m*) The most frequent compounds in the names of places are, *Cleugh* in thirty-two names, *Hope* in thirty-eight, *Lee* in fifteen, *Shiel* in twelve, *Shaw* in ten, *Law*, *Kirk*, *Haugh*, *Burn*, *Rig*, and a few from *Dod*.

(*n*) Davis and Owen.

Loch of the *Lows*, *Duchoir*, now *Deuchar*. The names, indeed, of *Dun*-law and *Alt*-reiver burn exhibit pleonastic compounds of the Gaelic and the Scoto-Saxon languages. The reader, if he do not constantly recollect the several successions of people in this shire who, in different ages, settled here, the Britons first, the Anglo-Saxons next, the Gaelic-Scots after them, and lastly, the Anglo-Norman and English people, must necessarily be confounded, when he looks upon the country map, to see such a mixture of names from different tongues. The same observation is equally to be made in respect to other shires; and in this view of the subject the topography of the country becomes the truest history of the people during the darkest ages (*o*).

As this shire was in early times completely covered with a vast forest, it should seem never to have been much cultivated by the first people, who existed rather in the state of *hunters* than of *shepherds*. The Romanized Britons may have made some advances towards the second step of society. The Saxon people seem to have taken firm possession without clearing away the woods, which still in a great measure remained at the end of seven changeful centuries. There are but few British remains in this shire which would show the inhabitancy and mark the usages of the British people. There are here no druid temples, no stone monuments, no ancient sepulchres, nor do any hill-forts appear throughout the greatest part of Ettrick forest. It is in the eastern division of the shire, which now forms the cultivated part of it, where can be traced any British or Roman antiquities. In this tract there are the remains of some British strengths which were erected upon heights, and were formed generally between the circular and the oval. In the midst of several of those British strengths, in the parish of Roberton, there is a Roman camp which is of a square figure, and is flanked by a rivulet, the banks whereof are steep, is defended in front by Borthwick water, and having on the remaining sides artificial ramparts. The remains of this post bear at present the name of Africa, the corruption of some ancient name which cannot now be traced (*p*). But

(*o*) It may be of use to add here a specimen of the Scoto-Saxon language, as it was written here, in 1423, by Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, who fell at the battle of Vernuil: "Be it knawyn till "all men thrwch yir present letterys us Archebalde off Douglas, Erle of Wygtoun, and off Longuevill, "til haf set, and till ferme lattyn till our lwuit Schir Wilzeam Myddilmast, twa forestar stedis wytin "Schutynle ward, by and betuix ye mastirstede and ye tourourstede off the ward off ye Yharrow," &c. Record Great Seal, book ii. No. 61. This lease is dated at ye *Neuerk*, in Newark castle.

(*p*) About two miles from this Roman post, and within view of it, there is still to be seen a British fortlet, of a semicircular form. Stat. Acco., xi. 545.

no Roman road has yet been discovered here which would lead us to any useful notice.

Now the most remarkable remain of the Britons in this shire is the *Catrail* or battle-fence, consisting of a large fosse, with a rampart on either side. From Mossalee, on the north-east of this shire, the *Catrail* may be traced through the middle of the country, in a winding direction, till it passes from Selkirk into Roxburghshire by crossing Borthwick water near Hosket. The course of the Catrail through Selkirkshire, from Mossalee to the passage of Borthwick water, extends to eight-and-twenty miles. This vast war-fence can only be referred for its construction to the Romanized Britons who, after the abdication of the Roman government, had this country to defend against the intrusion of the Saxons on the east during the fifth century, the darkest period of our history. Its British name, its connection with British hill-forts, the peculiarity of its course, and the nature of its formation, all evince that its construction can refer to no other people, and its epoch to no other period of our annals. Such are the antiquities of Selkirkshire! The various languages of the earliest people, which are the best proofs of their different lineages, the hill-forts and war-fence of the Britons show their warlike policy. The Roman camp evinces the residence of Roman troops in this shire, as the discovery of Roman coins also show that they traversed its narrow bounds in their marches, though a Roman road has not here been yet traced. Monuments of stone, Selkirkshire appears to have none. *William's Croce*, indeed, once stood on a height near Broadmeadow, within a mile of Philiphaugh (*q*). On the top of Kershope hill, there stood a monumental stone called *Taits-Cross*, though the cause of its erection cannot now be traced to its origin (*r*). Craik-

(*q*) It is stated in a MS. Account of this shire, by William Elliot of Stobs and Walter Scot of Arkilton, dated the 21st December 1649, in the Advocates' Library. They say this croce was raised where one of the Earls of Douglas was killed. This tradition points to the place where William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, was slain by William Earl of Douglas. Godscroft says, the knight was hunting in *Galse wood* when he was killed, was carried the first night to Lindean kirk, a mile from Selkirk, and was buried in Melrose abbey. Hist. 77.

(*r*) The fact is stated in a MS. Account of Selkirkshire by Mr. John Hodge, dated 1722, in the Advocates' Library. He adds a circumstance which has now become antiquated: "That there was then to be seen, at *Taits-Cross, boughted* and milked, upwards of twelve thousand ewes, in the month of June, about eight o'clock at night, at one view." *Boughted* is a verb, formed from the substantive *bought* or *bught*, which meant, in the speech of the shepherds, a fold for ewes while they were milked. There is an old song:

"Will ye go to the *ewe-buchts*, Marion?
And wear in the sheep wi' me."

moor in Roberton parish, is a high mountain, four miles in length, about the middle whereof stood a stone called *Craik-Cross*, which divides the shire of Selkirk from Eskdale. From this *Cross*, in a clear day, may be descried the walls of Berwick, at the distance of eight-and-thirty miles to the eastward. The modern antiquities of Selkirkshire consist chiefly of ruined castles and moss-grown towers, erected some of them in the twelfth century, but the greater number of them in subsequent ages of foreign hostilities or domestic feuds. Whatever may have been their age or their picturesque ruins, those towers escaped the attention of Grose, and eluded the notice of Cardonnel. We may still trace the ruins of *Oldwark* castle, on the south-east bank of the Yarrow, which was probably built here by some of the kings in early times, as a commodious hunting-seat, and relinquished by them to the principal warden of their extensive forests (*s*). Higher up, on the same side of the Yarrow, may be seen the ruins of *Newark* castle, which was probably built by William, the first Earl of Douglas, after he succeeded to *the forest* (*t*). The ruins of towers throughout Selkirkshire are very numerous, and though of less size, are of similar construction, which was intended more for defences in war than the comforts of peace (*u*). These towers only refer us to the coarse and savage manners of the times that are passed. They are daily disappearing from antiquarian eyes :

> "Nor, after length of years, a stone betray
> The place, where once the very ruins lay."

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The origin of a sheriffwick in this district is extremely obscure. At the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, the Scottish kings had a castle, with large demesnes at Selkirk, the seat of most extensive forests. Whoever was the constable of the king's castle at Selkirk-regis, performed, in those early times, all the functions of a sheriff within its

The word *bucht* or *bught*, if traced back through the Saxon and British, will be found to have a common original.

(*s*) See its site in Ainslie's map of this shire.

(*t*) Ib. Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, dated a lease of some lands in the forest to his chaplain Schir William Meddelmast. "at ye *New-werk*," the 2d of March 1423-4. Anne, the first Duchess of Monmouth and of Buccleuch, was born in this castle of Newark, which is now the residence of crows and owls.

(*u*) There were Kirkhope tower on the Ettrick; Deuchar tower, on Yarrow; Dyhope tower, near St. Mary's loch; Blackhouse tower, on Douglas burn; Thirlstane tower; Gamescleugh tower; Tushielaw tower, on the Ettrick, the seat of *the king of the thieves*; Blindlee tower, in Galashiels parish; *Peel*, in Yarrow parish.

jurisdiction. There was probably a sheriffdom here, with the usual authorities, at the sad demise of Alexander III. The first sheriff however, of Selkirkshire, who has yet been found in any record, is Alexander Synton, who was certainly sheriff here in 1292 (*x*). Edward I., in 1304, granted to Aymer de Valence, the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs, the keeping of *the forest*, the castle and the town of Selkirk (*y*). When Edward settled the government of Scotland in 1305, Selkirkshire was assigned "celui qui est de fe," to him, who was sheriff in fee and heritage; and in fact, we have just seen that the Earl of Pembroke was then hereditary sheriff of this shire. We are now arrived at the epoch of the competition between the kings of Scotland and of England. Robert I. granted to his favourite warrior, Sir James Douglas, the forests of *Selkirk* and Traquair, with the juridical powers of a free barony (*z*). This grant, after the death of Hugh, the brother of Sir James, was confined to Sir William, the son of Archibald, and the first Earl of Douglas (*a*), who domineered within Selkirkshire, till his death in 1384. Yet, during that long period, the English sovereigns regarded Selkirk as being under the regimen of a sheriffdom (*b*). Whatever grants they made of this country, or whatever government they established, the English were not allowed to retain quiet possession of a country which belonged to a Douglas under a Scottish title. In 1346, Sir William Douglas, the first earl, expelled them from *Douglasdale*,

(*x*) Edward I., on the 10th of December 1292, issued a mandate to Alexander Synton, "vicecomes de Selkirk," to pay "to M., the bishop of Sodor," £10 from the arrears of his accounts, out of the issues of his bailliewic. Rotuli Scotiæ, 12. Edward, on the 7th of January 1292-3, issued another precept to Alexander Synton, "*nuper* vicecomes de Selkirk," to pay £24 18s 4½d. out of the arrears due of his accounts to Nicolas de Colle, "mercatorem nostram Lucanen. de Societate Ricorum de Luca." Ib. 17. Synton is a local name. This sheriff was probably the lord of the manor of Synton, in the eastern quarter of Selkirkshire. Sinton is still the name of an estate there, and of a mansion, a hamlet, and a mill.

(*y*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin. 151; Dugd. Bar. i. 776-8. Shortly after such appointment, he built a peel at Selkirk, and put a garrison in it; and, attending Queen Isobell into France, in 1323, on the 23d of June the same year, he was murdered, as he had had a hand in the murder of the Duke of Lancaster. Ib. 777-8.

(*z*) Roberts. Index 10.

(*a*) Ib. 55. He had no right over the shire-town as we have seen. As he obtained his grant in 1342, the period of his domination was two-and-forty years.

(*b*) In 1334, Edward Baliol, when he gave so many countries to Edward III., transferred to him the *sherifwic* of Selkirk. Rym. iv. 615—617. Robert de Manners was, on the 16th of June 1334, appointed sheriff of Selkirk, and keeper of the forest. Id., and, in 1335, Edward III. granted to William de Montacute, the fee-firm of the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick, with the town and *sheriffdom* of Selkirk, rendering yearly thirty pounds. Ib. 671; Ayloff, 161.

and took possession of *Ettrick forest* (*c*). After the attainder of Earl Douglas in 1455, the forest of Selkirk, with whatever jurisdiction, was annexed by parliament to the crown. In 1503, John Murray of Falahill was sheriff of Selkirkshire (*d*). James IV., on the 30th of November 1509, granted to John Murray and to his heirs, the sheriffdom of Selkirkshire (*e*). Yet they seem not to have enjoyed it without interruption, owing to a lapse in the loyalty of this family, who owed their office to the king's bounty. A revolution restored them to their rights, and rewarded them for their wrongs (*f*). John Murray of Philiphaugh, the descendant of Murray of Falahill, received, in 1748, four thousand pounds in compensation for this heritable sheriffship. Among a million of pretensions, on that occasion, the Duke of Douglas claimed the *regality* of Selkirk. We may easily suppose, as the Duke asked very much, and obtained very little, that he claimed for the whole forfeited jurisdictions of his family (*g*). When that admirable reform was made, by purchasing those injurious jurisdictions, Charles Campbell of Monzie, advocate, was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire for the king (*h*).

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Under this head of narration, the *shire-town* is the first object. In very early times, *the forest* preceded *the castle* of Selkirk, as the castle gave rise to *the village*, while *the church* was a necessary adjunct, both of the castle and the town. Before the year 1124, there existed upon this agreeable site, a castle, an old town, and an ancient church (*i*). The

(*c*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 221.

(*d*) Balfour's Practicks, 16. That sheriff had the honour of delivering seisin of *the forest* to Lady Margaret of England, as a part of her dower when she married James IV., as we know from Rymer.

(*e*) Douglas Baron. 105; Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 350. Lady Margaret Hepburn, the daughter of Adam, the second Earl of Bothwell, who fell on Flodden-field, married John Murray of Falahill, the hereditary sheriff of Selkirkshire. Dougl. Peer. 85.

(*f*) The Earl of Roxburgh was sheriff of Selkirkshire during the king's pleasure. Warrant Book. John Riddel of Haining was also sheriff during pleasure. Id. Sir James Murray, who was born in 1655, "was concerned in a design of making an insurrection in Scotland at the time of Shaftesbury's plot, and was one of the evidences against Baillie of Jerviswood. He was made a Lord of Session at the Revolution; and, sometime after, Lord Register, by the title of *Philiphaugh*." Carstair's State Papers, 99; and see Lockhart's Memoirs throughout.

(*g*) The Duke of Douglas claimed for the regality of Selkirk £2,000; and for his whole jurisdictions £34,000; but he was compensated with £5,104 5s. 1d. List of Claims.

(*h*) Scots Mag. 1748, 155. He died on the 26th of March 1751.

(*i*) In the foundation charter of Earl David he granted to the monks of Selkirk the lands "de *Selechyrche*, inter viam qua vadit de castello ad abbatiam et garuam, viz., versus veterem villam." Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. App. iv.; Chron. Melrose.

castle, as it was erected for the amusements of peace rather than for the struggles of war, was probably built of slight materials. It was not, perhaps, much inhabited by David I., after his accession in 1124, as he gave the preference to Roxburgh castle, which from its site was more agreeable and more safe (*k*). The castle of Selkirk was frequently inhabited by William the Lion (*l*). His son and his grandson, the second and third Alexander, may have sometime resided in the same castle; but this ancient hunting-seat disappeared from antiquarian eyes before the accession of Robert I.; and we have already seen that Aymer de Valence built *a peel* at Selkirk town, which seems to intimate that there remained no royal house at this ancient place. At no great distance, indeed, upon the Yarrow, there was in very early times an ancient castle which was called *Oldwark*, which was probably built by the king while there were no proprietors here who could have built with *lime and stone*, and which was probably inhabited by the warden of the forest, as we

(*k*) The castle was mentioned, as we have seen, in the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey. When David I. granted to Ernald, the abbot of Kelso, the church of Selkirk-regis, he provided that the abbot and his successors should be chaplains to him, and his sons, and their heirs, in the said castle. Chart. Kelso, No. 370.

(*l*) At the end of the twelfth century, a controversy between the monks of Melrose and Patrick, Earl of March, about their several rights in the forest between the Gala and the Leader, was settled by an agreement between the parties, in the king's court, and in his presence, at Selkirk. And William granted a charter, confirming the agreement, which he says was made "apud *Selechirche*, in presencia mea, in plena curia mea." Chart. Melrose, 140. A controversy between the monks of Kelso and those of Melrose about their lands was remitted by Pope Celistine, to be decided by King William. At Melrose, in 1202, the king heard the pretensions of the two parties, and thereupon directed an inquisition to be made, "per probos et antiquos homines patriæ." The good and the experienced men of the country seem to have found in favour of the monks of Kelso; for the parties coming again before the king at Selechirche, in 1204, he gave judgment in favour of the monks of Kelso, and, according to the practice in that age, he confirmed the judgment by a charter, wherein the whole proceeding is recited. Chart. Melrose, No. 18. King William must have resided on such occasions in his castle at Selkirk throughout his whole reign. Of King William's many charters, three to the bishops of Glasgow were dated at Selechirche. Chart. Glasgow, 33, 209, 217. The foundation charter of Arbroath, and another grant to the monks thereof, were dated at Selechirche. Dug. Monast., ii. 1053; Chart. Arbroath, 68. A charter to the monks of Lindores, two to the monks of Paisley, two to the monks of Kelso, and one to the monks of Melrose, were all dated at Selechirche. Chart. Lind., No. 6; Chart. Paisl., No. 10-36; Chart. Kelso, No. 103-4; and Chart. Melrose, No. 4. We herein see how often William the Lion dwelt in his castle at Selechirche, and how often he hunted in his forests of Selkirk. His son and grandson probably followed his example. On the 7th of June 1233, Alexander II. dated a charter at *Selechirche*. Chart. Kelso, No. 392. The castle no doubt continued to be the occasional residence of the Scottish kings till the sad demise of Alexander III.

have seen. A village arose under the more ancient castle even beyond the period of record. A new hamlet had already arisen near the old, as we have perceived, before the year 1124 (*m*); and the two villages, after the foundation of the abbey, came to be distinguished by the appropriate names of Selkirk-*regis* and Selkirk-*abbatis*. When the monks were removed in 1128 the latter distinction soon evanished. Selkirk, which had this ancient foundation, long continued a town in the *king's demesne*, but did not become a royal burgh till much more recent times. We might infer this circumstance, indeed, from the silence of Ragman Roll (*n*). While the rulers of other towns were obliged to swear fealty to Edward I., we do not perceive any corporate body from Selkirk upon their knees before their superior lord. During the long conflicts for the succession to the crown, the town of Selkirk was often granted to the successive partizans of the rival kings, as we have already learned from their charters (*o*). We may thus perceive that Selkirk continued to be a *burgh* under David II., when the *king's firms* were rented for a specific sum to some known character, and when of course, in notion of law, Selkirk was merely *a town in the royal demesne* (*p*). In this inferior state Selkirk continued till the recent reign of James V. From this charter it became a royal burgh, on an occasion that reflects high honour on the loyalty and spirit of this ancient town (*q*). When James IV. was marching forward to his fate at Floddon-field, a hundred townsmen joined him under the town clerk. They fought stoutly; they almost all fell in the field rather than flee. Few of them returned with William

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*n*) Prynne, iii.

(*o*) Robert I. granted to Henry Gelchedal the *mill* of Selkirk for the yearly payment of two marks of money. Robertson's Index. David II. granted to Robert Dalyell the town and lands of Selkirk. Ib. 34. David II. granted the lands within the town, and the mill of Selkirk, to Robert Carnock. Ib. 60. In 1365, David II. renewed his grant to Robert Dalyell, of the king's lands about the town, with an exception of "the kings firms of the burgh of Selkirk." Ib. 79. In 1398, Robert III. confirmed to George, Earl of Angus, who had married the king's daughter, Mary, "the haill town of Selkirk." Roberts. Index, 139.

(*p*) See Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer. In those intimations, we may trace the origin of the corporate bodies of Scotland. The villages were first the king's town in his demesne. When they obtained from the king's grant a right to choose their own rulers, and to rent their own firms, they became *royal burrows.*

(*q*) The first charter is dated the 4th March 1535; this was enlarged in 1538, and again in 1540, when the bailies and community were empowered to elect a provost every year. The corporation now consists of thirty-three members: two bailies, a dean of guild, a treasurer, two old bailies, an old dean of Guild, and an old treasurer; five deacons of trades, five colleagues, ten merchant councillors, and five trades councillors. The revenue of the corporation, as returned to Parliament, is £284 a-year.

Bryden, their gallant chief, who brought with him, as proofs of their valour rather than of victory, an English standard and a hostile pole-axe, which are usually carried in the processions of the corporation as the ensigna of the town (*r*). The English soon after burnt the town. The gratitude or the approbation of James V., granted them timber from his forests to rebuild it, and a thousand acres of land to reanimate the burgesses (*s*). In 1556, of the forty-two burghs, Selkirk and Peebles paid the same taxes. In the monthly assessment of 1695, Selkirk paid £72, and Peebles only £66 (*t*). Selkirk as a royal burgh, with Peebles, Linlithgow, and Lanark, choose one representative to the united parliament. Selkirk is the metropolis of the shire, being the seat of the sheriff's and commissary's courts, with the justices' sessions; and having a weekly market and many yearly fairs (*u*).

Yet in this shire we see nothing of greatness in ancient times, either of things or persons, but the forest, the king, and the abbot of Kelso. The forest of Ettrick, in those ages, spread over the whole country which is drained by the Ettrick and Yarrow as far northward as the Tweed. The kindred district, which is watered by the Cadon, and lies northward of the Tweed, also formed a considerable part of this extensive forest, which was anciently called either Ettrick or Selkirk; and sometimes it was named indiscriminately Ettrick and Selkirk forest (*x*). Those "woodland grounds" appear to have been early

(*r*) By a charter of James V., which now lies forgotten among the archives of the corporation, William Bryden, the town clerk, and his successors in office, were created *knights*, on a recital of the bravery of Bryden and the valour of the townsmen.

(*s*) The king empowered, on that occasion, the body politic of the town to incorporate the trades, particularly the *soutars* or cordwainers, who are celebrated in song, with their *deacon*, "who, at the admission of every new *soutar*, is obliged by charter, to provide him with a maid if he desire it." Some burgesses have pleaded their privilege, and were by the deacon provided to their satisfaction. Hodge's MS. Account, 1722. We may suppose, however, that it is a wife which the Deacon is bound to provide for the burgess on demand.

(*t*) Gibson's Hist. Glasgow, 78-103-121. In June 1633, the parliament passed an act in favour of the burgh of Selkirk. Unprinted Act of that date. In June 1640, there passed another act in favour of Selkirk, confirming a fair to be held there yearly on the 4th of July. Unprinted Act of that date.

(*u*) It hath a famous church, saith Hodges, and school, with a strong prison, fine councilhouse and market-cross, standing in the middle of the town, having three good entries into the town by the west, east, and south parts. It is situated not far from the water of Ettrick on the north. It hath three very good mills; to wit, corn and waulk mills, with one boat, that goes below the mill. It hath a large common on the south and north parts, fit for corn and *store*. MS. Acco., 1722.

(*x*) In several charters, Ettrick and Selkirk are mentioned as separate forests; and the forest of

settled by the Northumbrian Saxons, as we may infer from the antiquity of the Saxon names of places, among which can be traced but very few *English* appellations. The most numerous woods in those vast forests were of oaks, mixed with birch and hazel. And, indeed, great numbers of oak trees are even now dug up in the mosses, which owed their formation chiefly to the stagnation of waters upon the woodlands, that were resigned to neglect and accident. Those woodlands were of old inhabited by the *Eurus*, whose remains are still found in the mosses and the marl-pits (*y*). Beasts of chace and birds of prey formerly abounded here; as we may learn from the names of the places which they frequented (*z*). From the old song of the *Outlaw Murray*, we may indeed learn that,

> "Ettrick forest is a fair forest,
> In it grows many a semelie trie;
> The hart, the hynd, the doe, the roe,
> And of a' beastes great plentie."

The recital of the minstrel is, in this instance, justified by record.

From the age of Earl David, during several centuries, many grants were made of various *easements*, within the ample scope of those *fair forests*. Earl David, when he founded the abbey of Selkirk, before the year 1124, when he happily ascended the throne, gave to the monks "terram de *Selechyrche*," the

Ettrick appears to have comprehended the country on the rivers Ettrick and Yarrow; while Selkirk forest comprehended the country on the Lower Ettrick, and the district on both sides of the Tweed. Adjoining to this large forest on the north-west, there was a smaller forest that spread over the country which is drained by the Quair on the south of the Tweed, and it was denominated in charters the forest of Traquair, and now forms a part of Peebles-shire. There also adjoined the forest of Selkirk, on the north-east the forest on the Gala; and upon the east side there was a smaller forest on the Upper Alne. The fact is, that in the retours made to parliament in 1613, of the rental of each estate in the whole country, the sheriffdom of Selkirk and the forest of Ettrick were returned separately, and seem to have been severally accounted for in the Exchequer; the first, by the sheriff, and the second by the forester; the amount of the rental, according to the *old extent* of the sheriffdom, was £122 6s. 8d., "besyds the kirk-landis, and landis in Roxburghshire," and the *Tax Roll* of the lordship of Ettrick forest, "as it was retourit in an judicial court," amounted to £670 15s. 6d., whereof the Earl of Buccleuch held the value of £186 6s. 8d. MS. Copy from the Record.

(*y*) Stat. Acco., ii. 448; Transact. Antiq. Soc. Scot., i. 57.

(*z*) Even before the year 1649, this forest was almost altogether denuded of its trees. Yet even then, "some places remained well furnished with pleasant and profitable woods, especially for building. The tops of the mountains had [in 1649] good store of moor-fowls, and in some places the black cock and grey hen, which is a large and delicate kind of fowl." Elliot and Scot's MS. Account of this shire, 1649, in the Advocates Library.

land of Selechyrche as described, with the tenth of the skins of the harts and hinds which his hounds [valtrarii] should take in the forest. His munificence was approved by the charters of his grandsons, Malcolm and William. When David I. refounded the monastery of Melrose, he conferred on the monks in his forests of Selkirk and Traquair, pasture for their beasts, and pannage and wood, and other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed those special advantages (*b*). Alexander II. gave the monks of Melrose the whole of his *waste*, that lay on the Upper Ettrick, between the forests and the mountains which divided it from Eskdale and Annandale (*c*). In 1235, Alexander II. empowered those monks to hold their lands upon the Upper Ettrick in a *free forest* (*d*). The monks of Kelso had also their *liberties* within the forest of Selkirk; and they had incidentally their burdens. The abbot of Kelso was bound to repair the bridge of Ettrick (*e*). The bridge of Ettrick was the appropriate *mote*, where the abbot of Kelso, in those times, held his baronial courts (*f*). From those notices, it is apparent that the only great land-holders during the Scoto-Saxon period, were the abbots of Kelso and Melrose. There does not appear to have been any person from Selkirkshire in the numerous parliament of Brigham, 1290, if we except those abbots who resided without the shire. And when every one was required to swear fealty to Edward I. in 1296, we see only three persons who submitted to his will: Richard, the vicar of Selkirk town, and John de Craik, and Cristine de Greenhead, "del counte de Selkirk"(*g*). From those intimations we may perceive that there was not any person of consequence in Selkirkshire during those distressful times. Simon Fraser, the elder, of Peebles-shire, was the king's keeper of the forest of Selkirkshire at the eventful demise of Alexander III.

In 1290, Edward I. began to act as sovereign of Selkirkshire. He gave away the beasts and timber of the forest (*h*). He appointed officers for the

(*b*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. iv.; Chart. Melrose, No. 54. (*c*) Chart. Melrose, No. 64.

(*d*) Chart. in Bibl. Harl.; Robertson's MS. Extracts. In 1235, Alexander II. allowed the monks of Melrose to settle in the forest of Ettrick; and granted to the abbot of Melrose the right of *free forest*, in the four granges circumjacent. Chart. Melrose, 203; Cron. Melrose, 203.

(*e*) Alexander II. granted, in 1233, to the abbot of Kelso, the lands of Richard, the son of Edwine, lying on both side of the river, for the proper repair of the bridge of Ettrick. Chart. Kelso, No. 217.

(*f*) Chart. Kelso, 217. In the statement of the property of the monks of Kelso, which they drew up under Robert I., they say they had at Selkirk-regis "terram, que vocatur *terra pontis*, et contenit 16 acres." Ib. 10.

(*g*) Prynne, iii. 660-62.

(*h*) Edward I., on the 18th August 1291, issued a precept to Simon Fraser the keeper of the forest

guard and government of the country (*i*); and he was followed in his principles and precepts by Edward II. and Edward III., who, by aiming at too much, were finally disappointed in all.

But a great change was at hand. The valour and fortune of Robert I. enabled him, as we have seen, to reward the services of Sir James Douglas, by granting him as a free barony, the forests of Selkirk, Ettrick, and Traquair (*k*). In 1342, this grant was repeated and enlarged by David II., to Sir William Douglas, the nephew of the good Sir James (*l*). Such, then, were the occasions and the grants which gave the Douglases an entrance and rights within the forests of Selkirkshire, and which they lost in 1455, by their ambitious folly and parliamentary attainder.

In the meantime, the insatiable ambition of Edward III. raised up a pretender to the Scottish crown, and thereby involved the two nations in still more inveterate wars. In June 1334, that pretender, Edward Balliol, transferred to the English king all the rights which he could convey in the several forests

of Selkirk, to deliver to William Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, thirty harts; to Robert, bishop of Glasgow, twenty harts, and sixty oaks; to Adam, the bishop of Caithness, and chancellor of Scotland, ten harts; to William de Sinclair, six harts; to Brian, the preceptor of the knights of the Temple in Scotland, two harts and four oaks; to William de Soulis, ten harts; to John de Soulis, six harts; to William de Hay, four harts; to the keeper himself, ten harts; and to Thomas de Clenhult, four harts. Rot. Scotiæ, 3. He issued another precept to the same forester to deliver six harts to the abbot of Jedworth, and four harts to Adam de Botendon, the vice-chancellor of Scotland. Ib. 9. In May 1296, he gave to Reginald de Crawford six harts from the same forest. Ib. 35. And he granted to the monks of Melrose forty oaks from the same woodlands. Rolls of Parl. ii. 469.

(*i*) In January 1291-2, Edward I. confided the keeping of the forest of Selchirche and Traquair to William, the son of John Cumyn, as Simon Fraser, who died in Autumn 1291, lately held the same. Ayloff's Calend. 107; Rot. Scotiæ, 7. Edward, on the 6th of May 1292, appointed Thomas de Burnham the keeper of Selkirk forest, with the demesne lands thereto belonging. Ib. 23; Rym. ii. 717. In 1300, Simon Fraser was warden of Selkirk forest. Ib. ii. 870. He was superseded soon after by the appointment of Aymer de Valence, as we have seen. Edward II., on the 13th of December 1309, gave the keeping of the castles of Selkirk and Bothwell to the same Aymer de Valence. Rot. Scotiæ, 80.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 10. The same king, meantime, granted to the monks of Coldingham five bucks yearly out of the forest of Selkirk, for the celebration of the festival of St. Cuthbert's translation. The forefathers of the forests owed much to the worthy Cuthbert for his instruction. And David II. repeated the liberal grant of his generous father.

(*l*) Roberts. Index, 55. David II. granted to the monks of Kelso authority to cut timber in the forest of Selkirk for repairing the damage to their edifices of the long-continued wars. Ib. 63.

within Selkirkshire (*m*). The English king made haste to enforce his spurious title by his pen and his sword. He granted his rights, in various proportions, in different forms; and after holding the Christmas festival at Roxburgh, in 1334, he marched into the forest of Ettrick, without meeting with those hardy men who had contemned his authority, and who now thought it prudent to withdraw, "under the hospitable covert of the wild wilderness, thick interwoven (*n*)." The Douglases, at length, raised their spears. In 1338, the knight of Liddisdale, with his usual enterprise, compelled the English to abandon Teviotdale, and, of course, to retire from the forest (*o*). Young Sir William Douglas, of Douglas, had been appointed by David II., in May 1342, *the leader* of the men of *Selkirk* and of Roxburgh (*p*). After the fatal conflict at Nevils-cross in 1346, the English again retook the castle of Roxburgh, and again seized the forests of Selkirkshire. But, the men of Selkirk gathering around their chief, drove the intruders from Douglasdale, and regained their native forests (*q*). After various alternations of defeat and victory, the surest proofs of the enterprise and bravery of the contending parties, the chief of Selkirkshire retained the object of contest within his grasp. It was during those conflicts, probably, that the whole shire was divided into *wards* (*r*). The usual festivities of the forest were soon saddened by domestic woe. The chief of the Douglases ordered William, the knight of Liddisdale, to be slain, in 1353, as he was enjoying the sports of the chase in Galswood (*s*). *William's*

(*m*) Rym. iv. 615. Edward immediately appointed Robert de Manners the keeper of the forests of *Selkirk* and *Ettrick*. Ib., 617. In 1334, Edward issued a writ, to inquire if the Countess of Mar was entitled to be keeper of those forests. Ib., 622. This Countess of Mar was probably the widow of Donald Earl of Mar, who fell at the battle of Duplin in 1332, whose weakness entailed so many misfortunes on his country. She was Isobel, the daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkill. Douglas Peer., 160. She seems to have had no right to what she claimed; for in October 1335, Edward III. granted to William de Montacute the forest of Ettrick and sheriffdom of Selkirk, to him and his heirs. Ib., 671.

(*n*) Border Hist., 314. (*o*) Lord Hailes's An., ii. 202.

(*p*) Crawford's Peer., 95; Roberts. Index, 55. (*q*) Lord Hailes's An., ii. 221.

(*r*) Those wards are very obscurely mentioned, as we have seen, in a lease, dated in 1423, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wygtown, to his chaplain, Schyr William Midelmast. Record Great Seal, book ii., No. 61.

(*s*) The *Scala Cronica* tells this dismal story in this manner: "William Douglas. that had greatly "holped the quarrel of King David, was restored to his castell of the Hermitage, upon conditions. that "he never after should bear wepen agayn King Edwarde, and always be ready to take his part. This "Duglas was sone after slayn of the Lord Willyam Duglas, yn the forest of Selkirk." But see *the Act of Liberation*, dated the 17th of July, 1352, in Rym. v. 738; and see before the note in this volume, 800. By comparing all those facts together, we may ascertain clearly the cause of that odious deed.

cross marks the spot where feudal policy perpetrated his odious purpose. The body of the knight, who had been often overpowered but never conquered, was carried to Lindean kirk for a night, and thence was conveyed to Melrose abbey for his lasting repose. That one Douglas should slay another Douglas is such an act that Godscroft, the apologist for all the deeds of all the Douglases, knows not how to extenuate or explain, without the aid of amatory fiction, while the odious passions of envy, interest, and ambition, were the true motives in the flinty heart of the principal assassin, who was too powerful for punishment at such a moment, when England desired tranquillity, and Scotland was ruled by a regency. David II., on the 15th of May 1365, conferred the lands of Selkirk with the pertinents, but not the annual rents or the royal firms of the burgh of Selkyrk, on Robert Dalyell and his heirs-male, till he should be better provided for; yielding, for the same, yearly, one arch-tenant and three suits to the king's courts at Selkyrk (*t*).

After a respite of half a century, the rival kings again began alternate grants of those forests to rival families. Robert III. conferred on Archibald Douglas, who had married his daughter Margaret, the regalities of the forest of *Etterick*, of Lauderdale, and Romannoch, with the lordship of Douglas (*u*). In 1403, Henry IV., studious to reward the strenuous merits of Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, granted, *as much as in him were*, the earldom of Douglas, Eskdale, Lydsdale, Lauderdale, the *lordship of Selkirk* and the *forest* of *Eteryk* with the domains, castles, peels, fortalices, manors, villages, hamlets, sheilings, lands, tenements, rents, services, with the pertinents, in Scotland, which William, James and Archibald, the three first Earls of Douglas, had held, or Archibald that now is, or Joan his mother, enjoyed when the earl was taken at *Hamildon* hill (*x*). Percy had already forgotten how Douglas had fought at *Otterburn!* Henry IV. but faintly recollected how many Douglases had been taken, and how often Scotsmen had been overcome, yet were never conquered. It still required the experience of three hostile centuries to convince English statesmen that Scotland could only be obtained by treaty. Many a conflict followed that grant to Percy, and many truces were made between kings whose pretensions were irreconcileable, and between nations, whose wrongs, as they were often renewed, could not be rectified.

without supposing the love of a Countess of Douglas, who did not then exist. Godscroft, 77-8-81. There was no Earl or Countess of Douglas, in 1353.

(*t*) Regist. David II., 131; Printed Rec., 45. Crawfurd's Peerage, 68, in stating the above grant, calls mistakingly the thing granted, the *barony* of *Selkrig*.

(*u*) Roberts. Index, 142.

(*x*) Rym., viii. 289.

During a moment of quiet, James II. granted to William, Earl Douglas, on the 26th of January 1450-1, the forests of *Selkirk* and *Ettrick*, in a free regality, with the accustomed jurisdictions (*a*). This potent chief now domineered a while in Selkirkshire, but he was too proud and too powerful to be restrained by gratitude or ruled by law. The Earl of Douglas, in an age which was fatal to his family, was forfeited in 1455 for his many treasons; and on the 4th of August, in the same year, the lordship of Ettrick forest, with its pertinents, was annexed to the crown by act of Parliament (*b*). Selkirkshire was, after this great change, governed by the king's stewart, during three-and-thirty years, throughout the perturbed reigns of James II. and James III. (*c*). But that forfeiture was never forgiven by the Douglases, whose chief pursued James III., as his evil genius, till he obtained his dethronement and death on Stirling-field. The first parliament of James IV., which, after that event, met on the 7th of October 1488, gave the domination of the several sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, *Selkirk*, Peebles and Lanark, to the same Earl of Angus who had thus dethroned the unhappy king (*d*). The other chiefs of that revolt had all their individual rewards for their several villainies. Alexander Home, the great chamberlain, was appointed in parliament, on the 15th of February 1489-90, to collect the king's rents and casual revenues in the shires of *Selkirk* and Stirling, as he had in keeping the castles of Strivelin and *Newark* (*e*). The common people cried out shame and vengeance in vain!

While the chamberlain thus enjoyed the fruits, the king possessed the fee of those countries. When James IV., who had been made an instrument of mischief by those insurgents, had agreed to marry the Lady Margaret of England, he thought of those estates for her dower; and on the 24th of May 1503, he endowed her with the whole forest of Ettrick in Selkirkshire, with the manor of Newark and its tower within the same forest (*f*). She soon after obtained

(*a*) Scotstarvit's Calendar. (*b*) Parl. Rec., 36.

(*c*) The parliament, on the 12th of January, 1467-8, having directed an inquest to be made into each landholder's rent, in each shire, for the purpose of assessment, appointed, in Selkirkshire, for making that *retour* John Murray and John Turnbull. Parl. Rec., 151. This is the first public appearance of a Murray in Selkirkshire.

(*d*) Parl. Rec., 337.

(*e*) Ib., 364. Newark castle on the Yarrow. About half a mile below it there was the castle of Oldwark. See Ainslie's Map of Selkirkshire. We are told in song that there is a peel on Leaderhaughs,

"Which stands as sweet on Leaderside,
As *Newark* does on *Yarrow*."

(*f*) Rym., xiii. 63.

seisin of the whole from John Murray of Falahill, the sheriff of Selkirk (*g*). When her husband fell on Flodden-field on the 9th of September 1513, the queen dowager became possessed of Ettrick forest. The effects of her unruly passions of love, ambition and caprice, occupy much of the annals of Scotland during the infancy of her son, James V., and were felt by her grand-daughter, Mary Stewart (*h*). On the death of his mother, James V. naturally resumed his own rights in the forest and the manor of Newark. When Sir Ralph Sadler came to Scotland in 1540, to execute the guilty projects of Henry VIII., he remonstrated with James on his keeping sheep, and using other mean methods of increasing his revenues (*i*). King Harry and Sir Ralph had forgotten the *mean* methods in the English Exchequer of old (*k*). The better mode of finance, which was proposed by the king and his ambassador, was to seize the estates of unoffending subjects. After James V.'s return from his voyage round the Hebrides, he took measures against the border chiefs; and Walter Scott of Buccleuch, with other leading men of the neighbouring countries, were warded in Edinburgh castle and other fortalices. Whereupon, saith Pitscottie, great quiet and order endured for a long time, whereby the king had great profit from *his* 10,000 *sheep going in Ettrick forest* under the keeping of Andrew Bell, who made the king as good an account of them as if they had gone in the bounds of Fife (*l*). In the various course of 250 years the 10,000 sheep had succeeded, it should seem, in Ettrick forest, the 10,000 bucks of Edward I.'s bounteous age (*m*).

(*g*) To the instrument of seisin his seal was appended "in signum executionis sui officii." Ib., 73-4.

(*h*) On the 18th of October, 1524, the Earl of Arran wrote to Dacre that the queen dowager's influence had been so small, that *Scott of Buccleuch* had long retained part of her dower, worth 4,000 marks a year, for which cause, after she had gained the ascendency over her infant son, she had committed him, and Ker of Cessford, to Edinburgh castle. Orig. Letter Calig., b. vii. 74. They were both men of too much influence to remain long in ward. On the 26th of July 1526, Walter Scott of Buccleuch brought out from the forest a thousand men, who attempted to rescue James V. from the domination of the Earl of Angus, the husband of the widowed queen; but the gallant Scott was repulsed, with the loss of eighty followers, who were killed upon the field. Lesley, 419-21; Pitscottie, 247-8. This conflict happened at Darnwick, on the Tweed, at the bridge above Melrose, as the king was returning from Jedburgh. Margaret enjoyed Ettrick forest till her death, in 1541.

(*i*) Sadler's State Letters, 6-38.

(*k*) See Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, throughout.

(*l*) Pitscottie, 279.

(*m*) See the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, throughout. "For many ages (as we are told by those who spoke from tradition), the queens of Scotland had the forest as a part of *their dower;* but it was

But the quiet of which Pitscottie was studious to tell did not last long during such times and among such men. In May 1565, the Elliots, in a company of 300, burnt and spoiled ten miles about the laird of Buccleuch's land, and slew many men, some women, and some children (*n*). In the progress of change *family feuds* were succeeded by *fanatical conflicts*, whereof Selkirkshire had its full share. On the 13th of September 1645, was fought the decisive battle of *Philiphaugh* (*o*). This, then, is one of the last of the civil conflicts

feued to the lairds of Buccleuch, for good services, by Queen Mary." Scott and Elliot's MS. Acco., 1649. Only one queen enjoyed *the forest*, as a part of her dower, as we have just seen. In the parliament of October 1612, the supplications of the *feuars* of Selkirkshire were referred to the Lords of Session, to grant commission as prayed. Unprinted Act, No. 58.

(*n*) Randolph's Letter to Secretary Cecil, dated from Edinburgh, the 8th of May, 1565, in the Paper Office.

(*o*) There is a *haugh*, says Hodges, below Philiphaugh, which goes down by the side of the water, a mile in length, usually called the Common Haugh of Selkirk, opposite to the town, where was fought a great battle betwixt the Earl of Montrose and David Lesley. MS. Acco., 1722, Adv. Lib. In those times every point was contested with the obstinacy of their conflicts. The following account of *the battle of Philiphaugh* was published by the victors, *under authority*:—After the defeating of our forces near Kilsyth, all the malignants [loyalists] in the country ran in to him [Montrose], but did not all add much to his strength. His whole force, in horse and foot, did not amount to *seven* thousand; but all these were not present at this last battle; for, upon the releasing of Lodowick Lindsay, some time Earl of Crawford, out of prison, there arose some difference among the rebels [royalists], Montrose having promised to the Lord Gordon to make him a general of the horse, for which the Earl of Crawford having a commission from the king, before his imprisonment, was preferred by Montrose. This gave great cause of discontent to the Lord Gordon; and thereupon he retired with 500 men to his own country. Another occasion of the diminution of his force was, that the Marquis of Argyll's forces, and the Earl of Seaforth's, had possessed themselves of the rebels' lands and houses in the north, which moved the enemy to send 800 men to protect their lands. With the rest of their forces, the enemy [Montrose] marched eastward, to interrupt the levy of our forces that were raising in the eastern and southern parts of the kingdom. But upon Lieutenant-General David Lesley's coming into Berwickshire and East-Lothian, he [Montrose] marched south towards Selkirk, where he might have the assistance of the malignants [the loyalists] that live upon the Scottish and English borders. Upon Friday, the 12th of this instant [September], which was a day of fasting and humiliation, Lieutenant-General David Lesley, with his forces, advanced within three miles of the enemy, who were quartered in Philiphaugh, not far from Selkirk. That night he sent out two parties, who fell in upon their quarters, killed some, and gave them the alarm, which made them continue all night in arms; and ours did the like. The morrow being Saturday, the 13th, our forces marched towards the enemy, and came within view of them about ten in the morning. According to their [Montrose] usual manner, they had made choice of a most advantageous ground, wherein they had entrenched themselves, having upon the one hand an impassable ditch, and on the other dykes and hedges; and where these were not strong enough, they further fortified them by casting up ditches,

which stained those murderous forests with human gore and wasted them with wilful fire. When Scotland dreaded, as one of the consequences of that victory, an invasion from England in 1650, the men of Selkirkshire were commanded by the urgency of the times, fanatical and foolish, to mount their steeds (*p*).

If we turn from hostile to more peaceful times we shall perceive the sad effects of all those wars. By the long-continued conflicts with the Edwards the rental of Selkirkshire was reduced from its state under the Alexanders, according to the old extent, from £99 9s. 10d. yearly, to £80 18s. 6d., under David II., according to the new. The whole shire continued under the management of a private estate rather than the regimen of the demesne of the crown; and the chamberlain settled yearly with the sheriff for the amount of the king's rental in Ettrick forest, while the sheriff accounted annually in the Exchequer for the whole issues of the shire. In 1502 the sheriff accounted for a rental of £1,875 4s. In 1667 he accounted only for £1,052 15s. 4d.

and lined their hedges with musketeers. After viewing one another, there came out three horses from each side; and after skirmishing very gallantly about a quarter of an hour, the enemy's three were beaten in. After this, the enemy sent a party of 200 musketeers, who were forced by ours to retreat in great disorder; whereupon, the van of our forces advanced, and for almost an hour (being between eleven and twelve o'clock) it was hotly disputed, our horse endeavouring to break through, and the enemy with great resolution maintaining their ground. At length, Lieutenant-General David Lesley, charging very desperately, upon the head of his own regiment, broke the body of the enemy's foot, after which they went all in confusion; and the horse wanting their foot, were not able to make great opposition; the foot were all cut off and taken, whereof 100 were *Irish, who were all since shot at a post.* Many of the horse were killed upon the place, and many taken, but more in the pursuit; for they rallied again, which occasioned their greater overthrow. Of the foot and horse, it is conceived there are between two and three thousand killed. Montrose himself escaped with a few horse, leaving behind him all his baggage, among which is found his commission from the king, and divers other commissions, for lieutenants in the several counties, together with a roll of all such as have taken protections from him, *which will be a good vidimus for the payment of our soldiers.* Since the battle *divers of the enemy's soldiers are killed,* and taken by the country people.—Such, then, is the satisfactory account of the bloody battle of Philiphaugh, which was drawn up at Haddington, on the 16th of September, 1645, and transmitted, by W. H., to London, where it was immediately printed, by authority. See Laing's account of this fight, i. 315. We now perceive, from the relation of *the godly,* that Montrose was neither surprised nor out-generalled: he had judiciously chosen his camp, and had skilfully fortified it: his troops fought gallantly; but they were perhaps oppressed by numbers, or overpowered by the veteran skill of their enemies. The Irish were put to death in cold blood by the victors, and Montrose's soldiers were deliberately killed by the country people.

(*p*) The parliament, on that occasion, required Roxburghshire to furnish 180 horse, and Selkirkshire 47, while Mid-Lothian alone raised a regiment of 900 infantry. Ayloffe's Calend., 421.

So that the difference of the rentals of the two periods was £822 18s. 8d., the amount of the waste of the intermediate times, owing to the dilapidations of the minority of James V., of the Reformation and of the grand rebellion (*r*).

It is only since the recent accession of Robert Bruce that *the forest* assumed a new shape and acknowledged new superiors in succession, that new families arose in their turns, the Douglases, the Scotts, and the Murrays. The Duke of Douglas seems to have derived none of his many titles from the localities of this shire. William, Lord Douglas, the second son of the first Marquis of Douglas, was created Earl of Selkirk in 1646, and upon his resignation James VII. created his second son, Charles Hamilton, Earl of Selkirk (*i*). Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Longville, Lord of Galloway and Anandirdale, was also "lord of the forest of Ettrick (*t*)." After the fall of the Douglases, the Scotts, who flourished of old in Roxburghshire, in Lanark, and in Peebles-shire, rose to great distinction in Selkirkshire (*u*). In 1673 the Duke of Monmouth, marrying the rich Countess of Buccleuch, and assuming her name, was created Duke of Buccleuch, as she was at the same time created Duchess of Buccleuch (*x*). Henry Scott, the second son of this marriage, was in 1706 created Earl of Delorane. Elibank furnished a baronial title to Sir Patrick Murray in 1643 (*y*). In 1639, Patrick Ruthven, who had learned the art of war under the great Gustavus, was created Lord Ettrick (*z*). This shire has also supplied several senators to the College of Justice as well as peers of parliament. Sir Gideon Murray rose to be a Lord of Session, by the title of

(*r*) MS. State, by Mr. Solicitor Gen. Purvis.

(*s*) Crawford's Peer., 438-9. (*t*) Great Seal Rec. Book, ii., No. 60-1.

(*u*) On the 29th of January, 1437-8, "Dominus de Bukcleuch" was present in the last parliament of James III. Parl. Rec., 325. This was merely the *laird* of Buccleuch who thus early sat in parliament. The first creation in his family of a lord of parliament was that of Sir Walter Scott, on the 16th of March 1606, whose son Walter was created Earl of Buccleuch on the 16th of March 1619. Crawford's Peer., 54.

(*x*) Crawford's Peer., 52. With an allusion to this marriage, perhaps, the *motto* of this eminent family is *Amo*. The war cry of the *Scotts*, however, was *Alemoor*, the usual rendezvous of the whole clan. The elegant *lay* of Leaderhaughs and Yarrow, when lamenting the changes of times and chances, deplores—

"For many a place stands in hard case,
Where blyth folk kened nae sorrow,
With Homes, that lived on Leaderside,
And *Scotts, that dwelt on Yarrow.*"

(*y*) Douglas Peer., 241. (*z*) Ib., 273.

Lord Elibank, in 1613 (*a*). Sir James Murray, who had been concerned in treasonable practices during the turbulent reign of Charles II., was in 1689 made a Lord of Session by the title of Philiphaugh. In 1707 Mr. John Murray, who was probably of the same family, was elevated to the same seat by the title of Lord *Bowhill*. Mr. John Pringle of Haining, which adjoins Selkirk town, was appointed a senator in 1729. But, above all those, Andrew Pringle was placed in the senate-house on the 14th of June 1759, by the title of Lord Alemoor, who, as a lawyer, was distinguished by his modesty and eloquence, and as a judge, was respected for his dignity and knowledge. Such were the lawyers which this shire has supplied. It produced an eminent soldier in Colonel William Russel of Ashesteil, who distinguished himself among the warriors of India. *Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow*, is still remembered by the cold-blooded ministers of Ettrick forest (*b*). She is celebrated by Allan Ramsay in an amorous rant:

> "With success crown'd, I'll not envy
> The folks who dwell above the sky;
> When Mary Scott's become my *marrow*,
> We'll make a paradise on *Yarrow*."

Rutherford of Fearnilie produced a daughter of uncommon activity of intellect and extraordinary powers of lyric poetry. She married a Cockburn, and while yet very young, deplored the instability of life in pathetic numbers (*c*). The men who can read without a sigh the moving *laments* of the elegant women whom *the border shires* have produced, the Homes, the Elliots, the Rutherfords, when deploring the discomfiture of their countrymen, must "be cursed with

(*a*) On the second of November, the lords dispensed with any trial of his qualifications, "because of the certain knowledge they had of them." Lord Hailes's Note on the Catalogue, 13. Gideon, from being chamberlain (bailiff) to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, rose, by the help of the notorious Earl of Somerset, to be treasurer-depute to the king, whose money he managed with great fidelity. He died in 1621. The appropriate motto of this family is, *Virtute fideque*. Crawford Peer., 134.

(*b*) When she was born is disputed: the better opinion seems to be that she was the fair daughter of Walter Scott of Dryhope, and the beloved wife of Scott of Harden. They had a daughter, who married an Elliot, "Gibby with the golden garters;" and from them are descended Sir William Elliot of Stobs, and the renowned Lord Heathfield." Stat. Acco., ii. 437; Ib., vii. 505. Thus sprung the illustrious defender of Gibraltar from *Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow*.

(*c*) "O fickle fortune! why this cruel sporting,
Why thus perplex us, poor sons of a day!
Thy frowns cannot fear me, thy smiles cannot cheer me,
Since the flowers of the forest are a' wede away."

hearts unknowing how to yield." Very different is the frigid dullness of the "auld sang of the Outlaw Murray," which has been long a popular song in Selkirkshire. It speaks, indeed, of the well-known localities of "the fair foreste" with the "brave outlaw" and his "*chyvalrye.*" The history of Selkirkshire, as it appears in the chartularies, reprobates the fictitious follies of *this sang* as wholly unwarranted by the fact.

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] It is apparent, from the names of places in this shire, that the Saxon colonists had settled within its inmost recesses during times beyond the period of record. If we look back upon the instructive chartularies, we shall perceive that the whole forest existed under the regimen of pasturage rather than of tillage during the reign of David I. This general position must be, however, limited by the special fact that David had mills at Selkirk, which seems to imply that there was some tillage in the openings of that forest. The royal mills at Selkirk remained in the king's demesne till the recent age of Robert Bruce (*d*). The abbots of Kelso had also their mill at Selkirk for several ages, which afforded them not a small profit (*e*). Considerable intervals must have, even in the happy days of David, been cleared of wood, and from that age the destruction of the woodlands must have gone on progressively, with little interruption, till the country became quite denuded. As the mosses arose chiefly from the destruction of the woods, either by design or accident, we may infer, from the depth of the mossy places, the period of their decay. The long wars with England for the succession to the crown of Alexander III. and for the independence of the nation must have destroyed many woods, as the principle of those hostilities was waste. There is reason to believe that in the ages which preceded those wars, Selkirkshire was more productive and populous than it has been at any period since. The woods gave warmth to the country, shelter to the herbs, with abundant mast and herbage for food. In those times every church had its village, every seat its hamlet, and every farm its cottages (*f*)

(*d*) Robert I. granted his mill of Selkirk to Henry Gelchdal for *two marks* of *silver*, yearly. Robertson's Index, 21.

(*e*) At the commencement of the 14th century, the abbot's corn-mill rented for five marks yearly. Chart. Kelso, 15. From the same document, we learn that 30 acres of land, at some distance from the town, rented for five shillings. So that the abbot's mill brought him a rent equal to about 400 acres of common land within the forest; the mark being 13s. 4d. money of account.

(*f*) The parcels of land which David I. had granted to the monks of Kelso in different parts of the

Nothing could be more promotive of populousness than such a system, or more advantageous to the state. The property of the abbot lying around Selkirk, which would not make a little farm according to the agricultural system of the present times, maintained in comfort and content during the ancient regimen six-and-thirty families. This agricultural state of prosperity and happiness continued till the sad demise of Alexander III. The disputes and the conflicts with regard to the succession to his crown soon ensued. These contests gave rise to the inveterate wars for the independence of the nation which lasted many an age. Agriculture was ruined, and prosperity was driven from the land. The family feuds and civil wars which followed those events, with little intermission, allowed no opportunity and gave little leisure to reanimate agriculture (*g*).

At the middle of the seventeenth century, the people of this shire and their affairs were represented by those who knew them perfectly to have continued what they had always been and what they still continue (*h*). The people were represented as of robust bodies, in regard the country is mountainous and obliges them to travel much in attendance upon their cattle and sheep, while their diet is frugal. They are ingenuous and hate deceit. Theft and robbery are unknown among them (*i*), and a lie is never heard from

forest, were conjoined by the beneficence of Malcolm IV., by way of exchange, so as to enlarge the quantity of lands which they had around the town. Chart. Kelso, No. 378. The economy of the abbots was excellently contrived for rearing a numerous population. The abbot's lands were let in husband-lands, each containing a bovate or oxgate, and having a right of common of pasturage for a certain number of beasts. There was also a great number of cottages, with crofts, containing each nearly an acre of land. Towards the end of the 13th century, the monks had at Selkirk-abbatis, in *demesne* a carucate and a half of land, which used to rent for ten marks; they had fifteen husband-lands here, each containing a bovate of land, which used to rent for four shillings, yearly, yielding certain services; they had here sixteen cottages, with ten acres of land, one whereof rented yearly for two shillings, and fifteen for one shilling, doing moreover certain services; and the abbot had three brewhouses, which used to rent each for 6s. 8d., yearly, with a corn mill, which brought five marks yearly. They had here also, *without their demesne*, separately, thirty acres of land which used to rent yearly at 5s., and four acres which used to rent for 6s. yearly. Chart. Kelso, 15-16.

(*g*) Before the year 1502, the king's lands of *ancient demesne*, within this forest, had been divided into thirty farms, which then yielded, annually, into the Royal Exchequer, £1,875 14s. Before the year 1667, this *rental* had declined in its total amount to £1,094 18s. Such was the effect of the intermediate events. MS. Account.

(*h*) By Messrs. Elliot and Scott, two country gentlemen, in 1649. MS. Advocates Library.

(*i*) Since the epoch of 1529, when James V. enforced the decision of Justice, by causing execution to be done on Scott of Tushielaw, *the king of the thieves*, and on Armstrong of Liddisdale, *the prince of plunderers*. The border songsters, however, lament the merited fate of those wretched *outlaws*; as with them, every thief, at the tree, is sure to die an Adonis.

their mouths, except among the baser sort. Their way of living is more by *pasture* of cattle than by *tillage* of the ground.

It is scarcely possible to trace the precise appearance of the agricultural resuscitation in this pastoral shire. In 1722 we have seen 12,000 ewes milked daily during the month of June, at Taits-Cross, in this sheep-breeding shire. The year 1723 has been assigned as the general era of georgical improvements (*k*). They did not here begin, perhaps, till the end of the reign of George II. The late Doctor Mercer was the first who began agricultural meliorations at Selkirk town. In 1759 his enclosures and culture were admirably skilful. The sowing in rotation of turnip, barley, and grass-seeds was his favourite plan (*l*). Potatoes found their way into this country some years before turnips (*m*). The improvements of new articles and better modes of cultivation were followed by the useful melioration of more commodious roads. In consequence of an act of parliament, which passed in 1764, twelve miles of road were made into turnpike, on the way from Hawick through Selkirk town to Crosslee, towards Edinburgh, with an useful branch of three miles to Galashiels. Whatever may be the utility of this road in bringing coals and manure, and carrying the products of the shire, the cross-roads remain without much amendment, though the track be gravelly and the materials be near. Attempts have, indeed, been made to carry roads from Selkirk, along the course both of the Ettrick and Yarrow, for opening a communication with Moffat and Annandale. Other communications have been proposed but not adopted, though they would bring many advantages with them to an agricultural country which wants manure and fuel. Bridges upon the Ettrick seem to have originally been erected by the beneficent spirit of David I.; and the bridge upon that noble stream, at Selkirk town, appears, as we have perceived, to have been early placed under the jurisdiction of the abbots of Kelso, who were bound to repair it; because lands had been given them by the royal bounty for the true execution of this special trust (*n*). The

(*k*) There was printed, however, at Edinburgh, in 1697, a little book entitled, "Enquiry into the manner of tilling and manuring the ground in Scotland, by James Donaldson."

(*l*) Wight's first Survey of Selkirk, iii. 21. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Glen, while he was minister at Galashiels from 1757 to 1760, was the first who introduced lime to any extent as a manure. During that period the late Lord Alemoor drained a morass for marl. Agricultural Survey, 292.

(*m*) Ib., 273.

(*n*) As Alexander II. granted to the abbot of Kelso certain lands on both sides of the Ettrick. "ad *perpetuam sustentationem* pontis de Ettrick," it should seem that whoever stands in the abbot's shoes is bound to repair this bridge. Chart. Kelso, No. 392.

inveterate war of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, were peculiarly fatal to the bridges of the southern shires. The present reign has seen some useful bridges built in this country; but convenience demands that other bridges should be thrown across the mountain streams, which swell suddenly, and often obstruct business by preventing travel. Add to all those facilities that a passion for improvements began at the end of the late reign, and have been encouraged during the present. When Wight made his second Survey of the agricultural management in this shire in 1782, "he was amazed to behold the advances which had been made since his former view; scarce a field but had assumed a better aspect, by an improving hand." (*o*). We thus see the existence and operation of an active and intelligent spirit, which was, however, restrained in its improvement by the infelicities of circumstances. The husbandmen had to struggle with a chill climate, and scarcity of fuel, with founderous roads, and distance from lime, the great fertilizer of a damp soil; with the uncertainty of their tenures and the absence of means. With all those disadvantages pressing upon them, an active and well-informed body of farmers continued to struggle with their wants, under a resolution to supply them by diligence and management. After every effort had been made, and every improvement executed, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the whole shire, with regard to its agricultural arrangement and profit, may be estimated in the following manner:

	Eng. Acres.	Yearly Rent.
Cultivated lands, - - - - - - -	9,300	£4,850
Woods and plantations (*p*), - - - - - -	2,200	2,500
Gardens, pleasure-grounds, house-steds, - - - -	1,250	1,500
Pasture-ground (*q*), including moors, mosses, lakes, rivers, roads, &c.,	169,650	23,150
Total superficies, and yearly profit, - -	182,400	£32,000

[In 1887 there were 4534 acres of corn crops; 2782 acres of green crops; 8050 acres of clover and grasses under rotation; 8967 acres of permanent pasture or grass; and 7 acres bare fallow. In the same year there were 582 horses; 2700 cattle; 158,518 sheep; and 408 pigs.]

(*o*) Reports, vi. 607.

(*p*) Before the seventeenth century, the country had become perfectly shorn of its woods. The remains of the natural shrubberies of the forest scarcely deserve notice. The whole of the woods are artificial, consisting chiefly of Scotch firs. Mr. Johnston, in his Agricultural View of this shire, computes the wood at 2000 acres, and he is followed by Dr. Douglas in his Agricultural Survey: but they state the superficies of the shire somewhat less than its real measurement; and the spirit of plantation has been busy since Mr. Johnston formed his computation.

(*q*) The pastures consist chiefly in green hills, there being little of moorland here. There are a few meadows on the rivulet sides, as *the howms of Yarrow* [holms], which are mentioned in song; yet they cannot compare with the *Leaderhaughs*, which have become classical pasturages.

When Wight bade farewell to Selkirkshire, he cried out, with a mixture of regret and joy: "However barren and comfortless you may appear to a hasty stranger, you contain in your bosom a fund of riches that never can be exhausted while men love mutton and wear broad-cloth" (*q*).

Yet of manufactures and trade Selkirk cannot boast. In the good old reign of David I., the principal manufacture was corn of different sorts and in various ways. The king's mill at Selkirk-regis, converted the grain into meal and malt; and the abbots' brewhouses would easily manufacture the malt into a very wholesome beverage. The women could readily convert the wool into garments, and the men knew how to convert the hides of the cattle and the skins of the sheep into coverings for the feet, the legs and the head. It is more than probable that the abbot sent out the wool, the hides and the skins, to Berwick, where in early ages the traders of Flanders resided. Such were the manufactures and commerce of Selkirkshire, till the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ruined all.

The civil wars of Charles I.'s unhappy age, left the agriculture, the manufactures, and the traffic of this shire, with the country more shorn of its woods, in pretty much the same state whereto the wars of Edward I. had reduced them. We know this from the representation of those who knew the country the best (*r*). The commodities of this shire, say they, are great plenty of butter and cheese, which were of the finest sort. It affordeth also store of neat-hydes and sheep-skins, and of wool, which is carried to foreign nations; so that the cold eastern countries bless this happy soil, being warmed with the fleeces of their sheep. It supplies, too, store of neat and sheep, which are carried partly to the northern districts of Scotland, but mostly into England, the custom whereof, at the border, is no small increase to his majesty's revenue; and it affords, moreover, great plenty of well-spun worsted, which is carried for the most part into *foreign* nations (*s*). Such is the representation of two country

(*q*) The Agricult. Survey, 309, estimated, on good grounds, that there are raised yearly, in this shire, 118,000 sheep. Of these, there are of the white-faced 82,000; of the black-faced 36,000:

The first yielded, of wool, at 15s., 11,700 stone, worth - - - -	£8,770 sterling.
The second yielded, of ditto, at 6s. 6d., 5,538 ditto, worth - - -	1,800
	£10,570

(*r*) Messrs. Elliot and Scot's MS. Account, 1649.

(*s*) When Wight came to survey the burgh of Selkirk in 1777, he remarked that the women are excellent spinners, and are fully employed by the *English* manufacturers of woollen cloth, on account of the cheapness. Thus, says he, the spinning of wool has made a progress from Yorkshire to Selkirk Reports, iii. 21. They at length spin for *their own manufacturers.* Such is the progression of industry!

gentlemen, who, living within this shire, must have known its economical state in their own times. Their statements are confirmed by a fact which evinces the want of people and of opulence in that wretched age (*t*).

The fishings of this shire were, perhaps, of full as much importance in the days of David I. as they are at present. That beneficent prince gave to the monks of Selkirk, by his foundation charter, *his waters* about *Selechirche*, for the fishing of their men, in the same manner as his own (*u*). He also gave the monks of Melrose the right of fishing in the Tweed, from the vicinity of Selkirk above, to a considerable distance below Melrose (*x*). During 1725, there was still "a very rich fishing in the Tweed of salmon and grilse. In the Ettrick, a very good fishing for trouts, grilses and salmon; and in the Yarrow, a very good fishing for trouts and grilses" (*y*). In the agricultural reports of this shire at present, we hear from them but little of the fishings which formerly furnished comforts, as they do not afford an export to some foreign country, or at least to some distant capital.

The linen manufacture seems never to have taken root in this pastoral shire. Wool is undoubtedly the great basis of its natural fabric. In 1649, as we have seen, the wool and worsted yarn were exported to give genial warmth to the Baltic people. In the present day, the wool and yarn of private families are here made into cloth, flannels, blankets, and worsted stuffs for women's gowns, to an extent which equals the domestic demand. But Galashiels is the busy seat of the woollen manufacture. The epoch of its commencement here is not ascertained (*z*). It has made a very rapid progress. The manufacturers have overcome every difficulty. They have obtained skill and industry and capital.

(*t*) The excise both of Selkirk and of Peebles-shires, was rented to Richard Smith for £347, in the year ending with January 1656-7. Tucker's MS. in the Advocates Library.

(*u*) Dalrymple's Col. 404; Chart. Kelso, No. 4. David confirmed this grant when he removed the monks to Kelso in 1128.

(*x*) Chart. Melrose, No. 54. Malcolm IV. granted to the same monks the fishings of Selkirk. Ib. No. 56.

(*y*) Hodge's MS. Account, 1725, in the Advocates Library.

(*z*) Wight remarked, in 1777, a sort of woollen cloth made here, termed *Galashiels grey*, which was in great request, being sold from 20d. to 2s. per yard. Report, iii. 9. This seems to imply that the manufacture of wool was then in its first stage. The trustees for manufactures and fishery in Scotland, had given *premiums* for the improvement of spinning wool, he adds. When Wight visited Galashiels, the manufacturers did not work up more than 750 stone in any year. They now consume upwards of 5,000 stone. Yet, as the whole quantity of white-faced sheeps' wool which is annually shorn, is more than 11,000, the difference shows how much they must manufacture before they consume the whole wool that is annually grown.

They have now introduced machinery, having the power of water, into every part of their fabrics. They have even established here a *Hall* for the more commodious sale of their various manufactures. They not only make cloth but blankets and stockings. They make inkle to a great extent. They have here tanners, tawers, and candlemakers, and the makers of agricultural instruments. Thus, Galashiels, containing very few more than a thousand souls, seems to be a very busy scene of gainful manufactures. During the year 1722, Galashiels was represented "as a market town, with its weekly market on Wednesday, as belonging to Scott of Gala, and as having a Tolbooth in the middle of the town, with a clock and a bell, and market-cross, and its church and burying-ground at the east end; the Gala water running hard by the town on the north, and adjoining the Tweed a mile below" (*a*). We may thus perceive that Galashiels is a *baronial burgh*, under Scott of Gala, who was found by Wight, the agricultural tourist, very busy in improving his farms and in benefitting his town.

Yet, as this shire neither raises wheat nor fattens cattle, both these articles, with other necessaries, and some luxuries, must be imported from other districts. Upon a fair estimate, however, according to the true principles of the mercantile system, of the *outgoings* and *incomings* of Selkirkshire, it appears that—

The total produce of the county is worth, yearly, - - -	£68,995
The whole payments for the rent, materials of manufactures, bread and meat for the people, etc., - - - - - -	47,432
So that, here is a clear gain to the shire of - - - -	£21,563 (*b*).

But if we were to look back upon ancient times, we should find more people and more cattle, with equal comforts, under a different regimen. In the halcyon days of David I., whose beneficence "brought forth the arts of peace," a single farmer, renting a whole district, did not exist. A hamlet was then possessed by several husbandmen, with divers cottagers. The husbandmen tilled their individual portions in severalty, but pastured their cattle on the village common, in generalty. The cottage of the same hamlet enjoyed a little house,

(*a*) Webster's MS. Account, 1722.

(*b*) Agricult. Survey, 325-7. To this work, and to Mr. Johnston's View of the Agriculture of Selkirkshire, must be referred the more curious reader for the many minute particulars of its present husbandry; I can only give general sketches.

with a toft, and were equally entitled to common of pasturage and pannage for a specified number of cattle and swine. The larger villages of this sort had the useful accommodations of a mill, a malt-kiln, and a brewhouse. We see in the chartularies, this agricultural polity every where in practice during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and it is apparent that the country, under that regimen, bred and supported a greater number of people, cattle and swine, than it does at present under a new husbandry (*c*). The people who were raised under that polity, were the men who under Bruce and Randolph, vindicated the national independence, and successfully resisted the odious claims of an overbearing pretender.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] There is reason to believe that the religious establishments of this shire were never comprehended within the ample diocese of Lindisfarne (*d*). This shire lay wholly within the bishopric of Glasgow, after the restoration of that see (*e*). It remained under the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Glasgow till the year 1238, when the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, which comprehended the churches of Selkirkshire, was established (*f*). Under this archdeaconry and that diocese, the churches of

(*c*) From that statement it is apparent that there were in those times many more people. The system of depopulation, though it began as early as the Union, has only appeared in its sad effects during our own days. Of these effects, and of that depopulation, the ministers in their Statistical Accounts speak with some indignation. The minister of Yarrow says, "The aged people all agree in asserting that the former population considerably exceeded the present, as indeed appears from the numerous remains of old houses." Stat. Acco., vii. 504. The minister of Ettrick states that the population of that parish was considerably greater in former times; there were, about fifty years preceding 1794, *thirty-two* houses, where there are now only *three*. Ib., iii. 296. The minister of Roberton says there were formerly several hamlets in his parish, whereof there are now no vestiges. Ib., xi. 543. The minister of Selkirk says that the depopulation of that parish is wholly in the country part of it; he adds, it is painful to see one person rent a property which formerly reared one hundred inhabitants for the State. Ib., ii. 435. The minister of Galashiels says that tradition, as well as the ruins of houses, evince what the general opinion is, that the parish and village of Galashiels were much more populous a hundred years before. Ib., ii. 306. From all those representations and facts, it is apparent that the population tables which represent the people as increased during late times, must erroneously state the numbers too high.

(*d*) Selkirkshire is plainly without the limits beyond the Tweed, which were assigned to the Northumbrian episcopate in its largest extent. Leland's Col., ii. 366.

(*e*) The foundation charter by Earl David of Selkirk. Dal. Col. App., and the Chartulary of Kelso.

(*f*) Chron. Melrose, 203. Peter de Allingtun was the first archdeacon of Teviotdale. Id.

Selkirkshire continued, till the Reformation placed them under a presbytery and a synod.

The only religious house which seems to have been ever founded within this shire was an establishment for monks of Tyrone at SELKIRK as early as 1113 A.D. (*g*). Here they remained during fifteen years of penitentiary trial. Radulphus, who conducted his monks to this retired spot within the forest, was the original abbot. He was soon succeeded by William, the second abbot, who is recollected by Fordun (*h*); and William was followed, before the year 1124, by the third abbot, Herbert, who ruled the monks when they were removed, on account of inconvenient accommodation, to Kelso in 1128, and who rose to be bishop of Glasgow, upon the death of John, in 1147 (*i*). This abbey was settled near the king's castle and village, and the attendants upon the monks soon reared a new hamlet, which obtained the appropriate appellation of Selkirk-*abbatis*. The settlement in the forest of a body of strangers who, as they had seen other countries and knew other modes of life, must have introduced here some improvements. Even after the removal of the monks, the abbot, during many an age, had his manor around the town, with his baronial court at the bridge, and his church with his grange, his husbandmen and cottagers, with his mill, his malt-kiln, and his brewhouses. While the king's castle remained here through many a year, the abbot was bound, by the tenure of his land, to act as the king's chaplain within the royal castle. The Duke of Roxburgh, who wears "the fair-lined slippers" of the abbot, is bound to act as chaplain here when the king shall restore his castle, and to repair the bridge while he enjoys the land that was amortized to its use. The ancient jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Teviotdale was transferred, by the Reformation, to the synod of Merse and Teviotdale. The five parishes of Selkirkshire are comprehended in the presbytery of Selkirk, which is, however, of modern establishment. Melrose was the seat of this presbytery soon after the Reformation. Selkirk presbytery stands the eleventh on the Roll, and consists of eleven parishes, the five lying chiefly in this shire, and Bowden, Ashkirk, St. Boswells, Lilliesleaf, Melrose, and Maxton, in Roxburghshire.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 430; Keith, 248; Dalrymp. Col., 403; Chart. Kelso, No. 4. Innes states the foundation of this monastery, in 1114, perhaps mistakingly. MS. Chronology. Lord Hailes places this event in 1113. An., i. 96. The Tyrone monks were certainly settled there in 1113. Sim. Dun., 236; Chron. Melrose, 163.

(*h*) L. v., c. 36.

(*i*) He is mentioned in the foundation charter of Earl David as abbot of Selkirk, which was granted before his accession to the throne, in 1124.

The king's hunting-seat in the forest gave rise to the earliest church, which was merely the chapel of the king's court, and hence derived its name of *Sele-chirche* in the old English of that unrefined age. When the abbey was established here in 1113 A.D., a second church was erected as the chapel of the abbots, his monks, and his men. David I. gave his church here, with its tithes and oblations to the abbot, on condition of his acting as chaplain to the royal castle (*i*). In 1232, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the abbot of Kelso, "ecclesiam de Selekirk, et ecclesiam de *altera* Selkirk" (*k*). In the ancient statement of the property of the monks of Kelso, they say that they had the church of Selkirk-regis, "in rectoria," which was usually worth £20 a year, and also the church of Selkirk-abbatis, "in rectoria," which was commonly worth forty shillings a year. The two towns, no doubt, soon run into each other, as the abbot possessed much property within and around both (*l*). How long the two churches remained separate is unknown (*m*). Even tradition has forgotten that there ever were two, though the unerring record has preserved that curious fact (*n*). The abbot probably conjoined them, upon the economical principle of the Reformation, to save the expense of a curate. The church of Selkirk-regis was served by a vicar, who was supported by vicarage dues (*o*). When the Reformation had dissolved the abbey of Kelso, the patronage of the church of Selkirk was transferred to the progenitor of the Duke of Roxburgh, who is now the patron of the parish church. In Selkirk town the Burgher seceders have their own meeting-house, which is the only seceding establishment in this shire of shepherds (*p*). [The Parish church (1864) has 1075

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, No. 370. The condition is express, that the abbot should be chaplain to the king, his sons, and their successors, within the same church. (*k*) Ib., 278.

(*l*) Pont's Map of Ettrick forest, in Blaeu's Atlas, represents Selkirk town as one compact body.

(*m*) In 1296 there was only one clergyman in Selkirk, namely Richard, "*vicaire* del Eglise de Selkirk," who swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 660. This notice shows sufficiently that there was but one church, and one *vicaire*, in Selkirk town; the *rectory* being in the abbot of Kelso.

(*n*) The intelligent writer of the Statistical Account of Selkirk parish is quite unconscious that there had ever been two churches in the shire town.

(*o*) In 1421, Schyr Wilzeam Myddilmas, chappellayne to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigton, was *vicare* of Selkirk. Record Great Seal, Book ii., No. 60. In June 1489, the lords auditors in parliament heard the suit of Alexander Ker, calling himself *parish clerk* of *Selkirk*, against Robert Scott, in the Haining, and John, his son, for withholding from him the fees, fruits, and profits of his office, for fifteen years, of the value of twenty marks a year; but as both parties claimed the clerkship, as a matter of right, and this being a spiritual suit, the lords referred it to the judge ordinary. Parl. Rec., 356. (*p*) Stat. Acco., ii. 443.

communicants; stipend, £496. A *quoad sacra* church at Heatherlie has 370 communicants. A Free church has 360 members. Two U.P. churches have together 961 members. There are also Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and E.U. churches.

The name of the parish of GALASHIELS was derived from the town, and the town obtained both its origin and appellation from a hamlet on the *Gala* water. The terms *Shiels*, and *Shielings*, were very common among the Northumbrian Saxons on both sides of the present border, as temporary shelters for shepherds when following their flocks (*q*). Near the Gala there are other places which derive the significant part of their names from the same term. There are Cauld-shiels, Foul-shiels, and *Herd-shiel*; and Gala-*shiels* meant, originally, nothing more than the temporary huts on the Gala, the shelter of the shepherds who tended their flocks on the pasturages of the Gala. But in a secondary sense, the term *Shiels*, or Shieling, signified a summer pasturage where the herdsmen lived in huts. The present parish was formed by the conjunction of the two old parishes of Bolside [Bow-side] and Lindean. The former is in Selkirkshire, on the northern side of the Tweed, and Lindean is in Roxburghshire, on the southern side of the same river, within a mile of Selkirk town. The church of Bolside stood in a hamlet of that name, about half a mile below the junction of the Ettrick and the Tweed (*r*). Keith and our other parochial historians, seem to have been quite unconscious that there ever existed such a parish as *Bolside*. The other parish of Lin-dean derived its name from the British *Lyn*, signifying, secondarily, a river-pool, which was adopted by the Saxons, and the Anglo-Saxon *Dene*, a valley. Bolside seems to have been an ancient parish, though it does not appear in any of the chartularies, having never been granted to any monkish order. It was in Lindean church where the body of William Douglas, the knight of Liddisdale, lay the first night after his assassination in 1353. Lindean probably became the church of the monks of Dryburgh, who enjoyed it to their proper use, while the cure was served by a perpetual vicar (*s*). It had ceased to be the parish church before the year 1649, when the church of Galashiels was reckoned one of the *four* parish kirks in Selkirkshire (*t*). [The Parish church (1813) has 941 communicants; stipend, £460. There are also three *quoad sacra* churches in the parish. Two Free churches have 901 members. Three U.P. churches have 1485 members. There are also Episcopal, Roman Catholic, Evangelical Union, and two Baptist churches.]

(*q*) Holland's Camden, 806; and see before, in this volume, 309.

(*r*) Pont's Maps, in Blaeu's Atlas, No. 5 and 8, wherein he calls it *Boldsyid* kirk. In Ainslie's Map of this shire, the hamlet is named *Bollside*.

(*s*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the vicarage of Linden, in the deanery of Tevidale and diocese of Glasgow, was taxed at £4.

(*t*) By Messrs. Elliot and Scot's MS. Account, 1649, in the Advocates Library.

The parish of YARROW takes its Celtic name from the river Yarrow, which, as we have seen, is merely the British *Jarrow.* This extensive district, along the Yarrow, comprehends within its ample limits the old parishes of *Duchoire,* St. Mary's, and Kirkhope (*u*). *Duchoire* derived its Celtic name from the Gaelic *Du-choire,* signifying what the thing is, a small valley, through which a rivulet finds its course to the Yarrow. At the entrance of this valley, on the north-west side of the Yarrow, stood the ancient church of *Duchoire* (*x*). In the progress of perversion, this significant name became *Deuchar.* The modern map-maker has been more diligent to mark Deuchar tower, the stronghold of the feudal proprietor, than to note the site of the religious house (*y*). The district which was anciently attached to Duchoire church composes the east part of Yarrow parish. St. Mary's Church derived its name from the Virgin to whom it was dedicated. It stood near the mouth of a small valley, anciently called *Farmainshope,* lying on the north-west side of a beautiful lake, which was called from it St. Mary's loch. It was colloquially called *St. Mary's kirk of the Lowes,* as we have seen. In charters, it was described as the church of the Virgin Mary in Ettrick forest (*z*). The old parish of St. Mary's forms the west part of the present parish. The church of Kirk-*hope* was situated in a valley, which derived from it the name of Kirk*hope,* through which a rivulet finds its devious career to the Ettrick below Ettrick bridge. The district which was attached to this kirk now forms the east and south-east part of the parish of Yarrow (*a*). In July 1292, Edward I. directed the chancellor of Scotland to present Edmond de Letham to the church of the Virgin Mary of Farmainshope, in the diocese of Glasgow, which was void by the resignation of Aimer de Softlaw (*b*). In 1296, Edmond de Letham, parson of the church of the forest, swore fealty to Edward I., and was in return restored to his rights (*c*). It is doubtful whether the advowson of this church remained long

(*u*) Messrs. Elliot and Scot called the parish kirk, in 1649, "the Mary kirk of the Lowes, alias Yaro kirk." Id.

(*x*) Pont's Map, in Blaeu, No. 5. (*y*) Ainslie's Map of this shire.

(*z*) David II. granted to the monks of Dryburgh the advowson "de Beate Mariæ Virginis," in Ettrick forest. Robertson's Index, 59. The monks retained this advowson till the Reformation transferred it to some border chief. They probably had also *the rectory*; for the church of St. Mary of *the Lowes* was a *vicarage* at that epoch of change. MS. 1658, in my Library.

(*a*) In the Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de *Foresta,*" valued at £13 6s. 8d., "extra ecclesiam Glasguen." in the deanery of Peebles. St. Mary's of the Lowes was a mother church, which had of old several chapels that were subordinate to it.

(*b*) Rot. Scotiæ, 9. (*c*) Ib., 24.

with the monks of Dryburgh, as it seems to have continued a rectory till the Reformation (*d*). [The Parish church has 202 communicants; stipend, £418. A Free church has 70 members.]

Like Yarrow parish, ETTRICK takes its Celtic name, as we have seen, from the river Ettrick, upon the north-west side whereof stands the church (*e*). The present parish includes, on the east, the old parish of Buccleuch, whose church may still be traced on Rankle burn (*f*). In the south-west of this parish, there was of old a church in a small valley, which was called Kirk-hope, through which ran to the Ettrick Kirkhope burn, and in the north-west corner of this parish, there was once a chapel, which stood at no great distance from the south-west corner of the Loch of the Lowes, in a small valley, called from it *Chapel-hope*. The chapel was probably subordinate to the mother church of St. Mary, in Yarrow parish. [The Parish church (1824) has 149 communicants; stipend, £321. A Free church has 96 members.]

ROBERTON parish took its present name from the hamlet at which the modern church was built, and this hamlet obtained its name in more early times, from being the *tun* or dwelling of some person who was called Robert, and who cannot now be traced. The parish of Roberton comprehends the ancient parish of Borthwic, or Kirk-Borthwic, to which there was annexed about the year 1682, a part of the suppressed parish of Hassendean, with some specific sections of the adjoining parishes of Hawick and Wilton, with a small portion of the parish of Selkirk, which lay at a distance from the town, and since a new church was built at Roberton in 1695, this circumstance gave the name of Roberton to this parish, thus composed of several sections of different parishes (*g*). The church of Borthwic stood on the north-west side of Borthwic water, at a place which was formerly called Kirk-Borthwic, and is now named

(*d*) The patronage of that church belonged to the Douglasses from the epoch of their obtaining from Robert I. the *forest of Selkirk*, till their forfeiture, in 1455, when it fell to the king, who still enjoys it. Mathew de Geddes, the secretary of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was rector of the church of St. Mary, in the forest, between 1401 and 1424. In 1461, George Liddale, the king's secretary, was rector of the same church. Rym., ii. 476. In 1490, John Ireland, the professor of theology at Paris, was rector of this church; and died archdeacon of St. Andrews, if we may credit Dempster. Ireland's System of Theology is in the Advocates Lib. in MS. Complaint of Scotland, 84-5. There is a MS. Treatise, in the same copious Library, on several points of divinity, which was written by the same theologian for the instruction of James IV. and his people.

(*e*) In 1649, this was called by Elliot and Scot, "the *New* kirk of Etrik."

(*f*) From its position on this stream it is called, by Pont, *Rankil-burn-kirk*, in Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 5.

(*g*) The date of 1695 is inscribed on the new church. Stat. Acco., ii. 542.

Borthwic-brae (*h*). Borthwic derived its singular name from the Anglo-Saxon *Bord-wir*, signifying the castle or the *vil* on the border, or brink, as we may learn from Somner, and the fact. This name describes the position on the *margin* of the river, which assumed the name of Borthwic from the name of the place. In the eastern part of the present parish, on the south-east side of Borthwic water, within Roxburghshire, there was of old a chapel, which was subordinate to the church of Hassendean, that belonged, as we have formerly seen, to the abbot of Melrose. This chapel, the ruins whereof may still be traced by antiquarian eyes, had an officiating chaplain out of the establishment of the monks, who were detached from the monastery of Melrose to the cell of Hassendean. The western half of Roberton parish, with the church, is in Selkirkshire, while the eastern half is in Roxburghshire. [The Parish church (1863) has 166 communicants; stipend, £330.]

We have now seen from the foregoing examination, that in the darksome days of the ancient regimen, there were in this little shire twelve places of Christian worship. The Reformation left but five. In whatever aspect we view this religious change, we see two of its ingredients were a passion for plunder, and a religious sacrifice to personal avarice. In the midst of this odious scramble, the reformed clergy cried out in vain. The people who offered their adorations in those twelve temples of ancient times, have been either wasted by war, or driven away by policy; and the populousness of the good old reigns of the Alexanders, has been reduced to the narrow numbers of a frigid economy. The aged men all agree in asserting, what ruins evince, that the population of this shire was greater during the days of David II. than at the Revolution, and greater at the Union than in 1755, when Doctor Webster formed his estimate (*i*). From the returns which were made to that intelligent person, the population of Selkirkshire in 1755, seems to have been only 4,968 souls. But there is reason for thinking that the numbers which were transmitted to him from the parishes of Ettrick and Yarrow, were only the examinable persons; being those who were above six or seven years of age (*k*). If the

(*h*) Kirk-Borthwic is mentioned in two charters of Robert I. Robertson's Index, 5.

(*i*) There anciently were, in Selkirk parish, two churches: in Galashiels, two; in Yarrow, three churches; in Ettrick, three; in Roberton, two; and in the whole shire, which of old had *twelve* kirks, there are now only *five*.

(*k*) The ministers of Yarrow, and of Ettrick, are positive that the whole numbers in those parishes were not sent to Doctor Webster. The enumerations in 1791 furnish a greater number of people than those of 1755; while it is an incontrovertible fact that the people, meanwhile, had greatly decreased. Stat. Acco., vii. 504; Ib., iii. 296. The minister of Roberton is equally positive that his parishioners had diminished greatly in the same period. Ib., xi. 543. The

usual number of persons under six and seven years of age in those two parishes be added, then the population of Selkirkshire in 1755 will be 5,362. The returns of 1791 amounts only to 5,233. This diminution evinces that, notwithstanding the increase of manufacturers in Galashiels and in Selkirk, the population of the whole shire had somewhat diminished during the flourishing period of the preceding forty years. If the population of 1791 had been equal to the numbers of 1755, this equality would have only proved that the shire had lost in people, by the agricultural system, what it had gained from manufacturing employments. The enumeration of 1801 makes the population of Selkirkshire 5,446. This apparent increase is partly owing to the growth of manufacture, perhaps more to the precise mode of making up the statements by actual enumeration. Such, then, are the facts and reasonings which may induce a judicious reader to think that the detail of population in the Agricultural Survey and the following Table, represent the people to have increased while they have, in fact, somewhat decreased. In Dr. Webster's Manuscript Tables the population of the parishes of Selkirk, Ettrick, Yarrow, and Roberton, is given as the whole people of Selkirkshire (*l*). Yet do those statements lead to misconception, as considerable parts of Roberton and Galashiels are actually in Roxburghshire, while some portions of the parishes of Ashkirk, Stow, and Inverleithen, are in Selkirkshire. The able writer of the *Agricultural Survey* has given an improved statement of the population of the several sections of the parishes in this shire during the years 1790 and 1793. The accurate enumerations of 1801 have furnished not only some additional information, but the means of giving, in the *Tabular State* subjoined, an exact statement of the population of this shire, which contains the whole of three parishes and portions of five others. Of the parish of Selkirk a very small proportion is in Roxburghshire, though this part is so little as to be unworthy of distinction. The extensive parishes of Ettrick and Yarrow are wholly in Selkirkshire. Of Galashiels a considerable part of the extent, but only a small part of the popu-

minister of Selkirk asserts that the depopulation of his parish had occurred, entirely, in the country district of it. Ib. ii. 435. The minister of Galashiels says that the number of people in that parish had declined considerably in the preceding century; and that the number returned to Dr. Webster in 1755 was 998, while the enumeration of 1791 found only 914. Ib. ii. 306. The decrease in the population between 1755 and 1791, was chiefly owing to the consolidation of farms, and the demolition of cottages.

(*l*) The ministers, in their subsequent accounts, follow his error in giving the numbers of people in Selkirk, Ettrick, Yarrow, and Galashiels, as the whole population of this shire.

lation, is in Roxburghshire, the larger half in extent and four-fifths of the population being in Selkirkshire. Of Roberton about a half of the extent, and greatly more than a half of the population, are in Roxburghshire (*m*). Of Ashkirk, Stow, and Inverleithen, the Tabular State subjoined only gives the population contained in this shire. The other details of those parishes are given in the *Tables* of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Peebles-shire, to which they properly belong, on such points as cannot be separated (*n*). Among the capricious boundaries of the Scottish shires arising from private interest and public inattention, none of them is so absurdly intermixed by injudicious location as the outline of Selkirkshire, which can only be reformed into convenient arrangement by parliament. In considering the ministers' stipends the following intimations may be observed. When the stipends of 1798 were settled, the yearly value of the glebes were included, but not the manses. The stipends of Selkirk, Ettrick, Yarrow, and Galashiels, contain the augmentations which had been then recently made. Of Roberton the process of augmentation was still depending. In estimating the victual stipends of 1798, the barley was valued at 18 shillings and the meal at 16 shillings a boll, Linlithgow measure, being an average of the prices for several preceding years (*o*). For there are no fier-prices struck in this pastoral shire. Such, then, are the intimations which it was necessary to premise for distinctly understanding the Tabular State on next page.

(*m*) In the Tabular State subjoined, the whole of the extent and of the stipends are given; but only the proportion of the population within Selkirkshire. Of Galashiels and Roberton, the whole people at the three epochs in that Table, stood thus:

	In 1755.	In 1791.	In 1801.
Galashiels - - - - -	998	914	1,018
Roberton - - - - -	651	629	618

(*n*) Of Ashkirk, more than a half of the extent and more than two-thirds of the population are in Roxburghshire, which also contains the parish church. Of Stow, by much the greater part of the extent, and about five-sixths of the population are in Edinburghshire, with the parish church. Of Inverleithen, only a small part of the extent, and a still smaller portion of the population are in Selkirkshire, while the church and the great body of the parish are in Peebles-shire.

(*o*) The average above mentioned agrees very nearly with the average of the prices which were formed by the keeper of the Corn Register, during the seven years ending with 1797. The victual stipend is paid by the Linlithgow standard, and not by the Selkirkshire *boll*, which, for barley and oats, contains 7 bushels, 2 pecks, 28·7 cubic inches, English measure.

The TABULAR STATE.

Parishes.	Extent in Acres.	Inhabitants.			Churches.							Stipends.						Past Patrons.
		1755.	1801.	1881.	Est.	Free.	U.P.	Epis.	R.C.	E.U.	Bapt.	1755.			1798.			
												£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
Selkirk, - -	22,895	1,793	2,098	7,432	2	1	2	1	1	1	—	96	11	1	170	0	0	The Duke of Roxburgh.
Yarrow, - -	41,856	1,180	1,216	639	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	104	8	10	165	19	9	The King.
Ettrick, - -	42,682¾	397	445	397	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	65	2	2	118	0	0	Lord Napier.
Galashiels, -	8,589	827	844	9,742	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	77	15	6	134	6	2	Scot of Gala.
Roberton, - -	29,666½	250	237	567	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	67	10	0	144	18	9	The King.
Ashkirk, - -	—	201	163	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—			—		——
Stow, - -	—	259	376	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—			—		——
Inverleithen, -	—	61	67	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		—			—		——

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